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A REFERENTIAL
COMMENTARY AND
LEXICON TO
HOMER, *ILIAD* VIII



Adrian Kelly

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A REFERENTIAL COMMENTARY
AND LEXICON TO *ILIAD* VIII

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A Referential
Commentary
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to
Iliad VIII

By
ADRIAN KELLY

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ADRIAN KELLY

St. Anne's College, Oxford
April 2006

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Introduction

1. HOW IMPORTANT IS ORALITY FOR HOMERIC POETRY?

This book is written in the belief that the oral traditional background behind the Homeric poems is deeply significant, in fact fundamental, for a proper understanding of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To say this may seem rather unadventurous, even unnecessary, particularly to the many scholars who think that an appreciation of this tradition must be the starting point for any study of Homer;¹ yet the oralist perspective is falling into some disrepute, as the following samples of opinion make clear:

[B]ut the real answer to the call for a distinct, non-literary, oral poetics is that no such thing is necessary... . So much has the tide turned, in fact, that the onus is now on oralists to demonstrate that there is any significant way in which the status of the *Iliad* as an oral-derived text precludes or limits the application of familiar interpretative strategies.²

Forty years ago, having done our Parry and Lord, we knew it was foolish to talk of earlier or later books of Homer ... It was good for us to go through that phase. But sooner or later we had to come to terms with the fact that the epics of which we have any knowledge ... were not oral poems ... but written texts.³

The work of Milman Parry and others has shown that the Homeric poems are composed in a formulaic language of essentially unchanging phrases which fit given metrical positions. That truth is sometimes overstated. Our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not produced by singers obsessed with merely getting their verses to scan; many forms of artistry are unmistakably visible.⁴

Given the importance of their authors, these statements alone point to a growing tide of discontent and doubt, particularly in Britain, about the value

¹ Reviews and histories of oralist research may be found, *inter al.*, in Hainsworth (1968) 1–22; A. Parry (1971*b*), pp. ix–lxii; Foley (1988); Russo (1997). Balanced criticisms and reformulations of early weaknesses are to be found esp. in Hainsworth (1968); Foley (1999) 39–45; Sale (1996), (2001).

² Cairns (2001*b*) 53.

³ M. L. West (2003*a*) 11; he also expresses the desire (14) ‘to shake the oralists off our backs’.

⁴ Griffin (2004) 167.

of the scholarship conducted by those who have sought to follow the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord. In some ways, of course, this is a healthy and natural development, nor is it entirely new; early oralist studies had been taken to deny altogether the more usual 'literary' criticism which many felt the need to defend or reassert, and classical scholarship was understandably wary of a method which seemed to remove the guiding hand of the first master of narrative from the beginnings of European literature.⁵

Criticism has indeed long focused on the reductionism implied or openly advocated by the proponents of what has come to be called the 'oral theory', though these attacks have frequently been vitiated by misapprehensions about its aims and results. For example, oralists are most often held to account today for the portrait of a simple or primitive bard who 'improvises' freely:⁶

Kein 'literarischer' Dichter ist nach ihm (Lord) Homer gewesen, sondern vielmehr ein improvisierender Dichter.⁷

It is hard to see how such finely crafted speeches could be produced by fresh improvisation each time ... If any elements at all were worked on outside the performance itself, then more than improvisation is involved.⁸

Though Lord has repeatedly attempted to correct the impression that his work demanded or even called for an improviser,⁹ the disjunction between the target and the weapons aimed at it is emblematic of the discussion. Of course, the fault for the gulf between the oralists and 'scripsists'¹⁰—in all their variations—does not lie wholly on the latter side. It was encouraged by impassioned calls for an oral poetics which denied absolutely the validity of

⁵ Cf. e.g. Calhoun (1935) for an early objection, and the response in M. Parry (1937).

⁶ The impossibility of improvisation is usually then denied by invoking the dubious argument from quality, and the inevitable observations about Homeric superiority over all other known examples of oral poetry; cf. e.g. Lesky (1979) 306; in reply, Foley (1999); also Fowler (2004b).

⁷ Schadewaldt (1979) 531.

⁸ Thomas (1992) 36–7.

⁹ Cf. A. B. Lord (1991) 76–9, (1995) 187–202; Janko (2002) 661 n. 33. Though he stressed the performance as the instant at which the text is realized, Lord never denied the actuality or necessity for practice and revision of the song outside this context. Singers he interviewed constantly made the point that they would practice and perform the same songs for many, many years, refining them and their skill as time passed; cf. A. B. Lord (1960) 21, 26–7. Practice was particularly necessary before the singer had learned the craft fully, but extra-performative revision was frequently the case when singers were learning songs from other singers, and would habitually require a day or so in order to be able to reproduce the song. This was not inevitable, as shown by the story of Mumin Vlahovljak and his recitation, in the presence of Avdo Međedović, of a song which the latter had never heard, *Bećiragić Meho*. Mumin's version ran to 2,294 verses, whilst Avdo's version, which followed immediately without the opportunity for reflection, ran to 6,313; A. B. Lord (1991) 68–71.

¹⁰ The term was coined by Taplin (1992) 36.

more traditional methods,¹¹ not to mention the evolution of a jargon which at times smacks of self-satisfaction. Thankfully, initial extremity on both sides became tempered in the course of subsequent debate and dispute, and the acceptance of an oral background of some sort to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is no longer the armed and land-hungry barbarian it was once assumed to be.

Precisely how—or indeed if, to judge from the statements quoted above—that background is to be related to the texts is the essence of the problem. A common approach has been to think in terms of the ‘tradition’ versus ‘invention’ dichotomy: everything repeated is inherited or traditional, everything unique an individual addition to the text, a touch of original genius.¹² This is artificial, for the poet’s deployment of traditional material must be as much an indication of individual bardic ability as the construction and placement of the similes, much admired for their ‘personal’ touches or unique characteristics.¹³

Nonetheless, the idea was encouraged by occasions on which an expression seemed actively to militate against its context, where the poet was forced into error by the ‘dead weight’ of tradition.¹⁴ Many critics appealed with a shrug to the *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus* principle, invoking the (apparently) inevitably inferior semantic qualities and capabilities of an oral culture.¹⁵ Thus the individual fights eternally with the traditional to make the sense

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Combellack (1959) 208: ‘The hard fact is that in this post-Parry era critics are no longer in a position to distinguish the passages in which Homer is merely using a convenient formula from those in which he has consciously and cunningly chosen *le mot juste*. For all that any critic of Homer can now show, the occasional highly appropriate word may, like the occasional highly inappropriate one, be purely coincidental—part of the law of averages, if you like, in the use of the formula style.’

¹² For an early example, cf. Bowra (1930) 1: ‘It is now possible to take the *Iliad* as we have it and to consider it as poetry, and particularly we may try to distinguish in it those elements which belong to the traditional epic art and those which seem to betray the hand of the creative poet.’

¹³ As Thalmann (1984) 38 says: ‘To oppose artistry to useful compositional habit is misleading ... Certainly the good poet will be a master of his material, however traditional it is, and will use it creatively. But whatever his intentions are, he arranges that material in ways consonant with his own and his listeners’ modes of thought.’

¹⁴ An example of this type of explanation is to be found among the many opinions concerning the duals in the embassy in *I*; cf. Hainsworth (1993) 86–7 for a review. As the sixth alternative, Hainsworth starts from the reasonable position that other mentions of embassies (1. 327–47, 3. 205–24, 11. 765–90) all use two members on the mission. Thus the poet would have easy recourse to a series of ready-made phrases for the actions involved on an embassy: ‘Failure to adapt theme to context is observed in genuine oral poetry, when the generic (and traditional) form overrides the requirement of a specific context, but it is not a conspicuous characteristic of the Homeric poems. Where themes are confused, narrative illogicality is more likely to be the result. ... Such confusion is either unnoticed by the audience or—and this would be the case with the Homeric epics—is quietly tolerated, for the acceptability of a text depends on its *auctoritas* as much as its intelligibility.’

¹⁵ One of the first applications of this principle was made by Parry when dealing with so-called metrical irregularities in certain Homeric lines, which he saw were caused by the use of a traditional expression in a new context; cf. M. Parry (1928); Combellack (1965). Such

which a more reflective author, with literate methods of revision at his disposal, could easily have achieved.

This is a rather limited—and limiting—way of dealing with the texts, giving little credit either to the poet or his audiences, for contextual relevance need not be a hulking monster waiting to leap on the unwary bard.¹⁶ In fact, context is a crucial guide to the meaning of any given element in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, for it is only by its relationship to other elements in the narrative line that it can be fully understood. Interpretation should proceed from the realization that Homeric poetry is characterized on every level by an aesthetic of repetition, because it is constructed of a large but finite number of repeated units.¹⁷ Since the repetition of these units breeds an association which adds a connotative level of meaning to the denotative level represented by the story pattern, typical scene, action or expression itself, context becomes deeply significant, as Kirk has said:¹⁸

[E]ach of these accustomed phrases, as it is dropped from the listener's consciousness, is clustered with the heroic past, ennobled rather than staled by its archaic associations, and thick with echoes of other contexts, other heroes, other actions in other islands, under the impulse of other but still familiar gods.

A straightforward example of this connotative level of meaning may be found at *Iliad* 20. 281 ff., where Aineias stoops to pick up a stone in the middle of his combat with Akhilleus. Up until this moment, the poet has gone out of his way to ensure that there is no doubt in the audience's mind about the outcome of any combat which Akhilleus is likely to have, and the opening of the encounter has not gone well for Aineias. However, the stone is usually a decisive weapon for the person grabbing it, and it is such a common motif that the audience would infer from the act of lifting a coming Trojan victory.¹⁹ This is a surprise, an associative conflict, created deliberately by the poet in order to cause excitement and uncertainty in an audience at the moment of performance, as a response to the immediate requirements of that particular episode. Modern audiences do not hear this echo, for they are not trained to, but it is the purpose of this book to argue that they should be so trained.

'errors' have also been traced on the level of the type scene; cf. Gunn (1970), (1971); Reece (1993) 40–6; cf. also the Textual Discussion section of this book for the use of this principle in Homeric textual criticism.

¹⁶ It would be foolish to deny that errors ever occur, and Janko (1998*b*) has made them the cornerstone of his defence of Lord's theory of dictation. Equally, one would be unwise to assume error as the best or swiftest explanation for every textual or interpretative difficulty.

¹⁷ This does not of course preclude the creation of new units, whether *ex nihilo* on the analogy of traditional units or from the recombination of those elements.

¹⁸ Kirk (1976*b*) 6.

¹⁹ Cf. Lexicon 157 for a discussion of this motif (also below, pp. 15–17, for a guide to the conventions employed in this citation).

2. TRADITIONAL REFERENTIALITY AND HOMERIC SCHOLARSHIP

This 'referential' aspect of oral traditional poetry has been elucidated primarily by the American comparatist J. M. Foley, but it builds upon the inferences and directions set by many others. Starting from the impasse between contextual relevance and metrical utility in Homeric scholarship, Foley stresses the traditional nature of these poetries as an aid, above all, to meaning:²⁰

If traditional phraseology and narrative are conventional in structure, then they must also be conventional in their modes of generating meaning . . . structural elements are not simply compositionally useful, nor are they doomed to a 'limited' area of designation; rather, they command fields of reference much larger than the single line, passage or even text in which they occur. Traditional elements reach out of the immediate instance in which they appear to the fecund totality of the entire tradition, defined synchronically and diachronically, and they bear meanings as wide and deep as the tradition they encode.

Traditional referentiality, then, entails the invoking of a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself, that brings the lifeblood of generations of poems and performance to the individual performance or text. Each element in the phraseology or narrative thematics stands not simply for that singular instance but for the plurality and multiformity that are beyond the reach of textualization.

Though this approach does not rely upon the conscious intention of the individual author,²¹ one cannot deny a role to such a figure, for it is only through the singer's mediative skill, responding to the individual factors

²⁰ Foley (1991) 6–7; consult the Bibliography for a list of his relevant works, aside from those mentioned below; for reviews, cf. Sale (1995); Scodel (2000); Scott (2002); Hamilton (2003); Wyatt (2000). As Foley has stressed, traditional referentiality builds heavily on the work of those who focus on the importance of patterning *and* context to Homeric meaning, such as Sacks (1987), Lowenstam (1981), (1993), Muellner (1976), (1996), Nagy (1979) (etc.), Slatkin (1986), (1991). Though no one has as yet applied the method to an extended continuous portion of Homeric narrative, other more recent works have begun to address several elements in early Greek epic from this perspective: e.g. Person (1995); also Graziosi and Haubold (2005) esp. 48–56. Indeed, the latter writers' notion of 'resonance' strikes me as very similar to Foley's referentiality (they do indeed invoke him in their definition of the phenomenon), but they do not there address the type of generic patternings studied in this book. It should also be noted that referentiality is gaining acceptance even among those working in traditions not *prima facie* amenable to its suppositions; cf. e.g. Danek (2002); also Fowler (2004*b*) 228, 230 n. 42.

²¹ Foley (1991) 8: 'a traditional work depends primarily on elements and strategies that were in place long before the execution of the present version or text, long before the present nominal author learned the inherited craft.'

governing the generation of the song, that the audience is exposed to its referential potential. These performance factors will necessarily have an impact on the song's traditional referentiality, just as they do on its size or subject matter, and so, given the massive uncertainty about the circumstances in which the poems came into being, it makes little sense to deny an authorial reaction to them. Consequently, this book does not insist on exclusive attribution to either poet or tradition, because the text must simultaneously represent the interdependence of both.

The challenge, therefore, is to detect the traditional quality of the 'element'²² through the semantic significance of its context, not as something which the author or singer must combat in order to make sense, but as an informative source of associative meaning which he will use to involve the attention of an audience as they listen to songs whose outlines are known from a lifetime of experience. Thus Homeric poetics operates within a creative dynamic between *denotative* and *connotative* levels of signification, wherein the latter provides the audience with intimations about the element which are not clear from its denotative or lexical meaning alone. With this duality, the modern audience comes as close as it ever will to the fluency or experience of an Archaic audience hearing the poetry unravelled before it. Without it, an understanding or reception of the text is necessarily defective, because the audience fails to hear all there is to hear.

A good example of this relationship—and of the interpretative difficulties obviated by an appreciation of its presence—is to be found within Phoinix' presentation of the Meleagros paradigm in *I*, and specifically the way in which he closes the tale and relates it to the current circumstance (597–605):

ὥς ὁ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἡμᾶρ
εἷξας ὦι θυμῶι τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσσαν
 πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα· κακὸν δ' ἦμυνε καὶ αὐτῶς.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ μοι ταῦτα νόει φρεσί, μηδέ σε δαίμων
 ἐνταῦθα τρέψειε, φίλος· κάκιον δέ κεν εἴη
 νηυσὶν καιομένησιν ἀμυνέμεν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δώροις
 ἔρχεο· ἴσον γάρ σε θεῶι τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί.
 εἰ δέ κ' ἄτερ δώρων πόλεμον φθεισὴγόρα δύηις,
 οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσσει πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν.

The point of the tale seems clear enough: rejoin the battle now, and you will receive the gifts just as Meleagros did not.²³ Thus *τιμή* will be assured. The expression **εἷξας ὦι θυμῶι** (598) seems not to fit very well in this context, for 'it is ... not very felicitous that the climax of the parable should be 'yielding

²² On the definition of this term, cf. below, pp. 14–15.

²³ Cf. Austin (1966); Gaisser (1969); Alden (2000) 179–290.

to his *θυμός*’ when the point of Phoinix’ discourse is ‘overcome your *θυμός*’ (496).²⁴ However, by comparing this denotation with the significance of the expression’s contextual association, which can only be detected through an examination of its other occurrences in Homeric epic, the problem disappears:

1 *Il.* 9. 109–10 (109–11)

σὺ δὲ σῶι μεγάλητορι θυμῶι
εἶξας ἄνδρα φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν,
ἡτίμησας·

2 *Il.* 9. 598 (597–9)

ὥς ὁ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἦμαρ
εἶξας ὦι θυμῶι· τῶι δ’ οὐκέτι δῶρ’ ἐτέλεσσαν
πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα·

3 *Il.* 24. 42–3

ὅς τ’ ἐπεὶ ἄρ’ μεγάλην τε βίην καὶ ἀγήνορι θυμῶι
εἶξας εἶς’ ἐπὶ μῆλα βροτῶν, ἵνα δαῖτα λάβησιν.

4 *Od.* 5. 126 (125–7)

ὥς δ’ ὁπότ’ Ἰασίωνι ἐνπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ
ὦι θυμῶι εἶξασα μίγην φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνήι
νειῶι ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ·

The actions so qualified in these examples have two constant features, beyond the fact that they fall in character-speech:²⁵ (a) it is either explicit or implicit that the action is actually or potentially harmful to the agent, and (b) the agent is fully aware of that fact at the time of undertaking the action. This twin import is evident in every example: in 1 Nestor tells Agamemnon that, though he had already been warned of its consequences, he proceeded in his unwise behaviour towards Akhilleus. Agamemnon’s reply recognizes his error and the damage it has caused, before expressing his eagerness to make amends; in 3 Apollo compares the savagery of Akhilleus with that of a lion who is brought necessarily into hostile contact with men by his desire to feed on their flocks. This is a frequent means of encounter between men and beasts in simile narratives and, though it need not end in the death of the aggressive animal, it is very risky; cf. e.g. 15. 586–8 (of the fleeing Antilokhos), 17. 108–12 (of the

²⁴ Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 139.

²⁵ Cf. esp. Griffin (1986) and, most recently, de Jong (1997), for stylistic differences in narrator and character speech.

retreating Menelaos), etc.²⁶ The comparison well expresses the intractability of the hero who acts even to his own detriment, as Apollo goes on to threaten; in 4, during Kalypso's short list of goddesses who have chosen mortal lovers to the detriment of the latter, the expression refers to Demeter's decision to associate with Iasion. Kalypso is complaining of the male gods' sexual jealousy in these matters and, though Demeter is not personally harmed by Zeus' subsequent action against Iasion, one may presume that the goddess knew the likelihood of her act's consequences for her mortal lover or, at the very least, that Kalypso is depicting the situation in this way in order to complain of Zeus' well-known preclusive attitude in this regard.²⁷

Thus when Phoinix uses the expression *εἴξας ὧι θυμῶι* in *I* (2), he refers not to the fact of Meleagros' return, but to the actual harm he has knowingly incurred, through the lack of gifts and honour.²⁸ The participle refers *πάλαι*, *ὅτε ὠργίζετο*, *οὐ νῦν*, *ὅτε ἤμυνεν* (*Σ* bT), and is applied to precisely the type of damage which Phoinix is trying to persuade Akhilleus to avoid (cf. esp. 9. 601–5), as the rest of verse 589 itself makes clear (*τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσαν*). There is, as one can now see, no contradiction or difficulty with the use of this expression in this context.²⁹

²⁶ Cf. further Janko (1992) on 15. 586–8, 291, for more parallels and discussion, where he says that “Touches of “subjective narrative” from the animals’ viewpoint enter other similes”; also Moulton (1977) 114, with regard to *Il.* 24. 42–3: ‘It is almost as if the lion may be conceived as having better instincts, which would sometimes restrain him.’ That beasts should be assumed to have at least some conception of the danger is not unlikely, given the anthropomorphism found elsewhere in the *Iliad*, e.g. the team exhortations by the charioteer introduced by the expression *ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο* (cf. *Lexicon* 100); see also Lonsdale (1990) 133–5, for a list of emotions attributed to animals in similes.

²⁷ The other example of such a union in Kalypso's speech, that between Eos and Orion (121–4), is similarly negative. The danger of human intercourse with a goddess, though not a universal element in such tales, is also represented in e.g. the story of Eos and Tithonos at *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 218–38; cf. Allen and Sikes (1904) on *Hom. Hy. to Aphr.* 188, 213; Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936) ad loc., 363–4; Boedeker (1974) ch. 3; Cassolà (1975) 232; Smith (1981) 125 n. 77; Sowa (1984) 39–43; cf. also Appendix B for the importance of Zeus' sexual control over the other gods. Of course, Odysseus himself seems to be in no such explicit danger (apart from the threat that his *νόστος* will fail, and he will be detained in a state of narrative limbo), but the consequences for the current interpretation are minor, since speakers often mould their paradeigmata in order to press home their case; cf. in general Willcock (1964), (1977).

²⁸ On the ability of the aorist participle to refer to prior action in Homer, cf. Chantraine (1953) § 278, 188. This interpretation necessarily divorces the phrase from the preceding *μέν* clause, but participial *εἴξας* functions as a quasi-finite verb at 24. 42–3 (case [3] above); cf. Macleod (1982) ad loc., 91; Richardson (1993) ad loc., 281. Cf. next n.

²⁹ This is precisely the conclusion reached by Griffin (1995) ad loc., 140, but his reasoning is revealing: ‘The parallel at 109 suggests that this means “after yielding to his anger”, sc. and refusing to fight, rather than that he now gave way to his own impulse and not to the prayers of his wife, a distinction which has no point.’ In other words, Griffin feels compelled to interpret the expression in this way, through direct comparison and reflective elimination, in

In this way, an apparently incongruous element resonates beyond its individual occurrence to attract a source of associative meaning which not only removes the apparent denotative difficulty, but adds considerably to the force of the paradigm. In some sense, then, Notopoulos' call for an 'oral' aesthetic has been answered, but it must be stressed that the themes revealed here are not incompatible with or undetectable by more traditional means of interpretation.³⁰ As will become clear on several occasions, all the themes here detected in Θ have been elucidated by the many scholars, of all methodological inclinations, who have turned their attention to this part of the narrative. The only substantial difference is that a referential interpretation sees these themes as they are realized in the course of a dynamic narrative, which in fact allows an audience to see them all the more clearly.

3. TRADITIONAL REFERENTIALITY: DIFFICULTIES AND OBJECTIONS

It is with the tracing and elucidation of these associations—the reconstruction of the poetic thesaurus, in effect—that this book is concerned, but there are a number of objections to the validity of the method which must be addressed beforehand. The first concerns the referential homogeneity of the *Dichtersprache*. Given that there were many different poets using the epic dialect in many parts of the Greek world, is it safe to assume that every poet's deployment of the referential potential of a common element would be the same, essentially or even remotely similar? This can only be answered by taking a number of shared features and subjecting them to the same treatment given to the $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\varsigma \hat{\omega}\iota \theta\nu\mu\hat{\omega}\iota$ unit above, a task which would itself require a separate major work. Any answer offered here can only be provisional but, where such comparison has been required in the current work, the

order merely to make sense of it (one might also interpret the participle concessively, 'although you have already given way'). Such a process is unnecessary for a traditionally fluent audience.

³⁰ Cf. Notopoulos (1949). This is evident both from the quotation of the bT scholiast ad loc., and Griffin's analysis. The essential contiguity between the two approaches, which is only natural given that literate culture represents a progression from oral culture, is well brought out by Foley (1991) 4 n. 9, answering the same criticism from Griffin quoted above (p. i): 'In what follows I hope to show (1) that the kind of approach Griffin champions and the perspective from oral tradition are not wholly incompatible and in fact overlap and reinforce one another at many points, and (2) that traditional referentiality adds significantly to (rather than detracts from or mars) what we customarily think of as the literary quality of the Homeric epics and other oral-derived works.'

significance has been found usually to be the same.³¹ Nonetheless, most of the conclusions about individual units in this book should be taken to pertain primarily to the *Iliad* and not applied without caution to the other texts of the period.

The referential pool for this study has been confined in the first instance to the *Iliad*, adducing the *Odyssey* and other early epic poetry generally only when the *Iliad* did not supply three examples of the requisite unit, a number chosen according to the minimum criterion of typicality in Bernard Fenik's seminal work on battle scenes.³² The limitation was proposed largely for convenience, but it does not vitiate the validity of the demonstration, for the *Iliad* represents a source of sufficient size for reasonable comparison. Admittedly, the narrowing of the focus may obscure or possibly completely hide the referential potential of some elements, but it will avoid the danger of including untraditional material which appears traditional.³³ Once again, however, future research may well discover that a more inclusive pool gives a better definition.

In addition, though neither the presentation nor methodology of this book depends upon this belief, it is possible that the *Iliad* represents a relatively untypical example of Archaic hexameter poetry, the usual scale of which can be gleaned from the poems of Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Shield of Herakles*, not to mention the depictions of performance in the *Odyssey* itself.³⁴ The precise manner in which the *Iliad* was composed and recorded is beyond reconstruction, but the hypothesis of oral dictation seems as good as any other,³⁵ and one which removes the poet from the potentially 'small-scaling'

³¹ As with the 'goddess-mortal' theme adduced above, p. 8 f. and n. 27; for other examples of referential similarities, cf. Lexicon 13/5; 15/4-5; 23/8; 35/2-3; 80/5; 95/5; 103a/2-4; 106/4-6; 127/6 and n. 1; 130 n. 1; 134 n. 1; 135/5; 144 n. 1; 149/4-5; 162 n. 1; 170 n. 1; 173/6; 178 n. 4; 184/3; 188/3-8; 189/4-5; 190 n. 1; 191/5-6; 195/3; 196/5-6; 200 n. 9; 206/4 and n. 1; 207/4-10 and n. 1; 219/4-6; A/4 and n. 1; C n. 1. Of course, the ideal situation is one in which there are several texts of the same genre etc., to compare. This currently prevails in the study of South Slavic song, on which Foley promises a truly comparative edition replete with *apparatus fabulosus* like the one used in the Text and Apparatus section of this book (cf. below, pp. 15-17); cf. Foley (1999) 256-62, for an example applied to Homer, and Foley (2002) esp. 25-7 for one applied to the South Slavic Return Song. For discussion of the *Homeric Hymns* from this general perspective, cf. Sowa (1984).

³² Fenik (1968) 5.

³³ However, the specifically and consciously Homeric dependence of later hexameter texts has been perhaps unduly emphasized; cf. esp. Janko (1982). The *a priori* assumption that Homeric poetry represents the norm of oral poetic composition in the Archaic period seems to have led us to treat other poetry from the same period as post-Homeric, both diachronically and qualitatively, and then to relate that impression to the decline of oral poetry.

³⁴ Cf. Kirk (1962) 274-81; Schadewaldt (1965) 66-86; Thalmann (1984) 113-56.

³⁵ Cf. A. B. Lord (1953); Janko (1998b).

requirements of oral performance.³⁶ Thus, just as Avdo Mededović was asked by Milman Parry to sing for the purposes of dictation the longest song he could, so the *Iliad* could be the result of an ‘idealized’ performance situation, in which the poet cannot react to the usual range of performative factors and so composes with a projected audience in mind, one able to hear the maximum possible range of referential indicators in the song—in effect, an audience made up of infinitely patient fellow poets, who have no temporal or physical constraints to impose upon the performance.³⁷

Another important objection to traditional referentiality concerns the extent to which the audience was aware of the traditional idiom.³⁸ It may, firstly, be doubted whether language actually works in the metonymic or associative manner proposed here. One can do no more than to point to those working on other oral traditions, and drawing methodological support from reception theorists like Wolfgang Iser and Hans Jauss for their portrayal of language in these terms.³⁹ However, these theoretical positions need to be distinguished to some extent from the current one, because the type of meaning being proposed here depends primarily on the undeniable fact of the audience’s great familiarity with the poets and their poems, and is a specifically pre-literate semantic strategy. Admittedly, referentiality both *specific* (to individual texts or versions) and *conventional* (to generic features of a series of such texts) is to be found everywhere in ancient or, for that matter, modern narrative art. Graham Greene’s *Monsignor Quixote*, for example, makes much more sense to someone who has read Cervantes than to someone who has not. An archaic Greek audience, by contrast, was unable to rely upon a prior version in the way that Roman audiences or readers could draw upon the specific configurations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (amongst many other texts) in order to understand the ‘polyphonic’ nature of the *Aeneid*.⁴⁰

³⁶ This is not to concede that large-scale performative composition is impossible within a purely oral tradition, an assumption that is of course related to the argument from quality (cf. above, n. 6) and has been severely criticized by Taplin (1992) 22–44; Foley (1999) 42. The fact that, on a specific request from Milman Parry, Avdo Mededović produced a 12,311-verse version of the *Wedding of Smailagić Meho* testifies conclusively to the fact that a purely oral tradition is well able to produce monumental songs. Lest anyone think, as has been often asserted, that only writing makes this possible, Avdo then sang another song (the *Wedding of Vlahinjić Alija*) for phonograph recording, which amounted to 13,326 verses; cf. A. B. Lord (1991) 98–101. The scale of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is not an argument against an oral provenance, and the belief given here about the oral dictation theory does not underpin the current methodology.

³⁷ Cf. esp. A. B. Lord (1991) 46–8. For a recent summary of the many positions possible on this question, cf. Jensen et al. (1999).

³⁸ Cf. esp. Scodel (1997), (2002), though she is concerned more with the manipulation of the *Faktenkanon* itself, i.e. with the ‘what’ rather than the ‘how’, which is the major concern of this book.

³⁹ The reader is readily referred to the discussion of these works in Foley (1991) 38–60.

⁴⁰ For the classic statement and application of this principle, cf. Lyne (1987).

Traditional referentiality, conditioned within a culture which lacks these fixed points of reference, does not rely upon a single dominant configuration; it is, instead, generic. This is not to say that more specific referentiality is an invention or characteristic feature exclusively of literate culture, for Homeric poetry does call upon story cycles which have achieved some level of narrative fixity, and even upon other actions or elements within its own parameters.⁴¹ There is, therefore, a basic continuity between oral and literate semantics, and it would be quite wrong to preclude the possibility of this more specific type of referentiality.⁴² Indeed, this type of association will be identified and included in the Commentary and/or Lexicon wherever appropriate.⁴³

With regard to the intimately related question of the audience's practical nature, it must be readily acknowledged that some of the associations recovered here would not have occurred to every audience, let alone every audience member. One cannot assume that every listener was equally as fluent in the grammar of epic. This is, however, not an objection to be directed against the author's intention to generate that hypothetically maximum level of meaning,

⁴¹ The extent to which pre-Homeric traditions were textualized, and the form in which they were known to the Homeric poet, is of course an enormous issue; cf. recently Dowden (1996); Danek (1998); Burgess (2001); Dowden (2004); Kelly (2006). I remain sceptical of the idea that the Homeric poet knew written texts of other songs or stories, as opposed to those songs or stories in forms of varying fixity (e.g. an action associated with one character, and perhaps with that character only), but the idea cannot be precluded out of hand; cf. M. L. West (2003a). Of course, specified references must be related to traditional referentiality, for they too are predicated on relational meaning, by inviting the audience to import externalities to the interpretation of the current example. The difference lies in the fact that specific reference (in practice, *intratextuality*; cf. next nn.) relates to a particular realization of a traditional theme, whilst traditional referentiality does not. I hope to argue elsewhere that specific referentiality gives rise to what has come to be called *intertextuality*, which is understood here to relate to actual—i.e. knowable—realizations of traditional songs.

⁴² Indeed, the tracing of such explicit intratextual links has been a major concern of Homeric scholarship particularly in the German tradition, whether in trying to prove the authenticity or otherwise of passages marked by such features (as e.g. Wilamowitz 1916, Von der Mühl 1952, van Thiel 1982 on the Analyst front; cf. Schadeewaldt 1966 for a reply), the priority of these passages according to the narrative's essential requirements (as e.g. Reinhardt 1961), the incompatibility or otherwise of oral composition with a sophisticated series of such *Fernbeziehungen* (as Reichel 1994; cf. also Bannert 1988, Di Benedetto 1994). Whilst this activity is fundamentally at odds with the basic assumptions and methods of oralist research, the close reading of these authors is often very illuminating, and not necessarily irreconcilable with the current investigation.

⁴³ There are several units which might be classed as either specific or generic; I have followed the practice of cautiously favouring the generic classification, though I signal here all those cases which might be considered ambiguous: 8. 32–7 = 8. 463–8 12 and 13; 8. 34 = 354 = 465 14; 8. 58–9 = 2. 809–10 22 and 23; 8. 60–5 = 4. 446–51 24 and 25; 8. 105–7 = 5. 221–3 52 and 9; 8. 121–5 ~ 313–17; 8. 157 ~ 257 ~ 432 84; 8. 222–6 = 11. 5–9; 8. 262–5 = 7. 164–7; 8. 300 ~ 309 / 301 = 310; 8. 343–4 = 15. 1–2; 8. 345 ~ 15. 3 || 8. 345 ~ 15. 367; 8. 346–7 = 15. 368–9 165–7; 8. 350–96 ~ 5. 711–52 (8. 386 = 5. 735) 104; 8. 445–6 = 1. 332–3 189–90; 8. 457–62 = 4. 20–5 195, 112; 8. 463–8 = 8. 32–7; 8. 493–5 = 6. 318–20 2 and 3; 8. 540–1 = 13. 827–8; 8. 557–8 = 16. 299–300 217. The significance of these examples is discussed in footnotes in the Commentary (cf. below, pp. 15–17) as each occurs.

whether one wishes to propose a historically verifiable idealized performance *locus* or not. Several scholars have pointed out the universalizing—indeed hegemonic—quality of Homeric poetry, variously defined as ‘panhellenism’ (Nagy) or the ‘inclusive social audience’ proposed by Scodel.⁴⁴ In these models, the poem’s success is a function of its ability to appeal to the widest possible audience, by reaching beyond regional, class-based, or individual specifics therein. It is a natural corollary to the imagination of such a group of *Überzuhörer* that the poet should imbue them with the widest possible experience of the epic language and world, and that his text should set its parameters accordingly.

Furthermore, whilst there is no direct evidence for an audience accustomed to interpreting its epic in this way,⁴⁵ the scarcity of external evidence about performance in this period makes it just as uncertain that there was not. The texts’ silence on this point is not evidence against the theory, for it is exceedingly doubtful that such a sense of audience reception would be particularly articulated in a tradition lacking any differentiating system. For Archaic hexameter poetry, it is simply the natural symbiosis of composition and reception, the realization of the *οἴμη* or ‘path of song’.⁴⁶ Indeed, the epic on several occasions shows a profound awareness of its own conventions, contrasting the external audience’s ability to read its signs with the inability of its characters. Perhaps the most telling case is Akhilleus’ failure to heed the ‘wrathful withdrawal’ theme presented him by Phoinix in *I*;⁴⁷ had Akhilleus been as well versed in that sequence as the audience (note especially *τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπειθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν | ἥρώων* 524–5), he would have known, as they do, what would happen next.

Familiarity thus plays an enormously important role, for these audiences spent a great deal of time listening to such stories and singers, and the cognitive potential of a pre-literate audience should not be underestimated, as Taplin has reminded us:⁴⁸

Memory has become gravely degraded in Western culture, even more so with the escalating advances of audio-visual aids and information technology. But just because our depleted minds find it impossible to imagine such a huge and complex feat of memory without the use of scriptural aids, that does not mean it was impossible.

Though he was here talking about the composition of a monumental text, the observation naturally has a broader application. Of course, all of these

⁴⁴ Nagy (1979); Scodel (2002).

⁴⁵ Dowden (1996) 60.

⁴⁶ Cf. e.g. Thornton (1984) 148–9; Ford (1992) 41–3.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Lexicon* 18 for a discussion of this motif; also 55/4–5 for a similar case.

⁴⁸ Taplin (1992) 36. Minchin (2001a) focuses upon memory as a constitutive factor in the construction of the narrative structures of Homeric poetry, but makes little mention of it in terms of the audience’s capabilities.

arguments for and against traditional referentiality are theoretical, extrapolations from other fields and disciplines about the way in which language works, the hypothetical possibilities of audience reception, and so on. The only real proof, as far as one can hope to prove such a thing, must be the ‘accumulative weight of the evidence, and for this the reader will have to wait until he has read a fair amount of analysis.’⁴⁹

4. PARAMETERS AND STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

With some of these more general objections to one side, it is perhaps time to offer a brief elucidation of the parameters and structure of the enquiry. The focus in this work is any ‘unit’ in Homeric poetry on any level of the narrative, all the way from story patterns (such as *Wrathful withdrawal*), to sequences of action (*Flight phase*), episodes (*Assembly*), motifs (*Stone weapon*) to individual expressions (e.g. τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη). As one can see, the vocabulary for these units is of a particularly diverse nature, and I have not used the problematic terms ‘formula’ and ‘theme’.⁵⁰

The objects of the enquiry need not be formulaic, in the narrow sense(s) determined by previous scholarship, but rather of sufficient similarity and integrity in order to strike the impression of an audience during a performance. This may appear too subjective, too great a relaxation of schematic rigour, but it is unreasonable to expect an audience to differentiate between expressions on purely metrical grounds, for their impression of similarity will necessarily be more flexible than that of a researcher armed with a concordance, a written text, and the *TLG* search program.⁵¹ The Homeric *Kunst-sprache* is a living organism for its audience, and rigid structural categorizations merely describe the poetry from a compositional rather than a semantic perspective.⁵² Hence there is no fundamental differentiation made

⁴⁹ Fenik (1968) 5.

⁵⁰ I have also, as a rule, deliberately avoided discussing the proper-noun–epithet systems. This may at first sight seem a rather startling omission, given the prominence—indeed pre-eminence—of these systems in existing oralist research. However, there is simply not the space in this book for the required examination, for these systems cover such a wide range of actions as to need a separate treatment of their own, conducted with an eye *both* to the individual *and* the action. Should the current demonstration of traditional referentiality be considered cogent, then the noun–epithet units will be one of the pressing tasks for research from this perspective.

⁵¹ Apart from the *TLG* database (<http://tlg.uci.edu>), the chief resource for the current work was Tebben (1994), (1998), supplemented by Prendergast and Marzullo (1962).

⁵² Perhaps this was what Lateiner (2004) 29 meant by the rather strange expression ‘bean-counting, Parryistic [*sic*] scholarship’.

in this book between the types of unit, and no adoption of a (further) specialized terminology for them.

Secondly, no two scholars will ever agree on the definition of any given item in the poet's thesaurus, especially in a tradition so marked as the Homeric by analogous creation and recreation. There will no doubt be many who find this book's choices in this area insufficient, principally because several units could have been expanded greatly. For example, rather than limiting the investigation to certain types of divine action or intervention,⁵³ all the ways in which the poet has the gods influence the action should have been catalogued. Or, instead of focusing on first-person uses of the past tense of *φημί* in complaints or realizations of error, one might have completely categorized all the forms of the verb.⁵⁴ However, considerations of space imposed their usual tyranny. That in itself would not be a sufficient answer were it not for the fact that the units which have been discovered and defined, signalled either by repeated words and phrases or by repeated action, consistently displayed the referential homogeneity sought by the analysis. If the investigation has been closed off too soon, perhaps the reader will allow that it has at least provided a starting point.

The following study is separated into four chapters. The first is a *Text and Referential Apparatus*, the text itself being based on West's recent and excellent Teubner edition. On the facing page, I have provided a unit name, a unit number in bold type and then a brief description of its significance, thus:

Dawn [1]: continuation of Zeus' hostility to both sides,
day's events to be narrated in full

The unit's parameters are indicated in the text by angular brackets < >, and the unit number refers the reader to the *Lexicon* (Ch. 3; see further below). Those elements which are defined by repeated phraseology have the Greek itself in bold as well. At the foot of some pages are references to the *Textual Discussion* (Ch. 4; see further below), of the following form:

6 (1) | 13 ῆ (& 12 *Ὀὐλυμπόνδε*) (2) | 28–40 (3)

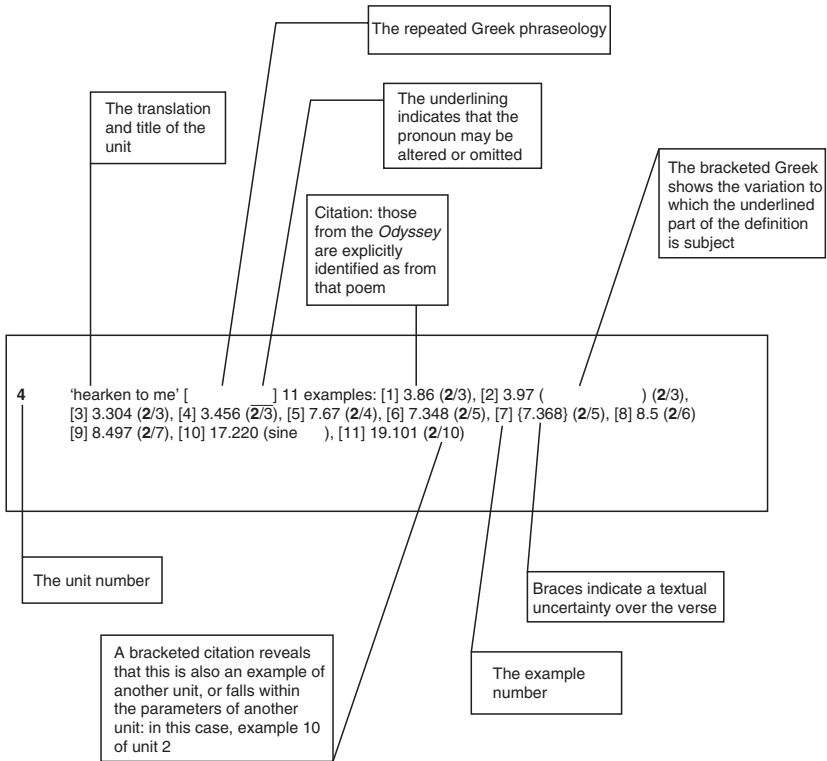
The first number refers to the verse in question, and the number in round brackets is that of the treatment of the passage in the fourth chapter. Hence the apparatus note above indicates that verse 6 is discussed as the first case of the Textual Discussion, verses 13 (and 12) in the second case, and verses 28–40 in the third.

⁵³ Cf. e.g. *Lexicon* 20, 74, 109, 115, 155, and 186.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Lexicon* 202.

The second chapter is the *Commentary*, which summarizes and describes more fully the referential curve of the poetry as it unfolds, explaining in detail what these units mean for the narrative of *Θ*, and giving reference to other discussions. In the footnotes, references are made to the detailed treatment of individual units in the *Lexicon* through the bold figures without brackets—e.g. 129—and to the Textual Discussion through those in bold round brackets—e.g. (13).

The third chapter is the *Lexicon*, the core of the book, which sets out in detail all the traditional units in the order encountered in the course of *Θ*'s narrative, together with the examples. The following diagram should make the range of presentational conventions clear:



When citation of other units and their examples is made, here or anywhere else in the book, the unit and example *signa* are combined, so that e.g. 1/2 denotes the second example of the first unit. I have listed with each unit

a sample of the relevant bibliography. Given the range of examples discussed, to attempt universality of coverage in this matter was pointless, and I have listed the works which I found most useful and which could direct the diligent reader to further discussion. For the same reason, individual points of contention have been kept to a minimum.⁵⁵

The fourth and final chapter is the *Textual Discussion*, which begins by setting out arguments for employing traditional referentiality as a textual critical criterion. Then it discusses the cases in *Θ* (and some other books) where the resolution of the difficulty makes a difference to the analysis of the passage, or where the application of referentiality can illumine the issue.⁵⁶ This section seeks to apply what has been learned in the rest of the book to the most fundamental scholarly questions surrounding the Homeric text, viz. how it should be constituted, and what can be concluded therefrom about the origins and history of the text.

This fourfold division was chosen to accommodate two basic purposes: to persuade the reader of the value of traditional referentiality in Homeric scholarship, and simultaneously to present the research as a useful tool for those who remain unpersuaded. It is hoped that the Lexicon, in particular, will provide one of many possible starting points for other scholars' own examinations of Homeric structure and technique. A separate section serves this function best, and is a recognizable mutation of a well-known scholarly format, as indeed is the current version of the traditional text and apparatus format.

In summary, this book seeks to show that traditional referentiality may fruitfully be applied to Homeric narrative as an aid to both 'higher' and textual criticism. Neither can exist without the other and, if the method be considered valid for one, then it should work for both. That judgement, however, must remain the reader's.

⁵⁵ Some debate on essential questions for the description of *Θ* has been reserved for the Commentary, though wherever the proffered answer is affected or effected by referentiality, I have postponed discussion for the entry in the Lexicon. There are also three units (numbered A, B, and C) which are not found in the course of *Θ*, but which came into the discussion of other units frequently enough to warrant study. They have been included at the end of the Lexicon.

⁵⁶ I should also note here my variations from West's Teubner edition as I print it in the Text and Apparatus section; I do not print his braces around verses 59, 73–4, 123, 183, 185, 199, 315, 383, 528 and 535–7, and I restore to the text verses 224–6, 277, 466–8, 548, and 550–2. Variations supported by referential analysis are signalled at the foot of the text (as explained above), and examined further in the Textual Discussion.

Text and Referential Apparatus

- 1 <Ἡὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν'>
 <<Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο τερπικέραυνος
 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδεираδος Οὐλύμποιο.>
 <αὐτὸς δέ σφ' ἀγόρευε, θεοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον>
- 5 <“κέκλυτέ μοι,> πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι
 <ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.>
 μήτέ τις οὖν θήλεια θεὸς τό γε μήτέ τις ἄρσῃ
 πειράτω διακέρσαι ἐμὸν ἔπος, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες
 αἰνεῖτ', ὄφρα τάχιστα τελευτήσω τάδε ἔργα.
- 10 <ὦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω>
 ἐλθόντ' ἢ Τρώεσσι ἀρηγέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσιν,
 πληγείς <οὐ κατὰ κόσμον> ἐλεύσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε·
 <ἢ μιν ἐλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα,>
 τῆλε μάλ', ἥχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον,
- 15 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
 τόσσον ἔνερθ' Αἴδew ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης·
 γνώσετ' ἔπειθ', <ὅσον εἰμὶ θεῶν κάρτιστος ἀπάντων.>
 <εἰ δ' ἄγε πειρήσασθε,> θεοί, <ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες>
 σειρὴν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες
- 20 πάντες τ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι·
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδιόνδε
 <Ζῆν' ὕπατον μῆστωρ,> οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε,
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πρόφρων ἐθέλοιμι ἐρύσσαι,
 αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμι αὐτῇ τε θαλάσῃ.
- 25 σειρὴν μὲν κεν ἔπειτα περὶ ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο
 δησαίμην, τὰ δέ κ' αὐτε μετήορα πάντα γένοιτο.
 τόσσον ἐγὼ περὶ τ' εἰμὶ θεῶν περὶ τ' εἰμὶ ἀνθρώπων.”
 ὡς ἔφαθ', <οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ>
 <μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι> μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν.
- 30 <ὅψέ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε> θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
 “ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρειόντων,
 <εἰ νῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν> ὅ τοι σθένος <οὐκ ἐπικτόν>
 ἀλλ' ἔμψης Δαναῶν ὀλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμηγάνων,
 <οἱ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται.>
- 35 ἀλλ' ἦτοι πολέμου μὲν ἀφεξόμεθ', εἰ σὺ κελεύεις,
 βουλὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ὑποθησόμεθ', ἥ τις ὀνήσει,
 ὡς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο τεοῖο.”
 <τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη> νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·
 <“θάρσει,> Τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος· οὐ νύ τι θυμῷ
 πρόφρονι μυθέομαι, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι.”>
 <<ὡς εἰπὼν ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππω
 ὠκυπέτα, χρυσέῃσιν ἐθειρήσιν κομόωντε,

Dawn 1: continuation of Zeus' hostility to both sides, day's events to be narrated in full
Assembly 2 (2–40): summoner's authority, speech to dominate pattern; *summoner* (2–3)
 (<2): Zeus' authority

First speaker (<2): speech to dominate pattern
 'hearken to me' 4: Zeus' delusion
 'while I say what my thumos in my chest commands' 4a: conflict expected

'whomever apart | I see' 5: effective, but speaker's delusion

'not according to kosmos' 6: serious inappropriateness, (immediately) corrected
Correction (<6)

'how far | I am' 7: tested authority
 'come, then, try' 8: tested authority, but cannot be really challenged; 'so | you know' 9:
 confidence in outcome

Third-person self-reference 10: tested authority

'and they were all silent to silence' 11: proposal implementation uncertain
 'marvelling at his word' 11a: disagreement and rejection / modification of proposal
 'and late spoke among' (11b): non-material motivation (speaker's discomfiture)

'well | we know' 12: qualification; 'not to be borne' 13: qualification

'who are perishing completing evil destruction' 14: Ath.'s coming act of rebellion

'at her smiling spoke' 15: current of deception
 'be encouraged' 16: Zeus' desire for alignment

Chariot journey 17 (41–50 || 438–41): success, character's intention; *harnessing* (<17): isolation;
Wrathful withdrawal 18 (41–437): detriment to Zeus and the Olympian community

- χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροῖ, γέντο δ' ἰμάσθλην
 χρυσεῖην εὐτυκτον, εἰοῦ δ' ἐπεβήσето δίφρου,
 45 <μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην>
 μεσσηγὺς γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.
 <Ἴδην δ' ἔκανε πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρών,
 Γάργαρον> <ἐνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυῖεις.>
 <ἐνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
 50 λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων,> κατὰ δ' ἡέρα πουλὺν ἔχευεν,>
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφήσι <καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίων,>
 εἰσορώων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.
 <οἱ δ' ἄρα δαίπνον ἔλοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί
 ρίμφα κατὰ κλισίας, ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ θωρήσσοντο.
 55 Τρώες δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀνὰ πόλιν ὠπλιζοντο,
 παυρότεροι, μέμασαν δὲ καὶ ὥς ὕμνιν μάχεσθαι,
 χρεοῖ ἀναγκαίηι, πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρό γυναικῶν.
 παῖσαι δ' ὠείγοντο πύλαι, ἐκ δ' ἔσσυτο λαός,
 πεζοί θ' ἵππῆές τε, <πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει>.>
 60 <οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐς χώρον ἔνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο,
 σὺν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν
 χαλκεοθωρήκων· ἀτὰρ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι
 ἔπληντ' ἀλλήλησι, <πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει>
 ἐνθα δ' αἶμ' οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ εὐχολῇ πλέεν ἀνδρῶν
 65 ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, <ῥέε δ' αἶματι γαῖα.>>
 <ὄφρα μὲν ἧὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
 <τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἦπτετο, πίπτε δὲ λαός.>>
 <ἦμος δ' ἡἷλος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβέβηκει,
 <καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίτανε τάλαντα,>
 70 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
 Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
 εἴλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβῶν· ῥέπε δ' αἶσιμον ἦμαρ Ἀχαιῶν.
 αἶ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κῆρες ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
 ἐξέσθην, Τρώων δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἄερθεν.>
 75 <αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ Ἴδης μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε, δαιόμενον δέ
 ἦκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν> οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
 <θάμβησαν>, καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ <χλωρόν δέος> εἶλεν.
 <<ἐνθ' <οὐτ' Ἰδομενεὺς τλῇ> μίμνειν οὐτ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
 οὔτε δὴ Αἴαντες μενέτην, θεράποντες Ἄρηος.>
 80 <Νέστωρ οἶος ἔμμενε> Γερήνιος, οὖρος Ἀχαιῶν,
 <οὐ τι ἐκῶν,> ἀλλ' ἵππος ἐτείρετο, <τὸν βάλεν ἰὼ
 δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἡὔκόμοιο,
 ἄκρην κακὴν κορυφῇν, <ὅθι τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων
 κranίωι ἐμπεφύασι, < μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.>>
 85 ἀλγήσας δ' ἀνέπαλτο, βέλος δ' εἰς ἐγκέφαλον δῦ,
 σὺν δ' ἵππους ἐτάραξε κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῶι.>
 <ὄφρ' ὁ γέρων ἵπποιο <παρηγορίας> ἀπέταμνε
 φασγάνωι αἰΐσων, τόφρ' Ἐκτορος ὠκέες ἵπποι

'whipped to drive; | and they not unwilling flew' 19: Zeus' confidence

Arrival (<17): character and thematic continuity in this *locus*

Divine altar / precinct 20: deity's power / freedom to act; involvement in the action

Stopping and unharnessing team (<17): thematic dependence on Zeus's presence on Ide

'he sat revelling in might' 21: Zeus' separation = temporary suppression of divine *stasis*

Battle preparations 22 (53–9): small, human agency downplayed, no divine participation, Trojans favoured

'great clamour arose' 23: reaction and compulsion (Trojan)

Even contest 24 (60–5): specific battle narrative to follow

'great clamour arose' 23: reaction and compulsion (Greek and Trojan)

'earth flowed with blood' 25: resumption of Zeus' control; another foreground theme to be resumed (cf. 91)

'while | so long' 26 (66–7): cf. next

'so long did weapons hit both sides, and the people fell' 26a | 27a: immediate operation / delayed success of the *Dios boule*; *'when | then'* 27 (68–9): turning point (cf. 66–7)

Scales of Zeus 28 (69–74): immediate imposition of his control

Thunder and lightning omens 29 (75–6): immediate (and appropriate) Greek reaction

'they were astonished' 30: modification of opinion; *'pale fear'* 31: helplessness (divine intervention required to halt)

Flight-phase 32 (78–216 [251]): Greek retreat, eventual resolution; *'did not | dare'* 33: natural reaction; *small-scale catalogue* 34 (79–80): generality (universality) of action

Exception (<33): heroic ability to be prominent

'in no way willing' 35: doubt over Nestor's prowess; *Arrow wounds from Paris* 36 (81–6): N.'s stranding to dominate continuation

Strike description (corporis locus) 37 (83–4): incapacitation and successful escape

'kairion' wound 38: failure of strike in its purpose

'while | so long as' 36 (87–90): doubt over N.'s fate; *'trace-horse'* 39: N.'s survival

- 90 ἦλθον ἀν' ἰωχμόν, θρασὺν ἡνίοχον φορέοντες
 Ἔκτορα.> <καὶ νῦ κεν ἔνθ' ὁ γέρων < ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσαν,>
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' < ὄξυν νόησε> βοῇν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,>
 <<σμερδαλέον> δ' ἐβόησεν ἐποτρύνων Ὀδυσῆα
 “ διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ,
 <πῇ φεύγεις μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν κακὸς ὥς ἐν ὁμίλῳ;>
 95 μὴ τίς τοι φεύγοντι <μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρυ πῆξι.>
 ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὄφρα γέροντος ἀπώσομεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα.”
 ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἐσάκουσε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
 ἀλλὰ παρήϊξεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.
 Τυδείδης δ' αὐτὸς περ ἔων <προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη,>
 100 <στή δέ πρόσθ'> ἵππων Νηληϊάδαο γέροντος
 καί μιν φωνήσας < ἔπεα πτερόντα προσηύδα·>
 “ὦ γέρον, ἦ μάλα δὴ σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί,
 σὴ δέ βίη λέλυται, <χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας ὀπάζει,>
 ἠπεδανὸς δέ νῦ τοι θεράπων, βραδέες δέ τοι ἵπποι.
 105 <ἀλλ' ἄγ' <ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσο,> < ὄφρα ἴδῃαι >
 οἶοι Τρώϊοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο
 κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκόμεν ἠδὲ φέβεσθαι,
 οὓς ποτ' ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην, <μήστωρε φόβοιο.>
 τούτω μὲν θεράποντε κομείτων, τῷδε δὲ νῶϊ
 110 Τρῳσὶν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοις ἰθύνομεν, <ὄφρα καὶ Ἔκτωρ
 εἴσεται,> ἥ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται ἐν παλάμῃσιν.”
 ὥς ἔφατ', <οὐδ' ἀπίθησε Γερῆνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ.>
 Νεστορέας μὲν ἔπειθ' ἵππους θεράποντε κομείτην
 ἴφθιμοι, Σθένελός τε καὶ Εὐρυμέδων ἀγαπήνωρ,
 115 τῷ δ' εἰς ἀμφοτέρω Διομήδεος ἄρματα βήτην.
 Νέστωρ δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι λάβ' ἡνία φωνικέοντα,
 <μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους> τάχα δ' Ἔκτορος ἄγχι γέγοντο.>
 <τοῦ δ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτος> < ἀκόντισε> Τυδέος υἱός,
 καὶ <<τοῦ μὲν ῥ' ἀφάμαρτεν,> ὃ δ' ἡνίοχον θεράποντα,
 120 υἱὸν ὑπερθύμου Θηβαίου Ἥνιοπῆα,
 ἵππων ἡνί' ἔχοντα < βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν.>>
 <ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων,> < ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι>
 <ὠκύποδες τοῦ δ' αὖθις λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε.>
 <Ἔκτορα δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας ἡνίοχοιο>
 125 <<τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' εἶασε,> καὶ <ἀχνύμενός περ> ἐταίρου,
 κείσθαι,> ὃ δ' ἡνίοχον μέθεπε θρασύν· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν
 ἵππῳ δευέσθην σημάντορος· αἴψα γὰρ ἤρπεν
 Ἴφιτιδην Ἀρχεπτόλεμον θρασύν, ὃν ῥα τόθ' ἵππων
 ὠκυπόδων ἐπέβησε, δίδου δέ οἱ ἡνία χερσίν.
 130 <ἐνθά κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γέγοντο,
 καὶ νῦ κε σήκασθην κατὰ Ἴλιον <ἤϊτε ἄρνες,>
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' <ὄξυν νόησε> πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·>
 <βροντήσας δ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἀφῆκ' ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν,

Contrafactual conditional 40 (91–2): resolves 26, focus on Diomedes' motivation (93–6) and success; 'lost his life' 41: Hektor's intent; 'keenly he noticed' 42: D.'s motivation and success
Battlefield assistance 43 (92–117): success against H.; 'smerdaleon' 44: aggression (response?)
 'where? / whither? (I)' 45: inappropriateness of situation / action, response required
 'in the back a spear he fixed' 46: defensive, associated with mass

'mixed with the front fighters' 47: return, link with prominence of first day
 'stood | before' 48: protective attitude, determined to enact
 'winged words spoke' 49: continuation of determination to intervene

'old age oppresses' 59: N.'s unsuitability, but qualifying participation

Reactivated chariot attack 51 (91–171): encounter with H. (110); 'mount my chariot' 52: response to unsuccessful arrow shot; 'so | you know' 9: conviction

'devisers of rout' 53: horses (heroic valour) to be prominent

'so | he knows' 9: D.'s conviction

'did not disobey' 54: action to eventuate according to D.'s conception

'whipped the horses' 19: D.'s confidence

'straight eager' 55: H. *vincendus*; 'he cast' 56: H. *non moriturus*

'he missed' 57 and 'he missed' (*charioteer*) 58 (119–21): coming focus on charioteer

'he struck the chest beside the nipple' 59: D. eventually impeded from attacking H.

'fell from the chariot' 60 and 'and the horses recoiled' 60a: chariot 'digression', D. less successful *post hoc*

'swift; and there his soul was left and his strength' 60b: reclaiming of chariot, H.'s counterattack

'dread grief closed H.'s mind' 61: counteraction to come

'left | to lie' 62 (125–6): H. loth to continue, body claimed; 'him he left' 63: H. *aitios* and continued advance; 'pained though he was' 64: H. reluctant but will counteract

Contrafactual conditional 40 (130–2): resolution of D.'s prominence and H.'s counteraction
Lamb similes 65: Trojan weakness (Greek strength)

'keenly he noticed' 42: Zeus' motivation and success

Thunder and lightning omens 29 (133–5): immediate and appropriate Greek reaction (retreat)

- 135 καὶ δὲ πρόσθ' ἵππων Διομήδεος <ἦκε χαμάζε>
 δεινὴ δὲ φλόξ ὦρτο θεοῖον καιομένοιο,>
 τῷ δ' ἵππῳ δείσαντε καταπτήτην ὑπ' ὄχεσφιν.
 <Νέστορα δ' ἐκ χειρῶν φύγον ἡνία φοινικόεντα,>
 <δείσε δ' ὃ γ' ἐν θυμῷ,> Διομήδεα δὲ προσέειπεν
 <“Τυδείδη, ἄγε δὴ αὐτε φόβονδ' ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους.>
 140 <ἦ οὐ γνώσκεις ὃ τοι «ἐκ Διὸς» οὐχ' ἔπετ' ἀλκή;>
 <νῦν μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς <κύδος ὀπάξει>
 σήμερον ὕστερον αὐτε καὶ ἡμῖν, <αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν,>
 δώσει.> ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὐ τι <Διὸς νόον> εἰρύσσαιτο
 οὐδὲ μάλ' ἵφθιμος, <ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν.>
 145 <<τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα> βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
 <“ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες,>
 <ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει>
 <Ἔκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων,
 ‘Τυδείδης ὑπ' ἐμεῖο φοβεόμενος ἵκετο νῆας.’
 150 ὥς ποτ' ἀπειλήσει· τότε μοι <χάνοι εὐρεία χθών.>»>
 <τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα> Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ
 <ὦ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος, οἶον ἔειπες.>
 εἴ περ γάρ σ' Ἔκτωρ γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φήσει,
 155 ἀλλ' οὐ πείσονται Τρῶες καὶ Δαρδανίῳνες
 καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστάων,
 τῶν ἐν κονίησι βάλες θαλεροῦς παρακοίτας.”
 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας <φύγαδ' ἔτραπε μώνυχας ἵππους>
 αὖτις ἀν' ἰωχμόν· ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶές τε καὶ Ἔκτωρ
 <ἡχῇ θεσπεσίῃ> βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο.
 160 <τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὔσε> μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ
 <“Τυδείδη, περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπωλοι
 ἔδρηι τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείους δεπάεσσιν>
 νῦν δέ σ' ἀτιμήσουσι <γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο.>
 <ἔρρε,> κακὴ γλήγη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἷξαντος ἐμεῖο
 165 πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσαιο, οὐδὲ γυναικας
 ἄξεις ἐν νήεσσι <πάρῳ τοι δαίμονα δώσω.>
 ὥς φάτο· Τυδείδης δὲ <διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
 ἵππους τε στρέφει καὶ ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι.>
 <τρίς μὲν μερμήριξε <κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,>
 170 τρίς δ' ἄρ' <ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων κτύπε μητίετα Ζεὺς>
 <σῆμα τιθεὶς Τρώεσσι,> <μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην.>
 Ἔκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν <ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας>
 “Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχῆταί,
 <ἄνδρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.>
 175 <γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρονίων
 νίκην καὶ μέγα κύδος, ἀτὰρ Δαναοῖσί γε πῆμα.>
 <νήπιοι,> οἳ ἄρα δὴ τάδε τείχεα μηχανόωντο
 ἀβλήχρ' οὐδενόσωρα· τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἄμὸν ἐρύξει·

'sent to the ground' 66: danger for D. and N.

Dropping reins 67: advance halted, intervention required to halt

'feared | in the thumos' 68: normal reaction

Suggestion of retreat 69: flight should occur

'do not?' 70: successful persuasion; 'no | alke' 71: persuasive appeal; 'from Zeus' 72: appeal authority

'today | another time' 73 (141–3): persuasive, future opportunity for D.'s valour; 'glory he grants' 74: Zeus' favour irresistible; 'if | he is willing' 75: future opportunity for D.'s valour

'mind of Zeus' 76: determinative power, about to be exhibited

'he is by far mightier' 77: suggestion of retreat should be followed

'to him then replied' 78: D.'s reluctance (perturbation); *reply* (<69) (145–50): D.'s reluctance to flee

'yes all this | you say according to moira' 79: reluctant agreement, to be played out

'but this dread grief on the heart and soul comes' 80: acquiescence, but deeply troubled

Putative third-person speech 81 (148–50): deeply troubled, personalized on H.

'may the earth | gape!' 82: refusal

'to him then replied' 78: disagreement

'what sort of thing you have said!' 83: decisive rebuttal

'turned to flight | the horses' 84: successful avoidance of Zeus' wrath

'with divine crash' 85: Trojan ascendancy

'at him greatly cried' 86: H.'s delusion

Hospitality reminder 87 (161–2): persuasive; relationship with Greeks (in the past)

Femininity reproach 88: utter denial of heroism

'begone!' 89: social inferiority of D.

'before' 90: ironically true, but not as H. thinks

'he pondered in twain' 91 (167–8): D. will decide on retreat

'thrice | thrice' 92 (169–70): *resolution* (<91); Z. dominant, D. in danger, H. undeserving;

'in phren and thumos' 93: D.'s aggressive desire in mortal moment; *Thunder / lightning of Zeus* 28: immediate (appropriate) reaction; '*sema*' *portent* 94: decisive support; '*of battle other-strength victory*' 95: decisive divine inclination

'he ordered greatly shouting' 96: effective (Trojans press home advantage); (delusion?)

'be men, friends, and mindful of furious strength' 97: personalized appeal (delusion?)

Claim of Zeus' favour 98 (175–6): correct, but direct instruction to support claim (177–83)?

'fools!' 99: H.'s delusion

- ἵπποι δὲ ρέα τάφρον ὑπερβορέονται ὀρυκτὴν.
 180 ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρήϊσι γένωμαι,
 μνημοσύνη τις ἔπειτα πυρὸς δηόιο γενέσθω,
 ὡς πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσω, κτείνω δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς
 Ἀργεῖους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ.”
 ὡς εἰπὼν <ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο> φώνησέν τε
 185 “Ξάνθέ τε καὶ σύ, Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπέ τε δίδε,
 <νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον, ἣν μάλα πολλὴν
 Ἀνδρομάχη θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος
 ὑμῖν παρ' προτέροισι μελίφρονα πυρὸν ἔθηκεν
 οἶνόν τ' ἐγκεράσασα πιεῖν, ὅτε <θυμὸς ἀνώγοι,>
 190 ἧ' ἐμοί, ὅς περ οἱ θαλερὸς πόσις <εὐχομαι εἶναι.>
 ἀλλ' ἐφαμαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον, αἶ' κε λάβωμεν
 ἀσπίδα Νεστορέην, τῆς νῦν <κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει>
 πᾶσαν χρυσεῖην ἔμμεναι, κανόνας τε καὶ αὐτήν,
 αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὁμοῖον Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο
 195 δαιδάλεον θώρηκα, <τὸν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων.>
 εἰ τούτω κε λάβωμεν, ἐελποίμην κεν Ἀχαιοὺς
 αὐτονουχεῖ νηῶν ἐπιβησέμεν ὠκείων.”
 <ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος> νεμέσθη δὲ πότνια Ἥρη,
 σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, <ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,>
 200 καὶ ῥα Ποσειδάωνα μέγαν θεὸν <ἀντίον ἠΐδα>
 “<ὦ πόποι,> Ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές, <οὐδέ νυ σοί περ
 ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν ὀλοφύρεται ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός;
 οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ' ἀνάγουσιν
 πολλὰ τε καὶ χαρίεντα> > σὺ δέ σφισι <βούλεο νίκην.>
 205 εἴ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν, ὅσοι Δαναοῖσιν ἄρωγοί,
 Τρῶας ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐρυκέμεν εὐρύοπα Ζῆν,
 αὐτοῦ κ' ἔνθ' ἀκάχοιτο καθήμενος οἶος ἐν Ἰδῇ.”
 <τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη> κρείων Ἐννοσίχθων
 “Ἥρη ἀπτοεσπές, <ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες;>
 210 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὶ Κρονίῳ μάχεσθαι
 ἡμέας τοὺς ἄλλους, <ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν.>
 <ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον>
 τῶν δ', ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος ἔεργεν,
 πληθὲν ὁμῶς ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀσπιστῶν
 215 εἰλομένων εἴλει δὲ <θοῶι ἀτάλαντος Ἀρηϊ>
 Ἐκτωρ Πριαμίδης, ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς <κῦδος ἔδωκεν.>
 <καὶ νῦ κ' ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέω νῆας ἔσας,
 εἰ μὴ <ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκ> Ἀγαμέμνονι πότνια Ἥρη
 αὐτῷ ποιπνύσαντι θοῶς ὀτρύναι Ἀχαιοὺς.>
 220 <βῆ δ' ἰέναι> παρὰ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
 <πορφύρεον> μέγα φᾶρος <ἔχων><ἐν χειρὶ παχείῃ,>
 στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακήτεϊ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
 ἧ ῥ' ἐν μεσσήτῳ ἔσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσιν,
 ἡμὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίας Τελαμωνιάδαο

'his horses he ordered' 100: rebuke, tendance of team (Andromakhe; cf. below)

Hospitality reminder 87: persuasive; relationship with Andromakhe

'thumos drives' 101: actuality of tendance

'I claim to be' 102: self-definition through Andr.

'to heaven goes' 103: proximate divine notice; *'glory to heaven goes'* 103a: concern with heroic status in epic

'he toiled in the making' 104: D.'s divine connections, H.'s delusion.

'so he spoke praying' 105: delusion, divine reaction

'Olympos was shaken' 106: divine *stasis*, Here's coming failure

'straight at spoke' 107: troubled, determination eventually unsuccessful

'O dear' 108: Here's attempt, divine *stasis*, eventually defeated; *divine reminiscence of mortal tendance* 109 (201–4): Poseidon unable to fulfil reciprocities (bad persuasion)

'you wished victory' 110: not a persuasive device, doomed to fail

'at her greatly angered he spoke' 111: Poseidon's central concern, inappropriate context

'what sort of word did you speak' 112: Here in serious cosmic error

'he is by far mightier' 77: suggestion should be followed

'thus they spoke such to one another' 113: end of H.'s dominance, Here to be involved

Ares simile 114: H. undermined

'glory | he gave' 115: in the process of being undermined

Contrafactual conditional 40 (217–19): resolution of Trojan dominance

'in his phrenes placed' 116: divine interlude above enacted successfully, but loss coming

'went to go' 117: short term achievement

'purple' 118: dangerous situation; *'holding'* 119: addressing situation; *'in broad hand'* 120: failure

- 225 ἦδ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, τοί ῥ' ἔσχατα νῆας εἵσας
 εἵρυσαν, ἡγορέηι πίσυνοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν·
 < ἦϋσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον Δαναοῖσι γεγωνῶς >
 “ <αἰδώς,> Ἀργεῖοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, < εἶδος ἀγητοί.>
 <πῆι> ἔβαν εὐχωλαί, ὅτε δὴ φάμεν εἶναι ἄριστοι,
 230 αἷς ὁπότ' ἐν Λήμνῳ κενεαυχέες ἡγοράσθαι,
 <ἔσθοντες κρέα πολλὰ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων,
 πίνοντες κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφέας οἶνοιο,>
 Τρώων ἄνθ' ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίῳ τε ἕκαστος
 στήσεσθ' ἐν πολέμῳ; νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἐνὸς ἄξιόι εἶμεν
 235 Ἑκτορος, ὃς τάχα νῆας ἐνιπρήσει πυρὶ κηλέωι.
 <Ζεὺ πάτερ, ἦ ρά τιν' ἤδη ὑπερμενέων βασιλῆων
 τῆιδ' ἄττι ἄσας καὶ μιν μέγα κύδος ἀπηύρας;
 οὐ μὲν δὴ ποτέ φημι τεὸν περικαλλέα βωμόν
 νηῖ πολυκλήϊδι παρελθέμεν ἐνθάδε ἔρρων,
 240 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι βοῶν δημόν καὶ μηρὶ ἔκκα,
 ἰέμενος Τροίην εὐτείχεον ἐξαλαπάξαι.>
 <ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, < τόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήνην ἐέλδωρ>
 αὐτοὺς δὴ περ ἔασον ὑπεκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι,
 μηδ' οὕτω Τρώεσσιν ἔα δάμνασθαι Ἀχαιοὺς.”>
 245 <ὥς φάτο, τὸν δὲ πατὴρ ὀλοφύρατο δάκρυ χέοντα,
 νεῦσε δέ οἱ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι οὐδ' ἀπολέσθαι.>
 <αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε, τελειότατον πετεηνῶν,
 νεβρόν ἔχοντ' ὀνύχεσσι, τέκος ἐλάφιοι ταχείης·
 παρ δὲ Διὸς βωμῶν περικαλλεῖ κάββαλε νεβρόν,
 250 εἶνθα πανομφαίῳ Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί.>
 οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν εἶδονθ' ὃ τ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἦλυθεν ὄρνις,>
 « <μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης.>
 εἶνθ' <οὐ τις πρότερος> Δαναῶν, πολλῶν περ ἐόντων,
 255 ἠϋξато Τυδείδαο πάρος σχέμεν ὠκέας ἵππους
 τάφρον τ' ἐξελάσαι καὶ ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι,
 ἀλλὰ <πολὺ πρῶτος><Τρώων ἔλεν ἄνδρα κορυστήν,>
 Φραδμονίδην Ἀγέλαον. ὃ μὲν < φύγαδ' ἔτραπεν ἵππους,>
 τῷ δὲ μεταστρεφθέντι <μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρῳ πῆξεν>
 <ὥμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασεν>
 260 <ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων,> <ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.>
 <τὸν δὲ μέτ' Ἀτρεΐδαι, Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος,
 τοῖσι δ' ἔπ' Αἴαντες, θοῦριν ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκὴν,
 τοῖσι δ' ἔπ' Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ ὅπῳ Ἰδομενῆος
 Μηριόνης,><ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρεφόντῃ,>
 265 τοῖσι δ' ἔπ' Εὐρύπυλος, Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός>
 <Τεύκρος δ' <ἔϊνατος> ἦλθε, παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνων,
 <σὴ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος σάκεϊ Τελαμωνιάδαο.
 εἶνθ' Αἴας μὲν ὑπεξέφερεν σάκος, αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἥρωας
 <παπτήνας,> ἐπεὶ ἄρ' τιν' οἰστεύσας ἐν δμίλῳ

'he shouted piercingly | yelling' 121: Agamemnon central, successful
 'shame!' 122: successful transition to offensive; 'in beauty marvellous' 123: negative quality
 in context
 'where? / whither? (II)' 124: Greek reaction

Hospitality reminder 87 (231–2): Greek obligation to Ag.

'Zeus father' 125 (236–41): frustration; limitation of understanding

Prayer 126 (242–4): successful (if traditional); 'fulfil for me this wish' 127: vital *carmini toti*

Response (<126): immediate Greek counteraction

Bird omen 128 (247–50): immediate Greek reaction; favour from (and link with) Zeus

Resolution of flight-phase (<32 [78–216 (251)])

Flight-phase 32 (252–319 [335]): Trojan retreat, wait for resolution; 'more did they leap |
 and remember their battle-lust' 129: link with 128; 'no one | before' 130: great importance
 for D.

'far the first' 131: D. to disappear; 'he killed a helmed man' 132: subversion of *aristeia*

'turned to flight | horses' 84: retreat Zeus' will

'in the back a spear he fixed' 46: Trojans on defensive

'between the shoulders, and through the chest he drove' 46a: D.'s last victim

'fell from the chariot' 60: continued Greek success, D. retreat; 'clattered armour on him'
 133: claiming of armour > D.'s eclipse; *small-scale catalogue* 34 (261–5): generality
 (universality) of action

Ares simile 114: Meriones unimportant here

'ninth' 134: ambiguity of efficacy

Archer fighting with warrior(s) 135 (266–72): archer alone insufficient

'looking about' 136: defensive attitude

- 270 βεβλήκοι, ὃ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν <ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσεν,>
αὐτὰρ ὃ αὖτις ἰὼν <παῖς ὥς ὑπὸ μητέρα δύσκειν>
εἰς Αἴανθ', ὃ δέ μιν σάκεϊ κρύπτασκε φαιινῶι.>
<<ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον Τρώων ἔλε Τεύκρος ἀμύμων;>
'Ορσίλοχον μὲν πρῶτα καὶ 'Ορμενον ἦδ' 'Οφελέστην
275 Δαίτορά τε Χρομίον τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Λυκοφόντην
καὶ Πολυαιμονίδην Ἀμοπάονα καὶ Μελάνιππον.>
πάντας ἐπασσυτέρους πέλασε χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.
<τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν γήθησεν> ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
τόξον ἀπο κρατεροῦ Τρώων ὀλέκοντα φάλαγγας,
280 <στή δὲ παρ> αὐτὸν ἰὼν καὶ μιν <πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν>
"Τεῦκρε, φίλῃ κεφαλῇ, Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
βάλλ' οὕτως, <αἷ κέν τι φῶς Δαναοῖσι γένηαι>
πατρὶ τε σώῃ Τελαμώνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε <τυτθὸν ἐόντα>
καὶ σε <νόθον> περ ἐόντα κομίσσατο ὦι ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
285 τὸν καὶ τηλόθ' ἐόντα ἐκκλείης ἐπίβησον.
<σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐξερῶ, ὥς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται>
<αἷ κέν μοι δώῃ Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀθήνη
'Ιλίου ἐξαλαπάξαι ἐϋκτίμενον ποτλίεθρον,
πρῶτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ πρεσβῆϊον ἐν χερὶ θήσω,
290 ἢ τρίποδ' ἢ ἐδύω ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν
ἢ ἐγυναίχ', ἢ κέν τοι ὁμόν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνοι.">
<τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε> Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων
"Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, τί με σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτόν
ὀτρύνεις; οὐ μὲν τοι, <ᾧ δὴ δύναμὶς γε πάρεσιν,>
295 παύομαι, <ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ προτὶ 'Ιλιον ὠσάμεθ' αὐτούς,
ἐκ τοῦ δὴ τόξοισι δεδεγμένος ἄνδρας ἐναίρω.>
ὀκτῶ δὴ προέηκα τανυγλῶχνας οἰστούς,
πάντες δ' ἐν χροῖ πῆχθεν ἀρηϊθῶων αἰζιῶν
τοῦτον δ' οὐ δύναμαι βαλέειν κύνα λυσσητήρα."
300 ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἄλλον οἶστον ἀπὸ νευρήφιν ἴαλλεν
Ἑκτορος ἀντικρὺ, βαλέειν δέ ἐ' ἔετο θυμός·
<καὶ τοῦ μὲν ῥ' ἀφάμαρθ',> ὃ δ' ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα
υἷον ἐὺν Πριάμοιο <κατὰ στήθος βάλεν> ἰῶι,>
τόν ῥ' ἐξ Αἰσὺμήθην ὀπνιομένη τέκε μήτηρ
305 καλὴ Καστιάνειρα <δέμας εἰκυῖα θεήισιν>
<μήκων δ' ὥς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἢ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ
καρπῶι βριθομένη νοτίησί τε εἰαρινήισιν
ὥς ἐτέρωσ' ἤμυσσε κάρη πῆληκι βαρυνθέν.>
Τεῦκρος δ' ἄλλον οἶστον ἀπὸ νευρήφιν ἴαλλεν
310 Ἑκτορος ἀντικρὺ, βαλέειν δέ ἐ' ἔετο θυμός·
<ἀλλ' ὃ γε καὶ τόθ' <ἄμαρτε,> <παρέσφηλεν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων,>
ἀλλ' Ἀρχεπτόλεμον, θρασὺν Ἑκτορος ἠνιοχῆα,
ἰέμενον πόλεμόνδε <βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν.>
<ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων,> <ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι>

'lost his life' 41: Teukros' intent

Child simile 137: unwarlike

Victim catalogue 138 (273–6): opposition to principal; 'whom first | did he slay?' 138a: exchange between opposing characters (and exhortations)

'seeing | he rejoiced' 140: confirming T.'s action, very important to Ag. (surprise <138 & 138a)

'stood | by' 141: support, successful proposal; 'to him spoke a word' 142: perturbed persuasion (rebuke?)

'to become a light to the Greeks' 143: desperation (harm to T.)

'when a little child' 144: obligation to be respected

Bastards 145: inappropriate source of exhortation

'I will speak | it will be completed' 146: Ag.'s power and self-confidence

Promise of reward 147 (287–91): inappropriate source of exhortation

'to him in reply spoke' 148: dissatisfaction with addressee

'power is present' 149: awareness of weakness, yet determined

'from when | from then' 150 (295–6): attempt on H.

'he missed' 57: focus on victim?

'he struck along the chest' 151: undetermined outcome

Goddess simile 152: disrupted marriage/maternal relationship

Flower simile 153 (306–8): inevitable faceless mortality; *Spring simile* 154 (306–8): contrasted vitality

'he missed' 57 and 'he missed' (*charioteer*) 58 (311–12): coming focus on charioteer; *Divine protection* 155: H. safe, element in the *Dios boule*

'he struck the chest beside the nipple' 59: T. eventually impeded from attacking H.

'fell from the chariot' 60 and 'and the horses recoiled' 60a: chariot 'digression', T. to be less successful *post hoc*

- 315 <ὠκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αὖθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε.>
 <Ἔκτορα δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας ἡνιόχοιο·>
 <τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' εἶασε,> καὶ <ἀχνύμενός περ> ἐταίρου,
 Κεβριόνην δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀδελφεὸν ἐγγυὺς ἐόντα
 ἵππων ἡνί' ἐλεῖν· ὃ δ' ἄρ' <οὐκ ἀπίθησεν> ἀκούσας.
- 320 αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ δίφρου χαμαὶ θόρε παμφανώνωντος
 <<σμερδαλέα ἰάχων· ὃ δε χερμάδιον λάβε χειρί,>
 βῆ δ' ἰθὺς Τεύκρου, βαλέειν δέ ἐ <θυμὸς ἀνώγει.>
 ἦτοι ὃ μὲν φαρέτρης ἐξείλετο πικρὸν οἶστόν,
 θῆκε δ' ἐπὶ νευρή· τὸν δ' αὖ κορυθαῖολος Ἔκτωρ
- 325 αὐερόντα παρ' ὤμον, <ὄθι κληῖς ἀποέργει
 αὐχένα τε στῆθός τε, < μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν,>>
 τῇ ῥ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτα βάλεν λίθωι ὀκρίοντι,
 ῥῆξε δέ οἱ νευρήν· νάρκησε δὲ χεὶρ ἐπὶ καρπῶι,>
 <στῇ δὲ γυνὴ ἐριπών,> <τόξον δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός.>
- 330 <Αἴας δ' <οὐκ ἀμέλῃσεν> κασιγνήτιο πεσόντος,
 ἀλλὰ θεῶν περίβη καὶ οἱ σάκος ἀμφεκάλυψεν.
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειθ' ὑποδύντε δύω ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι,
 Μηκιστεὺς Ἐχίοιο παῖς καὶ δῖος Ἀλάστωρ,
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυρὰς φερέτην <βαρέα στενάχοντα.>>
- 335 <ἄψ δ' αὖτις Τρώεσσις Ὀλύμπιος ἐν μένος ὥρσεν·
 οἱ δ' ἰθὺς τάφρου βαθείης ὥσαν Ἀχαιοὺς.
 Ἔκτωρ δ' ἐν πρώτοισι κίε <σθένει βλεμεαίνων>
 <ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε κύων σὺς ἀγρίου ἢ λέοντος
 ἄπτηται κατόπισθε, ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκων,
- 340 ἰσχία τε γλουτοὺς τε, ἐλισσόμενόν τε δοκεῖν,>
 ὥς Ἔκτωρ ὥπαζε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς,
 <αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων> τὸν ὀπίστατον· οἱ δ' ἐφέβοντο.
 <αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ διὰ τε σκόλοπας καὶ τάφρον ἔβησαν
 φεύγοντες, <πολλοὶ δὲ δάμεν> Τρώων ὑπὸ χερσίν,
- 345 οἱ μὲν δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶν <ἐρητύοντο μένοντες,>>
 ἀλλήλοισί τε κεκλόμενοι καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν
 χεῖρας ἀνίσχοντες μεγάλ' ἠϋχετόωντο ἕκαστος.
 Ἔκτωρ δ' ἀμφιπεριστρώφα καλλίτριχας ἵππους,
 <Γοργοὺς ὄμματ' ἔχων ἢ βροτολόγιου Ἄρης.>
- 350 <τοὺς δὲ ἰδοῦσ' ἐλέγησεν> θεὰ λευκώλεωνος Ἥρη,
 αἶψα δ' Ἀθηναίην <ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα>
 “<ὦ πόποι,> αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, οὐκέτι νῶϊ
 ὀλλυμένω Δαναῶν κεκαδησόμεθ' ὑστάτιόν περ,
 <οἱ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὀλωνται>
 ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ῥιπῆς; ὃ δὲ μαίνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς
- 355 Ἔκτωρ Πριαμίδης, καὶ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ ἔοργεν.”
 <τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε> θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
 “καὶ λίην οὐτός γε μένος <θυμόν τ' ὀλέσειεν,>
 χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων φθίμενος <ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ>

'swift: and there his soul was left and his strength' 60b: reclaiming of chariot, counterattack from H.

'dread grief closed H.'s mind' 61: counteraction to come

'him he left' 63: H. *aitios*; 'pained though he was' 64: H. reluctant but will counteract

'did not disobey' 54: success envisaged

'smerdalea shouting' 156: response required; 'and he took a stone in hand' 156a: inconclusive combat ends in rescue; *stone weapon* 157 (321–8): H. is victor; 'thumos drives' 101: actuality of strike

Strike description (*corporis locus*) 37 (325–6): incapacitation and successful escape

'kairion' wound 38: failure of strike in its purpose

'stood leaning on knee' 158: T.'s safety; 'and there fell from him' 159: end of T.'s *aristeia*

Rescue 160 (330–4): Greeks on defensive, successful rescue; 'he did not | fail to care' 161: (successful?) intervention

'heavily groaning' 162 T.'s helplessness; long-term removal

Flight-phase 32 (335–49): Trojan advance, look for resolution

'in strength raging' 163: imprudent

Dog simile 164 (338–40): H.'s weakness

'always killing' 165: divine intervention to come

Rallying point (<32) (343–5): resolution of flight-phase (252–319)

'many | were slain' 166: divine intervention to come

'kept back staying' 167: divine intervention to come

Ares simile 114: H. undermined

'seeing | she pitied' 168: divine intervention (<earlier dissatisfaction)

'winged words spoke' 49: persuasive attempt on Athene

'O dear' 108: Here's attempt, divine *stasis*, eventually defeated

'who are perishing completing evil destruction' 14: Here's coming act of rebellion

'at her in turn spoke' 169: alignment proposition

'lost his life' 41: Ath.'s intent

'in his paternal land' 170: Ath.'s intent, H. doomed

- 360 ἀλλὰ πατὴρ οὐμὸς φρεσὶ μαίνεται οὐκ ἀγαθήσιν,
 <σχέτλιος,> αἰὲν ἀλιτρός, ἐμὼν μενέων ἀπερωεύς,
 «οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται,> ὃ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις υἱὸν
 τειρόμενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυσθήος ἀέθλων.
 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν κλαίεσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς
 365 τῷ ἐπαλεξήσουσαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προάλλεν.
 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τάδε εἶδε ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν
 εὐτέ μιν εἰς Αἴδαο πυλάρταο προύπεμψεν
 ἐξ Ἑρέβεος ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Αἴδαο,
 οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ρέεθρα.>
 370 νῦν δ' ἐμὲ μὲν στυγεί, Θέτιδος δ' ἐξήνυσε βουλάς,
 ἣ οἱ γούνατ' ἔκυσσε καὶ ἔλλαβε χειρὶ γενείου,
 λισσομένη τιμήσαι Ἀχιλλῆα ποτλίπορθον.
 <ἔσται μάν, ὅτ' ἂν> αὐτε φίλῃν Γλαυκῶπιδα εἶπη.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν νῶϊν ἐπέντυε μώνυχας ἵππους,
 375 ὅφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ καταδύσα Διὸς δόμον αἰγιόχοιο
 τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήξομαι, <ὄφρα ἰδῶμαι>
 εἰ νῶϊ Πριάμοιο πᾶϊς κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ
 γηθήσει προφανέντε ἀνὰ <πτολέμοιο γεφύρας,>
 <ἦ τις καὶ <Τρώων κορέει κύνας ἦδ' οἰωνούς
 380 δημῶι καὶ σάρκεσσι, πεσὼν ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.">
 ὥς ἔφατ', <οὐδ' ἀπίθησε> θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.
 <ἦ μὲν ἐποικομένη χρυσάμπυκας ἔντυεν ἵππους
 Ἥρη πρέσβα θεά, θυγάτηρ μέγαλοιο Κρόνιοιο,
 <αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη κύρῃ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
 385 πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑάνον πατρός ἐπ' οὐδὲ
 ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτῇ ποιήσατο καὶ <κάμα χερσίν,>
 ἦ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνδύσα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο
 τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα.
 ἐς δ' ὅχρα φλόγεα ποσὶ βήσето, <λάζετο δ' ἔγχος>
 390 βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν, τῷ δάμνησι στίχας ἀνδρῶν
 ἡρώων, τοῖσιν τε κοτέσσεται Ὀβριμοπάτρη.>
 Ἥρη δὲ μάλιστα θυῶς ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρ' ἵππους
 αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὠραι,
 τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπός τε,
 395 ἡμὲν ἀνακλίνει πικινὸν νέφος ἦδ' ἐπιθεῖναι
 τῇ ῥα δι' αὐτῶν κεντρηκεῖας ἔχον ἵππους.>
 <Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Ἴδῃθεν ἐπεὶ ἶδε, <χῶσατ' ἄρ' αἰνῶς,>
 <Ἴριν δ' ὥτρυνε χρυσοπτερον ἄγγελέουσιν
 “<βάσκ' ἴθι,> Ἴρι ταχεῖα, πάλιν τρέπε μῆδ' ἔα ἄντην
 400 ἔρχεσθ' οὐ γὰρ καλὰ συνοισόμεθα πτόλεμόνδε.
 <ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται>
 <γνιώσω μὲν σφωῖν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους,
 αὐτὰς δ' ἐκ δίφρου βαλέω κατὰ θ' ἄρματα ἄξω
 οὐδέ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἑνιαυτοῦς
 405 ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσῃσιν, ἃ κεν μάρπτησι κεραυνός

‘wretched’ 171: Ath. indignant that Zeus is unreasonable

Herakles stories 172 (362–9): *stasis* and Here’s hostility; ‘does not | remember’ 173: Ath.’s belief in Zeus’ concession

‘there will be | when’ 174: Ath. dissatisfied, determined to act

‘so | I may know’ 9: Ath.’s conviction

‘causeways of war’ 175: Ath.’s intent

Prospective mutilation by animals 176 (379–80): mistaken; ‘he will glut the dogs and birds of Troy’ 176a: mistaken

‘did not disobey’ 54: action to eventuate as Ath. thinks

Chariot journey 17 (382–96 || 432–5): success of journey, character’s intention; *harnessing* (<17): lack of isolation; *Personal preparation* 177 (384–91): focus on Ath.’s martial nature; relationship and conflict with Zeus

‘toiled in the making’ 104: Ath.’s relationship and reliance on Zeus

‘she seized the spear’ 178: Ath. will use it (conflict with Zeus?); transfer of emphasis to Here

Interruption (<17) (397–431): success qualified; ‘he was terribly wroth’ 179: personal failure, counteraction

Iris’ missions 180 (398–425): Zeus’ authority, always successful

‘up, go!’ 181: successful mission (and Relay instruction)

‘I will speak | it will be completed’ 146: Zeus’ power and self-confidence

Relay instruction 182 (402–8 ~ 416–22): Zeus’ will

- <ὄφρ' εὔδη> Γλαυκῶπις, ὅτ' ἂν ὦι πατρὶ μάχῃται.
 Ἥρῃ δ' <οὐ τι τόσον νεμεσίζομαι οὐδὲ χολοῦμαι
 αἰεὶ γάρ μοι ἔωθεν ἐνικλᾶν, ὅττι νοήσω.>»
 ὡς ἔφατ', ὥρτο δὲ Ἴρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελέουσα,
 βῆ δ' ἐξ Ἰδαίων ὁρέων ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον.
 410 πρῶτησιν δὲ πύλησι πολυπτύχου Οὐλύμπιοιο
 ἀντομένη κατέρυκε, Διὸς δέ σφ' ἔννεπε μῦθον
 “<<πῆι> μέματον; τί σφῶϊν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ;
 οὐκ ἑάαι Κρονίδης ἐπαμυνόμεν Ἀργείοισιν.
 415 ὦδε γάρ ἠπείλησε Κρόνου πάϊς, ἦι τελέει περ>
 <γνιώσειν μὲν σφῶϊν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους,
 αὐτὰς δ' ἐκ δίφρου βαλέειν κατὰ θ' ἄρματα ἄξειν
 οὐδὲ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτούς
 ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον, ἃ κεν μάρπτησι κεραυνός
 420 <ὄφρ' εὔδης>, Γλαυκῶπι, ὅτ' ἂν σῶι πατρὶ μάχῃται.
 Ἥρῃ δ' <οὐ τι τόσον νεμεσίζεται οὐδὲ χολοῦται
 αἰεὶ γάρ οἱ ἔωθεν ἐνικλᾶν, ὅττι νοήσῃ.>»
 <ἀλλὰ σὺ αἰνοτάτη, <κύον ἀδδεές,> <εἰ ἐτεόν γε>
 425 τολήσεις Διὸς ἅντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀείραι.>”
 ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς εἰποῦς' ἀπέβη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·
 αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρῃ <πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν>
 “<ὦ πόποι,> αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ γε
 νῶϊ ἐὼ Διὸς ἅντα <βροτῶν ἔνεκα> πτολεμίζειν.
 τῶν ἄλλος μὲν ἀποφθίσσῃ, ἄλλος δὲ βιώτῳ,
 430 ὅς κε τύχηι. κείνος δὲ τὰ ἅ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 Τρωσὶ τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι δικάζέτω, <ὡς ἐπιεικές.>”
 <ὡς ἄρα φωνήσασα <πάλιν τρέπε μώνυχας ἵππους>
 <τήισιν δ' ὦραι μὲν λῦσαν καλλίτριχας ἵππους,
 435 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐπ' ἀμβροσίῃσι κάπησιν,
 ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα>»
 αὐταὶ δὲ χρυσέοισιν ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον
 μίγδ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι, <φίλον τετιημέναι ἦτορ.>
 <Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Ἰδῆθεν ἐϋτροχον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους
 Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἐδίωκε, θεῶν δ' ἐξίκετο θῶκους.>
 440 <τῷ δὲ καὶ ἵππους μὲν λῦσε κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,
 ἄρματα δ' ἅμ βωμοῖσι τίθει, κατὰ λίτα πετάσσας.>
 <αὐτὸς δὲ χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
 ἔζετο, τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ <μέγας πελεμίζειτ' Ὀλυμπος.>
 445 αἱ δ' οἶαι Διὸς ἄμφις Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ
 ἦσθην, <οὐδὲ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο.>
 αὐτὰρ ὁ <ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ> φώνησέν τε
 “<τίφθ' οὐτῷ> τετίησθον, Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ;
 οὐ μὲν θην κάμετόν γε μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
 ὀλλύσαι Τρώας, τοῖσιν κότον αἰνὸν ἔθεσθε.
 450 πάντως, οἷον ἐμόν γε μένος καὶ <χεῖρες ἄαπτοι,>
 οὐκ ἂν με τρέψειαν, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς ἔν' Ὀλύμπωι.

‘so | *she knows*’ 9: Zeus’ determination and confidence
 ‘not so much | *as much*’ 183 (407–8): emphasis on Ath. (understood)

Alteration (<182) (413–15): Iris’ attitude; ‘*where?* / *whither?* (*I*)’ 45: inappropriateness of action, response required

Relay (<182) (416–22): parameters of Zeus’ original instruction

‘so | *you know*’ 9: Zeus’ determination and confidence
 ‘not so much | *as much*’ 183 (421–2): emphasis on Ath.

Addition (<182) (423–4): Iris’ attitude (Ath. far from Zeus); ‘*shameless dog!*’ 184: inappropriateness, Iris taking Zeus’ perspective; ‘*if truly*’ 185: Ath.’s action is insurrection

‘*to him spoke a word*’ 142: perturbed persuasion (rebuke?)
 ‘*O dear*’ 108: Here’s surprise, disjunction with previous attitude
 ‘*for mortals’ sake*’ 186: persuasive detachment

‘*as is fitting*’ 187: incontestable, context of disagreement

Return (<17) (432–5): coming participation; ‘*turned to flight* | *horses*’ 84: retreat acknowledges Zeus’ will

Tendence of team (<17) (433–5): Here and Ath.’s connection with Horai (and other gods); journey’s failure

‘*sorrowing in the heart*’ 188: powerless; *return* (<18) (41–437)

Return (<17) (438–41): coming participation

Tendence of team (<17) (440–1): Zeus’ connection with Poseidon (cf. 208–11)

Assembly 3 (442–84): summoner’s authority, speech to dominate pattern

‘*Olympos was shaken*’ 106: divine *stasis*, Zeus’ power

‘*they did [not] ask*’ 189: uneasy reception

‘*he knew in his phrenes*’ 190: crucial moment (and statement of determination) in the *Dios boule*

‘*why thus?*’ 191: rebuke, deflective response to come

‘*unbeatable hands*’ 192: Zeus in the ascendant

- <σφῶϊν δὲ πρίν περ <τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαίδιμα γυνία,>
 πρίν πόλεμόν τε ἰδεῖν πολέμοιό τε μέρμερα ἔργα.>
 <ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δέ κεν τετελεσμένον ἦεν>
 455 οὐκ ἂν ἐφ' ὑμετέρων ὀχέων πληγέντε κεραυνῶι
 ἄψ ἔς Ὀλυμπον ἵκεσθον, ἵν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστίν."
 ὡς ἔφαθ'· αἶ δ' ἐπέμυξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη.
 πλησίαι αἶ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην.
 ἦτοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν οὐδέ τι εἶπεν,
 460 σκυζομένη Διὶ πατρί, <χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἦρει>
 Ἥρῃ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στήθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ προσηύδα·
 "αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, <ποῖον τὸν μῦθον εἶπες;>
 <εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν> ὅ τοι σθένος <οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν>
 ἀλλ' ἔμπηξ Δαναῶν ὀλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμητῶν,
 465 <οἱ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται.>
 ἀλλ' ἦτοι πολέμου μὲν ἀφεξόμεθ', εἰ σὺ κελεύεις,
 βουλήν δ' Ἀργείοις ὑποθησόμεθ', ἣ τις ὀνήσει,
 ὡς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο τεοῖο."
 <τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη> νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·
 470 <"ἦοὺς δὴ καὶ μάλλον ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα
 <ᾔψαι,> <αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα,> βοῶπι πότνια Ἥρη,
 ὀλλύντ' Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατὸν αἰχμητῶν.>
 οὐ γὰρ <πρίν πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται ὄβριμος Ἑκτωρ,
 πρίν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα>
 475 <ἥματι τωι, ὄτ'> ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρύμνησι μάχωνται
 στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος·
 ὡς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι. σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ <οὐκ ἀλεγίζω>
 χωομένης, <οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι
 γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἵν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε
 480 ἦμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῆς Ὑπερίονος Ἥελίοιο
 τέρποντ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς>
 οὐδ' ἦν ἔνθ' ἀφίκηαι ἁλωμένη, <οὔ σε ἐγὼ γε
 σκυζομένης ἀλέγω,> ἐπεὶ <οὐ σέο κύντερον ἄλλο.">
 ὡς φάτο· <τόν δ' οὔ τι προσέφη> λευκώλενος Ἥρη.>
 485 <ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὠκεανῶι λαμπρὸν φάος ἡέλιοιο,
 ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.
 Τρωσὶν μὲν ῥ' ἀέκουσιν ἔδν φάος, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοῖς
 ἀσπασίη τρίλιστος ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβενή.>
 <<Τρώων αὐτ' ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ,
 490 <νόσφι νεῶν ἀγαγών, ποταμῶι ἔπι δινηντι,
 ἐν καθαρῶι, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χώρος.>>
 <ἐξ ἵππων δ' ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ χθόνα μῦθον ἄκουον,>
 <τόν ῥ' Ἑκτωρ ἀγόρευε δίφιλος> <ἐν δ' ἄρα χειρὶ
 ἔγχος ἔχ' ἐνδεκάπηχυν· πάροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρός
 495 αἰχμὴ χαλκείη, περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θέε πόρκης>
 τῶι δ' γ' ἐρείσάμενος ἔπεα Τρώεσσι μετήνδα·

'not before | before' 193 (452–3): Zeus' control over the narrative; 'trembling seized the limbs' 194: Here to counteract (threat ramifications not permanent?)
 'I will speak | it will be completed' 146: Zeus' power and self-confidence

'savage wrath seized her' 195: Ath.'s anger at Zeus, end of her resistance

'what sort of word did you speak?' 112: Here in serious cosmic error
 'well | we know' 12: qualification; 'not to be borne' 13: qualification

'who are perishing completing evil destruction' 14: Here's continuing rebellion

'to her in reply spoke' 148: dissatisfaction with addressee
 Third-person self-reference 10 (470–2): tested authority
 'you will see' 196: Zeus' power, it will happen; 'if | you are willing' 75: Here will be forced to see

'not before | before' 193 (473–4): Zeus' control over the narrative

'on that day, when' 197: certainty of prediction

'I do not care' 198: Zeus failing to be properly careful
 Wrathful withdrawal 18 (478–81): putative detriment to Here and the Olympian community; Zeus unwise

'I do not | care' 198 (482–3): Zeus not sufficiently careful;
 'no | other | more' 199: speaker and object's detriment
 'to him not at all spoke' 200: Here unable to concede, continued trouble
 Nightfall 201 (485–8): coming nocturnal episode

Assembly 2 (489–542): next day's attitude; summoner (<2) (489–91): H. to dominate
 Place (<2) (490–1): unusual place for Trojan assembly

Gathering (<2): unusual circumstance for Trojan assembly
 First speaker (<2): H.'s authority, to dominate pattern; description (<2) (493–5): H.'s martial feeling to dominate

- <“**κέκλυτέ μοι**,> Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἡδ’ ἐπίκουροι.
 νῦν <**ἐφάμην**> νῆάς τ’ ὀλέσας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς
 ἄψ’ ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡγεμόεσσαν.
 500 ἀλλὰ πρὶν κνέφας ἦλθε, τὸ νῦν ἐσάωσε μάλιστα
 Ἀργεῖους καὶ νῆας ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.
 <ἀλλ’ ἦτοι νῦν μὲν <**πειθόμεθα** νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ>
 δόρπα τ’ ἐφοπλισόμεσθα· ἀτὰρ καλλίτριχας ἵππους
 λύσαθ’ ὕπεξ ὀχέων, παρὰ δέ σφισι βάλλετ’ ἐδωδὴν·
 505 ἐκ πόλιος δ’ ἄξεσθε βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα
 καρπαλίμως, οἶνον δὲ μελίφρονα οἰνίζεσθε
 σίτον τ’ ἐκ μεγάρων, ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ λέγεσθε,
 ὥς κεν <**παννύχιοι**> μέσφ’ ἡοῦς ἡριγενεῖης
 καίωμεν πυρὰ πολλά, <**σέλας δ’ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκηι**,>
 510 μὴ πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα κάρη κομώντες Ἀχαιοὶ
 φεύγειν ὀρμήσωνται <**ἐπ’ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης**.>
 <**μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδεῖ γε**> νεῶν ἐπιβαῖεν ἔκηλοι,
 ἀλλ’ ὥς τις τούτων γε βέλος καὶ οἴκοθι πέσσει,
 βλήμενος ἢ ἰῶι ἢ ἔγχρ’ ὀξυόεντι
 515 νηὸς ἐπιθρώσκων, ἵνα τις στυγέησι καὶ ἄλλος
 Τρῳσὶν ἔφ’ ἱπποδάμοισι φέρειν πολύδακρυν ἄρῃα.
 κήρυκες δ’ ἀνὰ ἄστυ διίφιλοι ἀγγελλόντων
 παῖδας πρωθήβας πολιοκροτάφους τε γέροντας
 λέξασθαι περὶ ἄστυ θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργων·
 520 θηλύτεραι δὲ γυναῖκες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐκάστη
 πῦρ μέγα καιόντων· φυλακὴ δέ τις ἔμπεδος ἔστω,
 μὴ λόχος εἰσέλθῃσι πόλιν λαὼν ἀπεόντων·
 ὦδ’ ἔστω, Τρῶες μεγαλήτορες, ὥς ἀγορεύω·
 μῦθος δ’ ὃς μὲν νῦν ὕγις εἰρημένος ἔστω,>
 525 <τὸν δ’ ἡοῦς Τρῳέεσσι μέθ’ ἱπποδάμοις ἀγορεύσω.
 ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος Διὶ τ’ ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν
 ἐξελάαν ἐνθένδε κύνας κηρεσσιφορήτους
 οὓς κῆρες φορέουσι μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν.>
 <ἀλλ’ ἦτοι ἐπὶ νυκτὶ φυλάξομεν ἡμέας αὐτοὺς,>
 530 <<**πρωῖ δ’ ὑπηοῖοι σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες**>
 νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρήσιν <**ἐγείρομεν ὄξιν ἄρῃα**>
 εἴσομαι εἴ κέ μ’ ὁ Τυδεΐδης κρατερὸς Διομίδης
 παρ νηῶν πρὸς τεῖχος ἀπώσεται, ἢ κεν ἐγὼ τὸν
 χαλκῶι δηιώσας ἔναρα βροτόεντα φέρωμαι
 535 αὐριον ἦν ἀρετὴν διαείσεται, εἴ κ’ ἐμὸν ἔγχος
 <**μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον**> ἀλλ’ ἐν πρώτοισιν,<**οἶω**,>
 κείσεται οὐτηθεῖς, πολέες δ’ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐταῖροι,
 ἡελίου ἀνιόντος ἐς αὐριον.> <εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὥς
 εἶην ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ἡματα πάντα,
 540 τιοίμην δ’ ὥς τίετ’ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,
 ὥς νῦν ἡμέρη ἥδε κακὸν φέρεי Ἀργεῖοισιν.>
 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ἀγόρευ’, <ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελάδησαν.>>

'hearken to me' 4: H.'s delusion

'I thought' 202: eventually unsuccessful attempt to counteract the obstacle

Night instruction / morning prediction 203 (502–24 / 525–8 || 529 / 530–41): night instructions, should be brief, look towards morning; '*let us yield to*' 204: look towards determination for the morning (525–8), to be fulfilled

'all night' 205: forthcoming Greek episode tonight

'*selas to heaven goes*' 206: Greek fear, unusual situation for Trojans

'*over the broad back of the sea*' 207: H. thinks the Greeks desire flight

'*not without effort*' 208: H. sees Greek defeat as inevitable

Morning prediction (<203) (524–8): unusually brief—look to tonight

Night instructions 2 (<203) (529): expectation of morning prediction

Morning prediction 2 (<203) (530–8): fulfilment; '*armed with armour*' 209: H. confident but wrong

'*let us stir up keen war*' 210: (Trojan) dissatisfaction with fighting

'*he awaits onset*' 211: H. thinks Greeks will be defensive; '*I think*' 212: personal importance to H.

Impossible wish 213 (538–41): H. is convinced that the Greeks are doomed

Crowd approval (<2): crowd association with determination

- <οἱ δ' ἵππους μὲν λύσαν ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ ἰδρώοντας,
 545 δῆσαν δ' ἱμάντεσσι παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος·
 ἔκ πόλιος δ' ἄξοντο βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα
 καρπαλίμως, οἶνον δὲ μελίφρονα οἰνίζοντο
 σιτόν τ' ἔκ μεγάρων, ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ λέγοντο·
 <ἔρδον δ' ἀθανάτοισι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας·
 550 κνίσσῃν δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴσω
 ἠδεῖαν τῆς δ' οὐ τι θεοὶ μάκαρες δατέοντο,
 οὐδ' ἔθελον· μάλα γάρ σφιν <ἀπήχθετο> Ἴλιος ἱρή
 καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.>
 οἱ δὲ <μέγα φρονέοντες> ἐπὶ <πτολέμοιο γεφύρας>
 εἵατο <παννύχιοι,> πυρὰ δὲ σφισι καίετο πολλά.
 555 <ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρο φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
 φαίνετ' ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ,
 ἔκ τ' ἔφανε πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι
 καὶ νάπαι, οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγῃ ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,
 560 πάντα δὲ εἶδεται ἄστρο, <<γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα> ποιμήν,>
 τόσσα μεσηγνὺ νεῶν ἠδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων
 Τρώων καιόντων πυρὰ φαίνετο Ἰλιόθι πρό.>
 χεῖλιν ἄρ' ἐν πεδίῳ πυρὰ καίετο, παρ δὲ ἐκάστωι
 εἵατο πεντήκοντα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
 <ἵπποι δὲ κρὶ λευκὸν ἔρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὀλύρας
 565 <έσταότες παρ'> ὄχεσφιν> <ἐϋθρονον Ἡὼ μίμνον.>>

Instruction fulfilment (<203) (543–65) look towards tomorrow

Hekatomb sacrifice 214 (548–52): importance of events for Trojans

‘*was hated*’ 215: gods will not intervene in Troy’s favour

‘*thinking big*’ 216: aggressive (tomorrow), look to simile; ‘*causeways of war*’ 175: Trojan intent for tomorrow

‘*all night*’ 205: forthcoming Greek episode

Star similes 217 (555–61): danger for the Greeks (and H. [559])

Shepherd similes 218: H.’s responsibility; ‘*rejoiced* | *in phren*’ 219: H.’s (pseudo-parental) authority

‘*horses feeding* | *by the chariots*’ 220 (564–5): Trojans eager for battle (failure?)

‘*standing by*’ 141: Trojan inefficacy; ‘*waited for dawn*’ 221: Trojan intention for tomorrow

Commentary

The breaking of *dawn* (1)¹ signals a development from or continuation of the preceding nocturnal episode (Zeus' thundering on the previous night and the fear he instilled in both armies, 7. 478–81); the size of that episode suggests the attenuation of the coming battle, and its content that Zeus is to continue to show this hostility. This is an important difference from the previous day's play, but a full understanding of the particularity of this day will only be offered gradually.

This process begins with hostility in the *assembly* (2^a–40)² which Zeus *summons* (2^b–3),³ that action in itself introducing for the first time in *Θ* the issue with which the narrative is primarily concerned—his authority.⁴ This is further underlined by the fact that Zeus is also the *first speaker* in the *assembly* (4), leading to the justified expectation that his speech will dominate the scene as a whole, and therefore the course of action the gods are going to take at this juncture.

Nor is Zeus unaware that his authority is at stake. Apart of course from a threatening tone, the poet constantly allots him expressions which attempt, with varying success, to underline his power: the '*whomever apart | I see*' threat (10)⁵ uses particularly shocking ramifications to make its point, and is (at least apparently) immediately effective; the '*not according to kosmos*' prediction (12)⁶ makes it clear that the disobedient god will cease to be a member of the Olympian community; the '*how far | I am*' comparison (17)⁷

¹ 1.

² 2, 3. Superscript letters distinguish between units in verses with more than one unit.

³ 2.

⁴ On the depiction of Zeus' power in general as the head of the 'household', I would only partially agree with Willcock (1978) ad loc., 260: 'Zeus has difficulty controlling his family ... This often makes him angry, and he blusters and threatens to use physical force. So now, having threatened he will hit them, he suggests a trial of strength, a celestial tug-of-war. The scene is simple-minded, primitive and comic.' On the contrary, the threat of violence here is very real, and later on only just averted, but Willcock's interpretation is fairly typical. Zeus' aggression does seem unmotivated, but the poet is drawing upon the referential potential of both Here and Athene within the framework of the Succession Myth in order to emphasize the almost cosmological importance of the current *Dios boule*; cf. Appendix B; also M. L. West (1997b) 370–1, for Near Eastern parallels. Schäfer (1990) 62 has understood this speech perfectly: 'Der aggressive Charakter seiner Rede erklärt sich also auch aus der Besonderheit der Situation: Zeus ist sich bewußt, daß er alle Kräfte aufbieten muß, um seinen Plan erfolgreich in die Tat umzusetzen.'

⁵ 5.

⁶ 6 (2).

⁷ 7.

tends to emphasize authority in contexts where the acknowledgement of that quality is paramount, as is the ‘*come, then | try*’ (18^a)⁸ invitation and the ‘*so | you know*’ statement of purpose (18^b);⁹ similarly, the *third-person self-reference* (22)¹⁰ occurs whenever the speaker feels particularly the need to assert or call upon his power.

This is not, however, the only inference the audience will make about Zeus’ speech. For all their effectiveness, ‘*whomever apart | I see*’ threats are employed by speakers whose motivation or intentions are not quite as well informed as they might wish, while the ‘*come, then | try*’ invitations usually propose an action that is impossible. Moreover, open delusion is a connotation of ‘*hearken to me*’ appeals (5),¹¹ and the following ‘*while I say what my thumos in my chest commands*’ (6)¹² reveals, finally, that Zeus was well aware that his determination would precipitate a crisis among, or at the very least dissent from, the other gods.

This ensues straightaway, as the other gods ‘*were all silent to silence*’ (28)¹³ at a crucial moment with regard to the success or failure of Zeus’ determination. The poet expresses their dissatisfaction by their ‘*marvelling at his word*’ reaction (29)¹⁴ and thus predicts strong qualification or outright rejection in a following speech. The possibility, therefore, of disagreement with Zeus is raised here for the first time in the book, but it will not be the last.

The expected ‘*and late spoke among*’ (30)¹⁵ introducing Athene’s speech (30–7) marks it out as the qualification thus predicted, and her particular association with Zeus increases the cosmological significance of her intervention here, and then of her attempted disobedience later (8. 350 ff.).¹⁶ Just how far the gods are prepared to go in defying or working against the *Dios boule* is going to be a prominent theme for the rest of the poem, and in Athene’s regard the audience’s uncertainty is increased by her ‘*well | we know*’ admission (32^a)¹⁷ about Zeus’ strength, for these acknowledgments typically preface a determination to act within the parameters of the admitted quality; a similar connotation accompanies her description of his power as ‘*not to be borne*’ (32^b),¹⁸ in that objects or qualities so described are qualified or undermined whilst being apparently accepted. In other words, Athene avows at once that she will act in accordance with Zeus’ command whilst the poet signals to his

⁸ 8. ⁹ 9. ¹⁰ 10. ¹¹ 4. ¹² 4a (1).

¹³ 11 (3). ¹⁴ 11a. ¹⁵ 11b. ¹⁶ Cf. below on 357; also Appendix B.

¹⁷ 12. 8. 32–7 = 8. 463–8 (cf. below, ad loc.). This is the first of many occasions in this section where verbatim repetitions may be classed as examples of ‘specific referentiality’; cf. Introduction, p. 12 and n. 43. The other cases in Θ are 34 = 354 = 465; 58–9 = 2. 809–10; 60–5 = 4. 446–51; 105–7 = 5. 221–3; 121–5 ~ 313–17; 157 ~ 257 ~ 432; 222–6 = 11. 5–9; 262–5 = 7. 164–7; 300 ~ 309 / 301 = 310; 343–4 = 15. 1–2; 345 ~ 15. 3 || 345 ~ 15. 367; 346–7 = 15. 368–9; 350–96 ~ 5. 711–52; 386 = 5. 735; 445–6 = 1. 332–3; 457–62 = 4. 20–5; 463–8 = 32–7; 493–5 = 6. 318–20; 540–1 = 13. 827–8; 557–8 = 16. 299–300. The significance of the repetition in this case is only made clear at the later episode.

¹⁸ 13.

audience that she will also attempt to subvert it, which is also the point of her description of the Greeks as '*perishing completing evil destruction*' (34).¹⁹

Thus a current of deception is established, but Athene is not the only one to employ it. Zeus himself recognizes what she is going to do, for '*at her smiling spoke*' (38)²⁰ is typical where reassurance is required and granted, but without full disclosure. His '*be encouraged*' response (39)²¹ needs to be taken with a grain of divine salt, whilst the audience remains aware that people who use this imperative tend to be in absolute control over the situation itself.

But precisely what this control amounts to is not made clear, at least in terms of Zeus' intentions in the current situation. That *assemblies* should end without a specific determination is not exactly unique, but the guarded nature of Zeus' intention is significant. His purposes at this stage are entirely his own, and the indirectly described aim of his thinking is offered cumulatively. The poet's use of the *assembly* itself at this juncture (2–40)²² greatly assists this type of direction, for it allows the audience to link with this scene a 'cluster' of such assemblies at the end of the last day's battle in *H* (and a subsequent day as well), which together have foreshadowed the battle at the wall and 'further' Trojan military gains during this phase of the war.

Zeus' *chariot journey* (41^a–50)²³ to the battlefield predicts the successful implementation of his intention, but continues the audience's uncertainty in lacking the clear statement of that intention which usually prefaces these trips. Furthermore, it introduces the theme of his *wrathful withdrawal* (41^b–437),²⁴ connoting a coming loss both to himself and the Olympian community, in the form of the quarrelling and tension which will fuel much of the narrative (and which may be connected with his tone in the *assembly*). Nonetheless, the poet ensures the audience's understanding of Zeus' certainty and self-confidence: that '*he whipped (the team) to drive | and they not unwilling flew*' (45)²⁵ connotes his confidence in success; the *arrival, stopping, and unharnessing* (47–50)²⁶ directs the audience to the importance of the *locus* and the character's presence on Ide for the fulfilment of his mission. Moreover, the fact that he himself *harnesses* his team (41–2) indicates his isolation from the other gods, which is augmented by the description of his *divine precinct and altar* on Ide (48),²⁷ for such expressions illumine the deity's power and freedom to act. Of course, the exertion of Zeus' power in such a manner risks the divine *stasis* assumed when '*he sat, revelling in his might*' (51),²⁸ though this expression also connotes the guaranteed suppression or postponement of actual hostilities. In other words, his separation is actually the best way of avoiding combat with the other Olympians.

¹⁹ 14, cf. on 354 and 465.

²⁰ 15, (3).

²¹ 16.

²² 2, 3.

²³ 17.

²⁴ 18.

²⁵ 19.

²⁶ 17.

²⁷ 20.

²⁸ 21.

Now that his divine audience is seated, the poet begins the *preparations for battle* (53–9)²⁹ which are noticeable mainly for a modesty in scale and elaboration, the lack of a prominent human agent or explicit divine participation, and a most unusual greater emphasis on the Trojans. The gods are to be excluded in a way they weren't on the first day of battle (resuming several such indications in the narrative hitherto), but the poet introduces two new elements for his audience: human agency is downplayed, and the Trojans are to be favoured. These two are in fact related, for the Trojans nonetheless act under the compulsion typical of groups from whom '*great clamour arose*' (59),³⁰ which is then repeated (63) to cover the Greeks as well.

Battle itself opens with the typical passage of *even contest* (60–5)³¹ foreshadowing individual combat episodes, while the '*earth flowed with blood*' (65)³² expression reminds us that Zeus' control is to be implemented and then set as the narrative background for another thematic resumption. This is effected immediately, as the poet employs together both a '*while | so long*' (66–7)³³ and '*when | then*' correlation (68–9)³⁴ to introduce the first turning of the battle, so as to predict both the immediate imposition of Zeus' will but also an element of delay in its fulfilment. Given that they are already expecting a resumptive theme from before the *assembly*, the audience intuit that something on the battlefield itself will hold up the *Dios boule*, but in the light of the exclusion practised hitherto, they must find it difficult to imagine what it will be. This difficulty is increased because the imposition itself also suggests immediate implementation, for the *scales of Zeus* (69–74),³⁵ combined with the *thunder and lightning omen* (75–6)³⁶ he uses to indicate his will, predict both success and a more or less immediate, and usually correct, human reaction. The Greeks '*were astonished*' (77^a),³⁷ indicating their complete surprise at the idea Zeus would not favour them, and are then seized by the '*pale fear*' (77^b)³⁸ which connotes their helplessness in the situation and the eventual requirement of divine intervention to overcome its consequences.

²⁹ 22. 8. 58–9 = 2. 809–10. Perhaps the audience are intended to see the general parallel between the situations, given that the Trojans in *B* had just been led into meeting the Greek advance by Iris in the guise of Polites; i.e. theirs is always a position of reaction to Greek action. Furthermore, the parallel would reinforce the current example's somewhat unusually greater focus on the Trojans.

³⁰ 23, (4).

³¹ 24. Once again, perhaps a case of specific referentiality: 8. 60–5 = 4. 446–51. The point of the parallel might be to compare the participation of all the deities listed before the passage in *Δ* to the lack of such figures in the current case, and perhaps to lead the audience to expect a preliminary period of reciprocal combat before the determinative moment, as in *Δ*.

³² 25.

³³ 26. This incorporates the '*so long did weapons hit both sides, and the people fell*' 26a | 27a, typical after passages of even contest 24 in order to underline the importance of the coming action for the *Dios boule*.

³⁴ 27.

³⁵ 28.

³⁶ 29.

³⁷ 30.

³⁸ 31 (5).

Thus the poet seems to be pulling the audience in two directions—both the success and the obstruction of Zeus' will.

The narrative now moves immediately into a *flight-phase* (78^a–216 [251]),³⁹ setting the expectation of generalized Greek retreat as a framework for eventual reversal. The inevitability of flight, introduced before, is reinforced by a 'did not | dare' expression (78^c),⁴⁰ whose expansion into a *small-scale catalogue* (78^b–9)⁴¹ extends that action to the wider group and introduces the expectation of further retreat. Nestor's exclusion from that group is therefore very marked, requiring the explanation proffered by 'in no way willing' (81^a),⁴² which also expresses his inability to act in the reasonable or expected manner. That this action will dominate the coming narrative is ensured by the *arrow wound from Paris* (81^b–6),⁴³ though the *strike description* (83–4),⁴⁴ and the 'kairion' wound (84),⁴⁵ makes it clear that Nestor will escape his current predicament, as does the description of his attempt to cut the 'trace-horse' (87^b) free from the chariot.⁴⁶

This achievement is not without its uncertainties, however, as the 'while / so long' correlation (87^a–90)⁴⁷ introduces Hektor's advance, while the *contrafactual conditional* (90^a–1)⁴⁸ admits the tension between his attack (in which 'lost his life' makes Hektor's intent very real [90^b]⁴⁹) and Nestor's survival, before introducing its resolution—Diomedes. Thus the focus shifts from the inabilities of the old man to the figure from the previous day's play who had pushed mortal limits more than any other, and the resumptive theme predicted above (65) as the foreground for the *Dios boule* is enacted, summoning his qualities and achievements from his earlier prominence to the current episode. These are all connoted anew by the fact of *assistance* (92–117),⁵⁰ that 'keenly he noticed' (91),⁵¹ and his 'smerdaleon' cry to Odysseus (92).⁵² The 'where? / whither? (I)' question (94)⁵³ and his abhorrence of the idea that 'in his back a spear (be) fixed' (95)⁵⁴ also makes his intention clear. Odysseus' failure to hear him (97)⁵⁵ simply allows this focus to be

39 32. 40 33. 41 34. 42 35. 43 36. 44 37. 45 38.

⁴⁶ 39. The stranding of Nestor has long been felt (by Analysts and Neoanalysts) to depend upon the scene in the *Aithiopis* (known principally from Pindar, *Pythian* 6. 28–39) where Nestor is rescued by his son Antilokhos, who is subsequently killed by Memnon; cf. Kelly (2006) (with refs.); cf. also 28 n. 1.

⁴⁷ 26. ⁴⁸ 40. ⁴⁹ 41. ⁵⁰ 43. ⁵¹ 42. ⁵² 44.

⁵³ 45 (cf. 124 for the other type of these questions).

⁵⁴ 46.

⁵⁵ Scholarship is divided over the precise meaning of the crucial verb *ἑσακούειν* (8. 97) and the poet's attitude towards Odysseus in this scene; cf. Kirk (1990) on 8. 97–8, 306, for a range of opinions, after which he opts for a failure to hear; *contra* cf. e.g. Stanley (1993) 106, 348 n. 7. It is certainly true that *ἑσακούειν* in the post-Homeric period can mean 'hearken' and 'obey' (Thucydides 1. 82. 2) but the tragedians often use it in the simple sense of 'hear' (Euripides, *Phoinissai* 96, 1342) and, as Kirk points out, this meaning is not unknown in prose (Thucydides 4. 34. 3). These references suggest at a minimum that the verb in the Homeric period could bear

placed in much greater relief (all the greater given his favour from Athene and association with Diomedes elsewhere),⁵⁶ as does his individual return to the front rank to ‘mix with the front fighters’ (99),⁵⁷ which also reminds the audience of his prominence on the first day of battle and his readiness to continue fighting, whilst that he ‘stood | before’ the chariot (100)⁵⁸ connotes a protective attitude upon which he is resolved to act. In this way the poet sets the stage for confrontation, not merely for the determined heroes as they face one another, but between divine will and human heroism itself.

This makes the speech’s exclusively human concerns all the more noticeable. The ‘winged words’ speech introduction (101)⁵⁹ again tells of Diomedes’ determination to intervene, his comment that ‘old age oppresses’ (103)⁶⁰ suggests a qualification of that disability in the very near future (and so his participation in Diomedes’ counterattack), while his request ‘mount my chariot’ (105^b)⁶¹ (always after a failed arrow strike) accompanies an action designed to counteract a specified danger. Furthermore, the audience are now alerted to a *reactivated chariot attack* ([91–]105^a–71),⁶² in which some criticism of one of the new team’s members or current predicament is a precursor to a directed offensive against a prominent individual on the other side.

the simple meaning, since the only other case from archaic hexameter poetry (*Hom. Hy. to Dem.* 284) is indeterminate.

Lack of awareness is a perfectly legitimate cause for inactivity: cf. 4. 331, 11. 497–8, 13. 521–2, 17. 377–80, 17. 401–2. However, deliberate silence to a request for rescue or assistance is not as unparalleled as Fenik (1968) 221, believes. The closest example in such a situation is 5. 689–91, where Hektor does not reply to Sarpedon’s request for aid but continues in his advance preparatory to his *aristeia*; cf. 200/3. Kirk (1990) on 8. 92–8, 306, considers this an inadequate analogy, since Hektor’s advance is motivated by the poet at 5. 690–1. However, ‘Odysseus’ continued retreat here is to be seen within the general context of retreat set earlier by Zeus’ actions, and the poet has gone out of his way to provide Odysseus with a motive. He is retreating *φεύγει γὰρ σὺν Αἴαντι καὶ θεομαχεῖν οὐ θέλει* (Σ bT ad loc.); cf. Andersen (1978) 113–14. When the clear disfavour of the gods is apparent, retreat is far from reprehensible, as Nestor makes clear to Diomedes at 8. 139–44; cf. 69. Furthermore, Antilokhos deliberately ignores the cautionary shout of Menelaos during the chariot race (23. 425–8), *ὥς οὐκ αἰὼντι ἐοικώς* (23. 430). Hence any audience is perfectly at liberty to assume that Odysseus ignores the cry, but it is impossible to be certain that this was the poet’s intention.

⁵⁶ Odysseus’ relationship with Athene is of course particularly evident during the *Odyssey* (cf. esp. Clay 1983), but it is well evidenced in the *Iliad* also. It is, for instance, to Odysseus that Athene comes to stop the Greeks from taking to their ships in *B* (167–8), while Diomedes mentions her particular favour for Odysseus before the *Doloneia* (*φιλεῖ δέ ἐ Παιλλὰς Ἀθήνη*, 10. 245), and she aids him in the footrace (23. 768–783). Note particularly Aias *minor*’s rueful *ὦ πόποι, ἦ μ’ ἐβλαψε θεὰ πόδας, ἦ τὸ πάρος περ | μήτηρ ὥς Ὀδυσῆϊ παράσταται ἦδ’ ἐπαρήγει* (23. 782–3). The co-operation between Odysseus and Diomedes is particularly strong in the *Iliad*, most obviously in the *Doloneia* and their brief counterattack in *A* and so on; cf. Fenik (1964) 12–13; Reichel (1994); also Kullmann (1960) 85–9 (Diomedes), 99–101 (Odysseus); Andersen (1978) ch. 2.

⁵⁷ 47.

⁵⁸ 48.

⁵⁹ 49.

⁶⁰ 50.

⁶¹ 52.

⁶² 51.

Diomedes unsurprisingly expresses his intentions aggressively, in the following ‘so | you know’ predictions (105^c and 110–11)⁶³ constructed first from Nestor’s perspective and then (more menacingly) from Hektor’s. His description of Aineias’ team as ‘*devisers of rout*’ (108)⁶⁴ also resumes the indication of a chariot-borne counterattack, and encourages the audience to focus on Diomedes’ motivation above all, as the focalizer of the expression. The confidence exhibited by Diomedes here is boosted by the fact that Nestor ‘*did not disobey*’ (112),⁶⁵ connoting the completion of the speaker’s desires in the manner envisaged, and that he ‘*whipped the horses*’ (117).⁶⁶

Hektor’s ‘*straight eager*’ attack (118^a)⁶⁷ informs us first that he is to be beaten, and Diomedes’ ‘*he cast*’ (118^b)⁶⁸ that he is not to be killed. In fact, Diomedes’ cast hits his charioteer Eniopeus (119),⁶⁹ examples of both the ‘*he missed*’ and ‘*he missed (charioteer)*’ units, predicting further concern with that figure or fact (i.e. replacement), after which the strike on ‘*the chest beside the nipple*’ (121)⁷⁰ confirms Hektor’s safety, in that Diomedes will be impeded from pressing his advantage any further. The ‘*fall from the chariot*’ as ‘*the horses recoiled*’ (122)⁷¹ predicts Diomedes’ removal from the narrative forefront after the reclaiming of the chariot, whilst ‘*swift; and there was his soul left and his strength*’ (123)⁷² is also linked with a counterattack from Hektor, which is furthered by his ‘*dread grief closed Hektor’s mind*’ reaction (124)⁷³ (intimating perhaps Hektor’s success in his coming encounter), together with the description of leaving the corpse ‘*pained though he was*’ (125^c);⁷⁴ the leaving itself also shows that Hektor both is (‘*left | to lie* 125^a–6’)⁷⁵ and feels (‘*him he left*’ 125^b)⁷⁶ responsible for Eniopeus’ death.

⁶³ 9. Kirk (1990) ad loc., 307, is wrong to say that 8. 105–7 (= 5. 221–3) ‘assume(s) an especially complacent ring’. These verses help the audience see further into the motivation of this central character; cf. Erbse (1993a) 395–6. Indeed, this concern with heroic status and reward—and its current inappropriateness—will be the constant theme of *Θ*. Furthermore, specific referentiality adds considerably to the audience’s understanding of the importance to Diomedes of the fact that he has managed to take them from Aineias, as well as recalling the current differences from that earlier situation. ⁶⁴ 53, (6). ⁶⁵ 54.

⁶⁶ 19. The expression *τάχα δ’ Ἐκτορος ἄγχι γέγοντο* (8. 117) is also to be found in the chariot race as *τάχα δέ σφισιν ἄγχι γέγοντο* (23. 447). Though there are only two examples and so an insufficient pool for inclusion, the context is the same: one chariot team attacks another in the ascendant (the first in combat, the second in a race), after an encounter (in the first case Hektor v. Nestor, in the second Antilokhos v. Menelaos) which has threatened the life or safety of the subordinate team. One cannot conclude in an association of victory for the subordinate team, unless the action in *Ψ* is the meaningful exception returned to some sort of normality by the exchange between Menelaos and Antilokhos after the race. Equally, victory might be linked with the ascendant team, creating some uncertainty here in *Θ* about the outcome of their encounter.

⁶⁷ 55. ⁶⁸ 56. ⁶⁹ 57, 58. ⁷⁰ 59. ⁷¹ 60, 60a. ⁷² 60b, (7).

⁷³ 61; also (10) n. 68. ⁷⁴ 64. ⁷⁵ 62. ⁷⁶ 63.

The narrative until this juncture has set up contrasting expectations: Diomedes' retreat or removal and yet his justified confidence in victory, but at the same time an understanding that Hektor is to counterattack, and perhaps successfully.⁷⁷ The *contrafactual* (130–2)⁷⁸ thus admits this tension, also emphasizing Trojan weakness through the *lamb simile* (131),⁷⁹ and introduces the only possible resolution—Zeus.⁸⁰ His dominance is introduced when 'keenly he noticed' (132)⁸¹ and his second direct meteorological intervention of *thunder and lightning* (133–5),⁸² which also suggests that the human agents should now act in accordance with that will, as does the fact that he 'sent it to the ground' (134).⁸³ This is represented on the mortal plane by Nestor's 'feared | in the thumos' (138)⁸⁴ and his *suggestion of retreat* (139),⁸⁵ whilst his *dropping of the reins* (137)⁸⁶ also suggests that the advance has halted and will require intervention now to reverse the retreat.

Nestor's following speech to Diomedes is packed with persuasive (and usually successful) devices attempting to point out the futility of resistance:⁸⁷ the opening 'do not?' question (140^a),⁸⁸ the assertion 'no | alke' (140^b),⁸⁹ the appeal to all authority 'from Zeus' (140^c)⁹⁰ and the 'mind of Zeus' (143),⁹¹ the

⁷⁷ Indeed, it should be noted that Diomedes is eventually forced to retreat, and Hektor's boast is at least unchallenged (160–6), so the poet's intimations of success here are eventually fulfilled.

⁸⁰ Again, I would disagree with Kirk (1990) on 8. 118–23, 308: 'The whole incident appears not to be very precisely visualised'. By constructing the narrative tension, the poet directs the audience towards Zeus' return to motivating pre-eminence, as Krischer (1971) 86 notes. Schadewaldt (1966) 60, 103–4 suggests a desire to construct a parallel with the conflict between Aias and Hektor in *A*. The delay of determinative combat with Hektor must necessarily have been a difficulty often encountered by poets dealing with the Trojan war, and could easily be a traditional motif.

⁸³ 66. Scholarship has focused with uncertainty on the unparalleled nature of Zeus' action here; cf. Fenik (1968) 222; also Andersen (1978) 115. However, deities frequently intervene in very direct and personalized ways, e.g. Athene pulling Akhilleus' hair (1. 197–8), Ares stripping the corpse of a victim (5. 842–3) or Apollo shaking the *aegis* and yelling (15. 320–2). Such intervention is quite common after a *contrafactual* sentence: cf. e.g. 3. 373–5, 5. 311–13, 16. 698–701, 16. 703–4, 23. 382–4. Given that this is one of the few sections of the narrative in which Zeus is determined to run the course of the battle personally, it is not unnatural. He thunders again in roughly similar form (δεῖνὸν ἐβρόντησε) at 20. 56 and, to the objection that this is a general sign of the strife to come, note also Akhilleus' statement at 21. 198–9, that even Okeanos fears the δεῖνὸν βροντῆν of Zeus. It clearly can be directed against an individual figure, and presumably was against Kapanews in the *Thebais*, as Stockinger (1959) 25 n. 29 suggests. The nature of the expression's manifestation in this case reflects its target, in that the individual virtue of the extraordinary Diomedes requires an individualized response; cf. also Willcock (1995); also D. Collins (1998) ch. 2, esp. 46–53.

⁸⁷ On Nestor's conciliar authority, cf. Austin (1966); Preishofen (1977) 26–8; Martin (1989) 101–19; Erbse (1993a) 384–93; Silk (1995); Dickson (1995) esp. ch. 3; Primavesi (2000); Alden (2000) 74–111; Roisman (2005). On Diomedes' rhetorical development throughout the poem, cf. Martin (1989) 23–5; also 11a/1 n. 3.

'today | another time' contrast (141^a–3)⁹² when coupled with the concession that Zeus will favour Diomedes in the future 'if | he is willing' (142),⁹³ the fact that Zeus 'grants glory' (141^b),⁹⁴ and 'he is by far mightier' (144).⁹⁵ Thus does Nestor seek to persuade, with an astonishing concentration of referential features, not only giving the audience an insight into the situation, but stacking the inevitability of retreat. This will provide an excellent background to depict Diomedes' obduracy.

This reluctance is signalled both by the fact of *reply* (145^a–50)⁹⁶ and the '*to him then replied*' introduction (145^b),⁹⁷ as well as Diomedes' opening '*yes all this | you say according to moira*' (146)⁹⁸ and his '*but this dread grief on the heart and soul comes*' qualification (147).⁹⁹ The audience know that Diomedes will acquiesce in retreating, but they can also gauge how deeply troubled he is by the idea, which is furthered by the '*putative third-person speech*' he attributes to Hektor (148–50)¹⁰⁰ and his wish '*may the earth | gape*' (150),¹⁰¹ the last suggesting in addition the possibility of refusal.

In this light, Nestor's conciliar success will be considerable; his reply is similarly troubled by its '*to him then replied*' introduction (151),¹⁰² reflecting the potential danger in the younger man's refusal (and perhaps its implicit suggestion of cowardice), and the poet marks his rebuttal as decisive by its opening '*what sort of thing you have said!*' (152).¹⁰³ His final act, '*turned to flight | the horses*' (157),¹⁰⁴ indicates the successful avoidance of Zeus' wrath, whilst the '*divine crash*' with which the Trojans bear down on them (159)¹⁰⁵ encapsulates their ascendancy.

Hektor does now issue the taunt, though its '*at him greatly cried*' introduction (160)¹⁰⁶ marks clearly its delusional status,¹⁰⁷ but he employs some powerful abusive elements: the *hospitality reminder* is always a great incentive

92 73. 93 75. 94 74. 95 77. 96 69. 97 78. 98 79.
99 80.

100 81. Cf. Σ bT ad loc. *κὰν τοῦτοις τὸ φιλότιμον Διομήδους ἐμφαίνεται, ὅς μὴ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εὐδοκμεῖν σπουδάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις.*

101 82. 102 78. 103 83.

104 84. Σ bT thinks it significant that Nestor simply turns the horses without further ado, as does Andersen (1978) 116: 'Wir hören von keiner Reaktion auf Nestors Worte. Es dürfte bezeichnend sein, dass der Alte als Wagenlenker die Flucht ergreift ... Wie am Anfang des Gesangs wird uns auch hier nicht Diomedes selbst als ein Flüchtender vorgestellt.' This unit is almost confined totally to Θ (157, 257, 432; cf. 16. 657), and so might be a case of specific referentiality. In that case, the audience reflects at 257 on what happened at 157 as the humans react to indications of Zeus' will, and then extend that to cover Athene and Here as well.

105 85. 106 86.

107 Thus the poet introduces the first of his fatal errors, the understandable overconfidence in the sudden reversal of Trojan fortunes on this day; cf. Redfield (1975) esp. ch. 4. Hektor is of course not unique in having difficulty coping with the *Dios boule*. Diomedes has already struggled with it, Agamemnon and Teukros will recognize the problem whilst trying to counteract or at least understand it, and Here and Athene will signally fail to come to terms with it.

to action (161–2),¹⁰⁸ the assertion of Diomedes' *femininity* (163)¹⁰⁹ denies utterly his heroic identity (which is precisely what Diomedes is most concerned with here), and the peremptory if somewhat overenthusiastic '*begone!*' dismissal (164)¹¹⁰ damns the Greek as socially inferior. He closes with a prediction (164–6) which is marked by the adverb '*before*' (166)¹¹¹ as ironically accurate.

These taken together, it is no wonder that Diomedes considers halting, though his '*pondered in twain*' inner debate (167–8)¹¹² intimates a continued acceptance of the established course of affairs, whilst the location of the thought '*in phren and in thumos*' (169^b)¹¹³ makes clear his desire to remain aggressive. A range of features since Zeus' last intervention have focused on his unwillingness to acquiesce, but that conflict is concluded by the '*thrice | thrice*' equivalence (169^a–70),¹¹⁴ introducing Zeus in the stalemate as the resolving feature in the sequence whilst simultaneously marking the moment as significantly dangerous for Diomedes. The god is now firmly in control, indicated as before by *thunder and lightning* (170),¹¹⁵ but also here by the '*sema*' *portent* (171^a)¹¹⁶ and the determinative inclination '*of battle other-strength victory*' (171^b).¹¹⁷

Though nominally the resolving mortal figure in this '*thrice | thrice*' action, Hektor relies here entirely on Zeus, thus colouring the claims he makes and the credit he can take for the Greek reversal.¹¹⁸ He now encourages his men, the '*ordered greatly shouting*' introduction to his speech (172)¹¹⁹ predicting its effectiveness, with a general exhortation to '*be men, friends, and mindful of furious valour*' (174)¹²⁰ which signals a personalized concern or justification for the exhortation; in this case, he *claims favour from Zeus* (175–6),¹²¹ though the lack of the normal direct instruction in this regard taints his following pronouncements and predictions with overconfidence, also indicated by the labelling of the Greeks as '*fools!*' (177).¹²²

Then he turns to his horses with a (relatively gentle) '*his horses he ordered*' rebuke (184)¹²³ which signals the invocation of his team's tendance as a reason for them to act properly. This *hospitality reminder* (186–90),¹²⁴ and its somewhat anthropomorphic actuality or indulgence ('*thumos drives*' [189]),¹²⁵ revolves around the provider figure—Andromakhe—as indeed does Hektor's unique '*claim to be*' her husband (190).¹²⁶ Therein is he drawn as husband and protector, but his concern for himself as an epic character is revealed by his appraisal of Nestor's shield, whose '*kleos to heaven*

108 87.	109 88.	110 89.	111 90, (8).	112 91.	113 93.
114 92.	115 29.	116 94.	117 95.	118 92.	119 96.
120 97, (9).	121 98.	122 99.	123 100.	124 87, (10).	125 101.

¹²⁶ 102, cf. Σ bT on 8. 186–8 for this 'homely' quality; also (10).

goes' (192),¹²⁷ while the fact that Hephaistos 'toiled in the making' of Diomedes' breastplate (195)¹²⁸ exalts the importance of his foe and represents his belief that Diomedes is to continue being prominent, which the audience have known for a while is mistaken.¹²⁹

The close of Hektor's exhortation 'so he spoke praying' (198)¹³⁰ tells again of his delusion and suggests a divine reaction which follows immediately from Here (which was forecast by his claim that Nestor's shield has a *kleos* that 'to heaven goes' [192]),¹³¹ for that 'Olympus is shaken' (199)¹³² by her connotes *stasis* amongst the gods as well as Here's failure therein. This twin connotation is forwarded by the 'straight at spoke' introduction (200)¹³³ and her opening 'O dear' ejaculation (201^a),¹³⁴ whilst her failure is keenly shown by the reminder of (Greek) *tendence* of Poseidon's honour (201^b–4)¹³⁵ and her (inappropriate) use of the 'wished victory' expression (204).¹³⁶

This suggestion of open resistance to Zeus brings forth a short but pointed statement from her interlocutor about the natural order of things: the 'at her greatly angered he spoke' introduction (208)¹³⁷ keys the audience into his somewhat negative attitude to the suggestion, furthered by his indignant 'what sort of word did you speak?' (209),¹³⁸ which indicates a serious cosmic error on the part of the speaker, before closing with the determinative consideration that Zeus 'is by far mightier' (211).¹³⁹

Nonetheless, the 'thus they spoke such to one another' close to the Olympian interlude (212)¹⁴⁰ indicates the involvement of Here in reversing this period

¹²⁷ 103a. The fact that Nestor's shield is unmentioned elsewhere (though cf. 14. 9–11) has caused a great deal of alarm; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 345; Fenik (1968) 222–3; Kirk (1990) on 8. 191–7, 313. van Leeuwen (1912) ad loc., 281, compares the 'splendida lorica' of Agamemnon in *A*, but to parallel the material of Nestor's shield and its general obscurity (though Σ bT links it with the armour of Ereuthalion from 7. 148–9; cf. also 14. 11), one can note that the golden armour of Glaukos is vital contextually in *Z* to express the physically harmless victory of Diomedes in their abortive encounter, but is similarly forgotten after the event (6. 234–6), though Σ A on 8. 195 links it with Diomedes' armour here in *\Theta* (and Σ T on 8. 195 ingeniously supposes that the Hephaistos element is warranted $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \Delta\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$); cf. Calder (1984), Traill (1989), Donlan (1989), Scodel (1992), Harries (1993); also 9/16 n. 9.

¹²⁸ 104. Note also that Pandaros' bow is a gift of Apollo at 2. 827 but his own creation at 4. 105–11. As Richardson (1993) on 22. 470, 157, has said with regard to Andromakhe's veil, '[i]t may ... be wrong here to make a distinction between "literal" and "figurative" gifts'. The information about the origin of the breastplate has a contextual significance which need not be pressed beyond that context.

¹²⁹ Cf. on 121–2. ¹³⁰ 105 (11). ¹³¹ 103. ¹³² 106 (12); also Appendix B.

¹³³ 107. ¹³⁴ 108. ¹³⁵ 109. ¹³⁶ 110.

¹³⁷ 111. ¹³⁸ 112.

¹³⁹ 77. Reichel (1994) 305 and n. 8, holds that this episode is a deliberate preparation for what Poseidon will do in *N–O*, thus downplaying (perhaps too much) its narrative function in *\Theta*; also Fenik (1968) 214. ¹⁴⁰ 113.

of Hektor's dominance, also signalled by the *Ares simile* (215)¹⁴¹ and the idea that Zeus 'gave | glory' to Hektor (216),¹⁴² so that the specifically divine tension is not yet allowed to dissipate.¹⁴³ This dovetails nicely with the audience's expectation of *flight-phase* reversal,¹⁴⁴ and again the contrasting strands are brought together and resolved by a *contrafactual* (217–19)¹⁴⁵ to suggest temporary marital harmony. That this is temporary is stressed by the fact that Here is 'in (Agamemnon's) *phrenes placed*' to urge on the Greeks (218),¹⁴⁶ intimating that, though immediately successful in their purposes, both Here and Agamemnon are undertaking a course of action which is both limited in effect and attracting the potential of a longer term loss.

Agamemnon's initial 'went to go' (220)¹⁴⁷ suggests (again) short term achievement of his aim, whilst his cloak indicates by its 'purple' colour (221^a)¹⁴⁸ the threatening position in which he finds himself, by his 'holding' (221^b)¹⁴⁹ that he is attempting to address his situation, and 'in his broad hand' (221^c)¹⁵⁰ the subversion of this action itself: however successful Agamemnon will be, the longer process of Greek defence is still under question.¹⁵¹

His exhortation is marked by its 'he shouted piercingly | yelling' introduction (227)¹⁵² as both successful and the act of a responsible leader, the former expressed by appealing to their 'shame!' (228^a),¹⁵³ labelling the Greeks as 'in beauty marvellous' (228^b)¹⁵⁴ and barking out an indignant 'where? / whither?' (II') question (229),¹⁵⁵ and the latter by another *hospitality reminder* (231–2)¹⁵⁶ which underlines the army's obligation to him. Agamemnon moves from mortal to divine with a 'Zeus father' complaint (236)¹⁵⁷ connoting his frustration at the course of events (and so illustrating the limitations of his understanding of the *Dios boule*), but which also allows him to move into

¹⁴¹ 114. ¹⁴² 115.

¹⁴³ Kirk (1990) ad loc., 314 asserts that the episode is typically weakly motivated; *contra* Fenik (1968) 214, 202–3; Edwards (1987*b*) 50; Schäfer (1990) 65–6.

¹⁴⁴ 32, cf. above on 78–216.

¹⁴⁵ 40. ¹⁴⁶ 116. ¹⁴⁷ 117. ¹⁴⁸ 118. ¹⁴⁹ 119. ¹⁵⁰ 120.

¹⁵¹ The obscurity surrounding the exact form and function of the cloak has led to some scholarly flutters; cf. Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 348; Wilamowitz (1916) 47 n. 2; Theiler (1962) 12; Ramersdorfer (1981) 92–3; Stanley (1993) 349 n. 10. However, the referential combination of ἔχων, ἐν χεὶρὶ παχέῃ, and the colour of the cloak itself, makes that purpose sufficiently clear, the first also removing the need for any further mention of the object itself. Moreover, the cloak may also prepare the audience for Agamemnon's prayer, for prayers often include an action to make the individual conspicuous; cf. 126/13; also Σ' AbT ad loc. In perhaps another case of specific referentiality, 8. 222–6 = 11. 5–9. Once again, the contrast between the two figures and situations is noticeable, though the audience in *A* could translate the reminiscence as a reinforcement of Zeus' ascendancy, as well as another sign that the desperation of the Greeks' situation in *Θ* (coupled with Zeus' eventual protection) is to continue.

¹⁵² 121. ¹⁵³ 122. ¹⁵⁴ 123.

¹⁵⁵ 124 (cf. 45 for the other type of these questions). ¹⁵⁶ 87. ¹⁵⁷ 125.

a *prayer* (242^a–4)¹⁵⁸ whose content is guaranteed anyway, but also marked in this case by the request to ‘*fulfil for me this wish*’ (242^b)¹⁵⁹ as of central importance for the poem as a whole—the honouring of Akhilleus has this as its limit.

Zeus’ *response* to this prayer (245–6),¹⁶⁰ when combined with the omen (cf. below) he sends to manifest that response, connotes an immediate Greek reaction explicitly guaranteed by Zeus, as the resolution of the day’s first *flight-phase* is now put into action. This is again explicit when the Greeks ‘*more did they leap* (on the Trojans) | *and remember their battle-lust*’ (252^b),¹⁶¹ initiating the second *flight-phase* in Θ (252^a–319 [335]),¹⁶² this time Trojan, as once more is the favour from Zeus represented in the fact of the *bird omen* (247–50)¹⁶³ and its location at his altar.¹⁶⁴ Thus the poet reconciles the potential disjunction between Here’s intervention and Zeus’ will, and the form of the Greek revival (252 above) sets the limit of this counterattack firmly within the ambit of the *Dios boule*.

Unsurprisingly, Diomedes and his motivation are again prominent; that ‘*no-one* | *before*’ (253)¹⁶⁵ could claim to have emerged from the Greek camp tells again of his overwhelming desire *περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων*, whilst his position as ‘*far the first*’ (256^a)¹⁶⁶ item in a *small-scale catalogue* of Greek leaders (261–5)¹⁶⁷ intimates his withdrawal after this *androktasia*, as do the description of the strike ‘*between the shoulders, and through the chest he drove*’ (259),¹⁶⁸ that the victim ‘*fell from the chariot*’ (260^a),¹⁶⁹ and his ‘*clattered armour on him*’ (260^b).¹⁷⁰ In this, Diomedes is to be replaced by another Greek, as the ‘*in the back a spear he fixed*’ (258)¹⁷¹ intimates Trojan defensiveness, and the ‘*fell from the chariot*’ (260^a)¹⁷² continued Greek success. The qualified nature of that success is furthered by the introduction to his victory as ‘*he killed a helmed man*’ (256^b),¹⁷³ whilst the audience is reminded again of Zeus’ control when Agelaos ‘*turned to flight* | *the horses*’ (257).¹⁷⁴

Teukros emerges at the end of the *catalogue* (266)¹⁷⁵ as the focus in a much larger narrative sweep.¹⁷⁶ Though determined (‘*lost his life*’ 270),¹⁷⁷ his chances of success are marked as doubtful firstly by the augmentation of

158 126. 159 127. 160 126. 161 129. 162 32. 163 128.
164 20. 165 130. 166 131.

167 34. This catalogue is very close to one at 7. 161–9 (164–7 = 8. 262–5), which also has a numerical marker (*ἐννέα*), though here are added Menelaos and Teukros for the subtraction of Thoas and Odysseus. Odysseus’ exclusion from the list has been seen a pointed one, a tempting conclusion given the singular nature of his action at 8. 96–8, and that other catalogues do have numerical markers, like *εἵνατος* here (266), which do seem to indicate the totality of the group; cf. Kirk (1990) ad loc., 321, and C. Wilson (1996) ad loc., 193; also 34, 134.

168 46a. 169 60. 170 133, (13). 171 46. 172 60. 173 132.

174 84, cf. also n. 104 on 157. 175 34; cf. also n. 179.

176 The standard term for those periods of narrative in which one hero dominates the fighting is *aristeia*; cf. 138 n. 1.

177 41.

Meriones in an *Ares simile* (264),¹⁷⁸ but more appropriately by his own description as ‘*ninth*’ (266) in the catalogue,¹⁷⁹ the combination of an *archer fighting with warrior* (Aias) (266–72),¹⁸⁰ that he is ‘*looking about*’ (269)¹⁸¹ and is described with a *child simile* (271).¹⁸² Furthermore, his *catalogue of victims* (273^a–6)¹⁸³ intimates a more or less immediate confrontation, which the opening question ‘*whom first did he slay?*’ (273^b)¹⁸⁴ suggests will be initiated by an exchange between two opposing heroes.

That this exchange is then conducted with Agamemnon is a surprise and places an ambiguous construction on that dialogue, introduced (in terms of his effectiveness) by his ‘*stood | by*’ arrival (280^a).¹⁸⁵ The exhortation itself displays several signs of Agamemnon’s authority and support (and awareness thereof): ‘*seeing | he rejoiced*’ (278),¹⁸⁶ ‘*stood | by*’ (280^a),¹⁸⁷ the ‘*to whom spoke a word*’ introduction (280^b),¹⁸⁸ his prediction ‘*I will speak | it will be completed*’ with regard to the reward (286),¹⁸⁹ and the exhortation ‘*to become a light to the Greeks*’ (282)¹⁹⁰ all show that he is very conscious of the situation’s desperation. However, the dubious quality of this speech is revealed by his appeal to Teukros’ youth: circumstances of raising ‘*when a little child*’ (283)¹⁹¹ are reserved for those with an irregularity in that process, though a powerful source of motivation, and the description of Teukros as a *bastard* (284)¹⁹² is somewhat anomalous, as is the *promise of a reward* (287–91).¹⁹³ Despite his best efforts, Agamemnon is not the best of speakers.¹⁹⁴

This somewhat tactless or needless quality is confirmed by the ‘*to him in reply spoke*’ introduction to Teukros’ reply (292),¹⁹⁵ the fact of the speech itself, and his assertion that he has tried as far as ‘*power is present*’ (294).¹⁹⁶ In other words, he needs no such promise to try his utmost, as the poet has already stressed (‘*lost his life*’ 270),¹⁹⁷ and he also shows an awareness of his inability to affect the course of the fighting, reminding us of Nestor earlier in the narrative. Nonetheless, Teukros is determined to try, and an attempt on

¹⁷⁸ 114. ¹⁷⁹ 134. ¹⁸⁰ 135. ¹⁸¹ 136.

¹⁸² 137. Indeed, the poet seems to be going out of his way to undercut the potential of Teukros’ participation; cf. Strasburger (1954) 55–6; W. Friedrich (1956) 31. ¹⁸³ 138.

¹⁸⁴ 138a. On the connotations of ἀμύμων here and at 292 (and of Gorgythion at 302), cf. Amory Parry (1973). ¹⁸⁵ 141. ¹⁸⁶ 140. ¹⁸⁷ 141. ¹⁸⁸ 142.

¹⁸⁹ 146. ¹⁹⁰ 143. ¹⁹¹ 144, cf. next note.

¹⁹² 145. The story about Teukros’ upbringing is never made plain elsewhere in Homer, though according to later (?) legends Teukros is in fact fighting his ὁμοφύλους νικώμενος τῇ φιλαδελφίαι (Σ bT on 8. 284). Focus on the rather unusual circumstances surrounding his birth could therefore well be even more inappropriate than referential analysis of 8. 283–4 would suggest; cf. Kullmann (1960) 130–1; Gantz (1993) 224–5.

¹⁹³ 147.

¹⁹⁴ Thus I would not agree with Alden (2000) 157, that this is a case simply of friendly encouragement; cf. Martin (1989) 116; also Rabel (1991).

¹⁹⁵ 148. ¹⁹⁶ 149. ¹⁹⁷ 41.

Hektor is foreshadowed by his description of his previous attempts ‘from when | from then’ (295–6).¹⁹⁸

Combat resumes with two ‘he missed’ slayings (302–3 and 311–13), looking back to the killing of Hektor’s charioteer by Diomedes and representing an increased doublet of that earlier episode.¹⁹⁹ This change in scale is made clear firstly by the *goddess simile* focusing on the loss suffered by the victim’s mother (305),²⁰⁰ and then a *flower and spring simile* (306–8)²⁰¹ which poignantly combines eventual mortal facelessness and loss of vitality. The first *androktasia* refuses to direct the audience precisely to its sequel (‘he struck along the chest’ 303)²⁰² but at the same time the bare fact of ‘he missed’ (302)²⁰³ suggests some ramification. The uncertainty is taken up by the second ‘he missed’ and ‘he missed (charioteer)’ (311^a and 311^b),²⁰⁴ explained now as the result of Apollo’s *divine protection* (311^c)²⁰⁵ as the guarantee of Hektor’s safety, which is thereby marked as part of the *Dios boule*. This *androktasia* is much more closely connected with Diomedes’ earlier victory (121–5 ~ 313–17): striking ‘the chest beside the nipple’ (313)²⁰⁶ again confirms Hektor’s safety, for Teukros will be unable to follow up his victory; Arkheptolemos’ fate (‘fell from the chariot’ and ‘the horses recoiled’ 314)²⁰⁷ intimates Teukros’ own recession from focus after the chariot is reclaimed or otherwise righted; his death ‘swift; and there his soul was left and his strength’ (315)²⁰⁸ links Hektor’s coming counterattack with the reaction ‘dread grief closed Hektor’s mind’ (316),²⁰⁹ his responsibility (‘him he left’ 317^a)²¹⁰ (which also suggests immediate counterattack) and reluctance to leave the corpse ‘pained though he was’ (317^b).²¹¹

This time the immediate manifestation of Hektor’s intent is expressed both by the fact that Kebriones ‘did not disobey’ (319)²¹² and that Hektor’s ‘thumos drives’ (322) to hit Teukros.²¹³ Furthermore, his advance ‘smerdalea shouting’ (321^b),²¹⁴ ‘he took a stone in his hand’ (321^b)²¹⁵ and grabbing of a *stone weapon* (321^a–8)²¹⁶ predicts in combination his victory but the wounding and rescue of Teukros, which is resumed by the *strike description* (325–6)²¹⁷ and its labelling as a ‘*kairion*’ wound (326)²¹⁸ and that ‘he stood leaning on his knee’ (329^a).²¹⁹ The end of his *aristeia* is confirmed symbolically as ‘there fell from him’ the bow (329^b),²²⁰ the defensive consequences of which for the

¹⁹⁸ 150.

¹⁹⁹ 8. 300 ~ 309 / 301 = 310. This specific parallel would add to the expectation of the divinely sponsored reversal which is shortly to follow.

²⁰² 151, (14).

²⁰³ 57.

²⁰⁴ 57, 58.

²⁰⁰ 152.

²⁰¹ 153, 154.

²⁰⁵ 155.

²⁰⁶ 59.

²⁰⁷ 60, 60a.

²⁰⁸ 60b, (7).

²⁰⁹ 61.

²¹⁰ 63.

²¹¹ 64. Specific referentiality here would further increase the audience’s anticipation of divine intervention, as Zeus prevented Diomedes’ further success on that earlier occasion.

²¹² 54.

²¹³ 101.

²¹⁴ 156.

²¹⁵ 156a.

²¹⁶ 157.

²¹⁷ 37.

²¹⁸ 38.

²¹⁹ 158.

²²⁰ 159.

Greeks are clear from the fact of *rescue* (330^a–4),²²¹ which also implies Teukros' safety despite the helplessness connoted in that Aias 'did not | fail to care' (330^b),²²² a helplessness which is then combined with long-term removal from the narrative as he is carried to the ships 'heavily groaning' (334).²²³

The symbolic importance of Teukros to the Greek side²²⁴ is indicated immediately as Zeus initiates the third and final *flight-phase* (335–49)²²⁵ of Θ. Instead of more individual combats, the poet simply describes Hektor's progress to emphasize his imprudent self-belief 'in strength raging' (337),²²⁶ together with the weakness connoted with a *dog simile* (338–40),²²⁷ and the inevitability of divine intervention when one figure is in pursuit 'always killing' (342).²²⁸ This is furthered by the mention of a *rallying-point* (343–5),²²⁹ the fact that 'many were slain' (344)²³⁰ and were 'kept back staying' by the ships (345),²³¹ and by the undermining qualities of the *Ares simile* (349).²³²

This situation is then noticed by Here, whose 'seeing | she pitied' reaction (350)²³³ intimates her intervention, reminding us of her role in ending the previous period of Trojan dominance (78–197),²³⁴ and suggesting a resolution for the current flight-phase. Given Poseidon's reaction on the last occasion, Here now addresses Athene with a persuasive attempt of 'winged words she spoke' (351)²³⁵ before opening once more with the 'O dear' ejaculation (352)²³⁶ which signals her desire for a (doomed) intervention involving

²²¹ 160 (15). ²²² 161 (15). ²²³ 162, (15).

²²⁴ Cf. Reinhardt (1961) 188–9, esp. 189 n. 30. ²²⁵ 32. ²²⁶ 163.

²²⁷ 164. Lonsdale (1990) 77 n. 16 notes that this simile also picks up on Teukros' earlier denigration of Hektor as *κύνα λυσσητήρα* (299). ²²⁸ 165.

²²⁹ 32. 8. 343–4 = 15. 1–2; 8. 345 ~ 15. 3 || 8. 345 ~ 15. 367; 8. 346–7 = 15. 368–9; cf. Kirk (1990) ad loc., 326. If this is a case of specific referentiality, then at 15. 1–3 the audience will infer once more the immediacy of divine intervention, but contrast the efficacy of Zeus' actions with the failure of Here's. Then at 15. 367–9, they are to connect Nestor's following prayer and its answer with the continuation of the Greeks' desperation after the aborted chariot journey, inferring the continuation of their plight; cf. also next two nn. ²³⁰ 166. ²³¹ 167.

²³² 114. ²³³ 168.

²³⁴ This is another case of specific referentiality, this time of the sort in which the creation of doublet narratives encourages the audience to look back upon the previous example in order to guide their anticipation of what is to come. The parallel suggests not only another attempt by Here on the narrative's course, but an effort of increased intensity and length. Diller (1965) 147 believes that the entire scene until 485 is interpolated; cf. Willcock (1995); Myres (1932) 275; Stanley (1993) 104–5. O'Brien (1993) does not deal seriously with this joint attempt by Here and Athene to counteract the *Dios boule* here in Θ, though she describes much of what Here does in the *Iliad* as a somewhat comic reduction of her primordial powers; cf. Appendix B. The net result, of course, is the illustration of Zeus' dominance, but that this has not always been the case adds considerably to the importance of the current tale and its configuration of the *Dios boule*.

²³⁵ 49. ²³⁶ 108.

divine *stasis*, furthered by the coming rebellion connoted by her description of the Greeks' '*who are perishing completing evil destruction*' (354).²³⁷

Athene's reaction is important in several ways. As Zeus' daughter, she represents everything which makes the maintenance of his reign inevitable,²³⁸ and the signalling of her assent in the '*at her in turn spoke*' introduction to her speech (357)²³⁹ brings *stasis* much closer to reality. Her intent is deadly serious, shown initially by her wish that Hektor would '*lose his life*' (358)²⁴⁰ and do so '*in his paternal land*' (359).²⁴¹ She now turns to Zeus, indignation clear from the label '*wretched*' she uses of him (361);²⁴² her explanation that '*he does not | remember*' properly a past situation (362^b)²⁴³ implies that due recognition of that situation should involve the object's compliance. This is here impossible, and the story of her assistance for *Herakles* (362^a–9)²⁴⁴ brings together not only powerful connotations of divine *stasis* but also the fact that rebellions against Zeus tend to be somewhat ephemeral associations, as now the main persecutor and protector of *Herakles* join forces.²⁴⁵ Her dissatisfaction is clear from her assurance '*there will be | when*' (373),²⁴⁶ and she closes with a '*so | we may know*' prediction expressing her certainty (376),²⁴⁷ as does her description of battle as '*the causeways of war*' (378)²⁴⁸ and the threat of *mutilation by animals* (379–80),²⁴⁹ specifically that someone '*will glut the dogs and birds of Troy*' (379),²⁵⁰ which also connotes her mistake.

The poet continues to construct the potential conflict between the goddesses and Zeus,²⁵¹ for the fact that Here '*did not disobey*' (381)²⁵² connotes the fulfilment of Athene's intention, which is furthered by the preparation for

²³⁷ 14, cf. n. 300 on 465, also n. 301.

²³⁸ Cf. Appendix B.

²³⁹ 169.

²⁴⁰ 41. ²⁴¹ 170, (16).

²⁴² 171. ²⁴³ 173.

²⁴⁴ 172. Lohmann (1970) 149–50, places the paradigm story at the heart of his schema covering the exchange between the two goddesses, underlining even more its importance to the narrative at this juncture.

²⁴⁵ Cf. C. Wilson (1996) on 8. 358–80, 198. Athene is not being particularly tactful here, for Here *ἡγαντιοῦτο αὐτῇ σωζούσῃ τὸν Ἡρακλέα* (Σ bT on 362). This is very reminiscent of her father's famous lack of tact in *Σ* when dealing with the same interlocutor; cf. Appendix B.

²⁴⁶ 174.

²⁴⁷ 9.

²⁴⁸ 175.

²⁴⁹ 176.

²⁵⁰ 176a.

²⁵¹ Furthermore, in one of the poem's most well known cases of verbatim repetition, the entire episode is an obvious doublet to their journey in *E*. As a response to Trojan success and after a short declaration of intent (5. 711–19 ~ 8. 350–81), Here harnesses the team (5. 720–32 ~ 8. 382–3) whilst Athene equips herself (5. 733–47 ~ 8. 384–91) before they drive off through the *αὐτόμαται πύλαι* of Olympos (5. 748–52 = 8. 392–6). In keeping with its diminution in scale, *Θ* lacks the description of Hebe (and Here) fitting together the chariot (5. 722–32) and Athene's taking of the aegis (5. 738–42), which is somewhat analogous to Patroklos' failure to grasp Akhilleus' spear in his arming scene in *II*; cf. Reinhardt (1961) 149–50. That fact might allow the audience to reflect on the changed circumstance: in *E* Here and Athene seek and obtain Zeus' permission for their journey; in *Θ* they do not; on the relationship between the two scenes, cf. Diller (1965), Erbse (1961). The question of priority is best explored to see how one scene allows the poet to generate meaning through contrast, rather than simply working out which is the original masterpiece and which the inferior derivation.

²⁵² 54.

the *chariot journey* (382–96).²⁵³ Athene's *personal preparation* focuses on her martial nature and relationship with Zeus (384–91),²⁵⁴ as does the detail of her '*toiling in the making*' of the *peplos* she discards (386),²⁵⁵ whilst the way in which '*she seized the spear*' (389)²⁵⁶ returns us to the immediacy of conflict (as well as intimating the greater importance of another character—Here as it turns out—in the coming narrative), which moves into the chariot *departure* (392–6).²⁵⁷

The shift of focus to Zeus is an *interruption* (397^a–431)²⁵⁸ in both the journey and its connotation of success, and his '*he was terribly wroth*' reaction (397^b)²⁵⁹ shows that he views their challenge as a failing on his part and intends to counteract it. The possibility of conflict is now disarmed through Zeus' order to Iris '*up, go!*' (399)²⁶⁰ and its connotation of an (always successful) *relay instruction* (402–8 | 416–22).²⁶¹ Iris' *mission* (398–425)²⁶² is another example of her constant association with Zeus, and the speech itself is packed with features expressing his authority, such as his predictions about fulfilment '*I will speak | it will be fulfilled*' (401)²⁶³ and its purpose '*so that Athene | may know*' (406).²⁶⁴ Furthermore, the focus on Athene expresses the greater significance within the Olympian family of her rebellion, as indeed does Zeus' '*not so much | as much*' exculpation (407–8)²⁶⁵ of Here's truculence.

Iris' *relay instruction* allows us another character's view of that authority and the crisis itself.²⁶⁶ Firstly, her opening question '*where? / whither? (I)*' (413^b)²⁶⁷ in the *relay introduction* (413^a–15)²⁶⁸ expresses her outrage at the action, and this is resumed by her *addition* to the relay (423^a–4),²⁶⁹ directed at Athene and so once more magnifying the focus on that figure. This addition naturally develops out of the '*not so much | as much*' comparison (421–2 ~ 407–8),²⁷⁰ and in expressing her attitude, Iris positions herself firmly from Zeus' perspective, labelling Athene a '*shameless dog!*' (423^b)²⁷¹ and her apparent decision to intervene in ('*if truly*' 423^c–4) a rebellion.²⁷² All of this, of course, is added to the force of Zeus' own expression of authority within the relay itself (420 ~ 406).²⁷³

²⁵³ 17.

²⁵⁴ 177; cf. further Appendix B.

²⁵⁵ 104 n. 1, 8. 386 = 5. 735. On these two occasions, Athene then puts on the *khiton* of Zeus (5. 736–7 = 8. 387–8); in *E*, she then goes on to put on the *aegis* (738–42) before she and Here go to Zeus to gain his approval (in *Θ*, she does not do this, and they definitely do not have that approval). Thus the poet introduces her making of the item in each case to reflect upon her reliance on Zeus for the freedom to act.

²⁵⁹ 179.

²⁶⁰ 181.

²⁶¹ 182.

²⁵⁶ 178.

²⁵⁷ 17.

²⁵⁸ 17.

²⁶² 180.

²⁶³ 146.

²⁶⁴ 9.

²⁶⁵ 183.

²⁶⁶ (17), also Kakridis (1971) 76–88.

²⁶⁷ 45 (cf. 124 for the other type of these questions).

²⁶⁸ 182, (17).

²⁶⁹ 182.

²⁷⁰ 183.

²⁷¹ 184.

²⁷² 185, (17).

²⁷³ 9.

Here's reaction is immediate, the '*to him spoke a word*' speech introduction showing her perturbation (426),²⁷⁴ and the opening '*O dear!*' ejaculation (427)²⁷⁵ making clear her surprise at the difference between her purpose and reality, necessitating a retreat she justifies by a profession of carelessness *for mortals' sake* (428–30)²⁷⁶ typical for threatened deities. Her new-found compliance is enshrined in her acknowledgement of Zeus' rights in the matter '*as is fitting*' (431),²⁷⁷ also only ever given in contexts of disagreement or difficulty, and in the '*turned back | the horses*' (432^b).²⁷⁸

Furthermore, their *return* (432^a–5)²⁷⁹ and the *tending of their team* (433–5)²⁸⁰ by the Horai represents not only a sense of renewed community with the other gods²⁸¹ and their journey's failure, but also their further involvement in the action. This begins with a '*sorrowing in the heart*' reaction (437)²⁸² connoting their powerlessness, but is interrupted by Zeus' *return journey* (438–9).²⁸³ The *tending of his horses* (440–1)²⁸⁴ by Poseidon is an obvious reminiscence of the earlier refusal to join Here's insurrection (208–11), as well as (by comparison with the Horai) a powerful indicator of Zeus' relative might.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, that the return is described at this length is an indication that he, too, is to be involved in the coming narrative.²⁸⁶

The stage is set for a confrontation in another *assembly* (442–84),²⁸⁷ in which the tone of Zeus' first speech is, as at the opening of *Θ*, obviously significant as a determinative factor in the scene, whilst the position of the assembly at the end of the day's fighting directs that course towards the morrow. Again, just as at the opening of the day's play, the scene is to be concerned with the assertion of Zeus' power, signalled by the way '*Olympos was shaken*' (443)²⁸⁸ and the silence of Athene and Here ('*they did [not] ask*' 445),²⁸⁹ which also shows their unease in a difficult situation. Zeus '*knew* (this) *in his phrenes*' (446)²⁹⁰ as a crucial moment in the establishment of

²⁷⁴ 142. ²⁷⁵ 108. ²⁷⁶ 186. ²⁷⁷ 187.

²⁷⁸ 84, cf. also n. 104 on 157. ²⁷⁹ 17. ²⁸⁰ 17.

²⁸¹ Cf. *μῖγδ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι* (8. 437); also Σ bT on 8. 433.

²⁸² 188.

²⁸³ 17. ²⁸⁴ 17.

²⁸⁵ There may also be a further suggestion of failure, for the Horai remind the audience that Here and Athene got no further than the gates of Olympos. Their presence may well be suggested by a traditional role at Olympos' gates in both 5. 749–52 and 8. 393–6, but on this occasion the chariot's tendance is sufficiently motivated by the reasons suggested above. O'Brien (1993) 185–6, 204 makes the interesting suggestion that Here's connection with the Horai is an essential element of her mythography. Their comparison with Poseidon would then create a gender opposition reflected not only in the primary but also secondary figures of the relationship. Σ bT on 8. 440 suggests that Poseidon acts more *διὰ φιλαδελφίαν* than anything else (and Σ T also focuses on his nature as *ἱππιος*); cf. Reinhardt (1961) 150; also Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 361; Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 70; Willcock (1978) ad loc., 267; Kirk (1990) on 8. 440–1, 332; Schäfer (1990) 71–3; also Appendix B.

²⁸⁶ 17.

²⁸⁷ 3.

²⁸⁸ 106.

²⁸⁹ 189.

²⁹⁰ 190.

his will,²⁹¹ but his rebuking ‘*why thus?*’ question (447)²⁹² invites a response (as does his jibe that ‘*trembling seized their limbs*, 452^b’),²⁹³ which he makes as difficult as possible by asserting his physical power in the most stark terms: labelling his hands ‘*unbeatable*’ (450),²⁹⁴ altering *in loco poetae* a usually predictive ‘*not before | before*’ (452^a–3)²⁹⁵ to describe their retreat, and the similarly directed assertion of his power ‘*I will speak | it will be completed*’ (454)²⁹⁶ about what would have happened had they continued.

That ‘*savage wrath seized*’ (460)²⁹⁷ Athene foreshadows the end of her resistance as she comes up against what is simply inevitable, whilst Here’s reaction is more subtle. Her opening ‘*what sort of word did you speak?*’ question (462)²⁹⁸ suggests cosmic error behind Zeus’ perspective, yet her previous activity makes disingenuous the following admissions that ‘*well | we know*’ (463^a) his strength, which is ‘*not to be borne*’ (463^b),²⁹⁹ though they both connote a qualification of that admission for which Here is arguing; what it is, continuing resistance, can then be made clear by her description of the Greeks ‘*who are perishing, completing evil destruction*’ (465),³⁰⁰ and from Zeus’ description of their trembling limbs (452^b).³⁰¹

Zeus’ ‘*to her in reply spoke*’ introduction signals his annoyance (469),³⁰² and his following speech (469–83) is packed with expressions of his power and authority: the *third-person self-reference* (470–2),³⁰³ the ‘*you will see*’ prediction (471^a),³⁰⁴ and ‘*if | you are willing*’ protasis (471^b)³⁰⁵ begin the process, whilst his ‘*not before | before*’ prediction (473–4)³⁰⁶ and his certainty in ‘*on that day, when*’ (475–6)³⁰⁷ direct his suppression of Here to the first explicit and

²⁹¹ 8. 445–6 = 1. 332–3; on the possibility of specific referentiality here, cf. 189 n. 1. If it be so adjudged, then the audience are to recognize a parallel between Zeus and Akhilleus in realizing that nominal inferiors actually have a tremendous influence over them. ²⁹² 191.

²⁹³ 194. ²⁹⁴ 192. ²⁹⁵ 193. ²⁹⁶ 146, (18).

²⁹⁷ 195. The following reaction scene is a repetition of the scene at the opening of Δ. In both cases, the goddesses are sullenly quiet (8. 457–8 = 4. 20–1) in the face of a speech from Zeus which seems to be pro-Trojan (8. 446–56 | 4. 5–19); Athene is unable to speak because of her rage (8. 459–60 = 4. 22–3), whilst Here cannot stop herself (8. 461 = 4. 24) and delivers a speech, opening with ‘*what sort of word did you speak*’ (8. 462 = 4. 25), during which she challenges Zeus’ first comment (8. 461–8 | 4. 24–9). Furthermore, both speeches are followed by another but angrier reaction from Zeus (8. 469–83 | 4. 30–49), though in Δ he relents to Here’s position and in Θ he does not. The poet would seem to be reminding the audience of an earlier episode in which the ramifications of the same action were not so serious. In Θ they are; cf. Reinhardt (1961) 150–1, who decides for the priority of Θ; *contra* Diller (1965) 141–2; Mueller (1984) 151. The passage does seem to be a deliberate case of copying, despite O’Brien (1993) 81 n. 10, for, whatever Here’s traditional role (on which, cf. Appendix B), Athene is very much aligned with Zeus elsewhere. ²⁹⁸ 112. ²⁹⁹ 12, 13. ³⁰⁰ 14.

³⁰¹ 194. There is also specific referentiality with an episode from the start of Θ, as Here’s pity echoes Athene’s request (8. 463–8 = 8. 32–7). Once more, significant difference as well as similarity: Athene has made her attempt on the narrative, but this time the audience has not heard the last of Here; cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 72. ³⁰² 148. ³⁰³ 10.

³⁰⁴ 196. ³⁰⁵ 75. ³⁰⁶ 193. ³⁰⁷ 197.

detailed declaration of the *Dios boule*.³⁰⁸ As one could tell from the previous exchange, however, Zeus is incautiously underestimating the extent to which Here will be able to frustrate his intentions, an attitude represented now by his avowal 'I do not | care' (477–9 and 482–3),³⁰⁹ his invocation of the *wrathful withdrawal* pattern (478–81)³¹⁰ and his negative characterization of Here's qualities, than whom there is 'no | other | more' doglike (483).³¹¹

Here 'to him not at all spoke' (484),³¹² making clear the continuing trouble facing the Olympian community.³¹³ Furthermore, the absence of a positive determination from this second divine *assembly* in Θ leaves the narrative hanging, whilst the audience expect corresponding assemblies for both Greeks and Trojans.³¹⁴ To add to this, the description of *nightfall* (485–8)³¹⁵ intimates a coming nocturnal episode which motivates the next day's actions, and the first of the *assemblies* (489^a–542) begins immediately. Night is not generally the best of times for these gatherings,³¹⁶ and the unusually military nature of this assembly, and the success which it represents for the Trojans, is made clear from its *locus* (490–1),³¹⁷ the *gathering* itself (492),³¹⁸ and the *description* of Hektor (493^b–5).³¹⁹ His determinative ability

³⁰⁸ Difficulties have been discerned in the prediction's specifics; cf. Σ A on 8. 475–6; Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 73; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 363; van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 417; Diller (1965) 142; van Thiel (1982) 289; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 334; Reinhardt (1961) 167–8. The apparent contradictions between the speech and the later narrative are usually considered to have been explained by the 'Ungenauigkeitsprinzip' of Schadewaldt (1966) 110 n. 3, but there are no inaccuracies in Zeus' words. When Akhilleus can be said to be *ῥρθαι* (8. 474) and appears at the trench, the fight is indeed *ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσι*, for the Greeks have been moving back to the ships with Patroklos since Aias' suggestion (17. 715–21); cf. esp. 18. 6–7. Furthermore, the poet does not have Zeus say that Patroklos will die at the ships, merely that they will fight around his corpse at the ships; cf. Di Benedetto (1994) 275–6 n. 10. Σ A nonetheless objects that they are not fighting *στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ*. *στείνος* itself is a singularly labile term, referring 'to the narrow gap between either the ships and the chariots or the ships and the rampart ... (or) that between the rampart and the ditch': Janko (1992) on 15. 426, 275. At the moment of Akhilleus' appearance, the Trojans are pressing or close to the wall and the ships, and so I would suggest that the reference of *στείνος* is not too precise. Indeed, Erbse (1986) 199–200, follows Σ T ad loc., and opts for a metaphorical interpretation; cf. also 193 n. 5 for other objections. ³⁰⁹ 198.

³¹⁰ 18. ³¹¹ 199. ³¹² 200.

³¹³ Diller (1965) 140–1, finds the lack of resolution very disquieting, but this is emphasized here quite deliberately, indeed far more strongly than Diller recognized, because Here is not yet to be reconciled with Zeus' explicit purpose. ³¹⁴ 2, 3. ³¹⁵ 201. ³¹⁶ 2, 3.

³¹⁷ 2, 3. ³¹⁸ 2, 3.

³¹⁹ 2, 3. 8. 493^b–5 = 6. 318^b–20. There need be no speculation about which is the original passage, as Σ A ad loc. (amongst many others); e.g. Bolling (1925) 111; *contra* Römer (1912) 260; van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 37–8; Nickau (1977) 74 n. 21. Through this specific reference, the poet may here be attempting to encourage the audience to recognize the difference between the scenes. In Z, his martial authority was required to stir the effete Paris into action and seemed rather discordant in that setting; here in Θ the Trojan presence on the field at such a late stage in the day is similarly unusual, though Hektor's personal appearance is somewhat more concordant; cf. Arend (1933) 119; Griffin (1980) 13 and 7–8. Tsagarakis (1982) 101 strangely

is in any case clear from the fact of *summoning* (489^b–91)³²⁰ and that he *speaks first* (493^a).³²¹

Notwithstanding that authority, the poet begins by focusing again on his delusion in the speech (497–541),³²² initially through his opening ‘*hearken to me*’ appeal (497)³²³ and the elucidation of mistaken ‘*I thought*’ (498).³²⁴ As is common in end-of-day *assemblies*, the speech itself is based around a (uniquely doubled) contrast between *immediate instructions for the night* (502^a–24 | 529)³²⁵ and *predictions for the morning* (525–8 | 530^a–41).³²⁶ This repetition, and the unusually greater size of the first set of practical instructions, points the audience both towards the novel needs of the army and an expectation of Trojan aggression in the morning; the latter is furthered by a transitional ‘*let us yield to*’ appeal (502^b)³²⁷ at the beginning of the speech’s first subsection, and the former’s abnormality by his description of the fire light, whose ‘*selas went to heaven*’ (509).³²⁸ This latter unit also points to the Greeks’ fearful posture, which Hektor believes (‘*over the broad back of the sea*’ 511)³²⁹ will naturally resolve itself in their flight, whilst the ‘*all-night*’ duration of the fires (508)³³⁰ leads the audience to expect a corresponding episode in the Greek camp.

Furthermore, he sees Greek defeat as inevitable (‘*not without effort*’ 512),³³¹ resuming his delusion, and the poet furthers this with Hektor’s advice for the morning, to be ‘*armed with armour*’ (530^b),³³² his description of the supposedly defensive Diomedes ‘*awaiting my onset*’ (536^a),³³³ and his *impossible wish* (538–41).³³⁴ His conviction is a matter of faith and self-conception (‘*I think*’ 536^b),³³⁵ but his determination to ‘*stir up keen war*’ (531)³³⁶ suggests that this identification is not only unwise but also the subject of some contention in the Trojan camp. Nonetheless, the crowd *cry out* in approval (542)³³⁷ and so link themselves with the course adopted by the assembly’s dominant speaker.

Now the Trojans fulfil their *instructions* (543–65),³³⁸ the unusual prominence and detail in the passage another reflection of the individual nature of

argues that the function of Hektor’s spear should not be overemphasized, as it is the natural thing for him to be holding at that point in the day, though one wonders why the poet decided not to draw him empty-handed. Bannert (1988) 163 n. 14, compares Agamemnon’s sceptre (8. 496 ~ 2. 109) to show the discrepancy between the situations, and indeed the commanders.

320 2, 3. 321 2, 3. 322 (19). 323 4. 324 202. 325 203.

326 203. 327 204. 328 206. 329 207. 330 205. 331 208.

332 209; 8. 530–1 = 18. 303–4; cf. 209/1, 6. 333 211 (19a).

334 213, (19b). 8. 540–1 = 13. 827. The import of this specific reference, made clear only in *N*, is to connect Hektor’s determination and the following assembly in *I* with the council at the start of *E*, both scenes dominated by Greek fears of the Trojan advance. Now, in *N*, the audience is uncertain as to how far that advance will go, for the situational contrast with the wish at the end of *Θ* is noticeable. Night is a long way off.

337 2, 3. 338 203. 335 212 (19a). 336 210.

the situation. The poet gives them also an unheralded *hekatomb sacrifice* (548–52),³³⁹ emphasizing the importance of events for the Trojans, while the failure of the act itself and that Troy ‘*was hated*’ by the gods (551)³⁴⁰ connect this current phase with the story of Troy as a whole, and points out the inevitability of the city’s destruction.

The poet then focuses the audience’s attention on the aggressive intent of the Trojans, ‘*thinking big*’ (553^a)³⁴¹ and looking on the ‘*causeways of war*’ (553^b),³⁴² the first of these looking for its further definition into the *star simile* (555–61)³⁴³ describing their intentions and connoting danger, primarily at least, for the Greeks. The expansion of the image into a *shepherd simile* (559^a)³⁴⁴ invites us firstly to ponder Hektor’s responsibility, and his ‘*rejoiced | in phren*’ reaction (559^b)³⁴⁵ on seeing the stars / watch-fires personalizes that position through pseudo-parentalism, but secondly places him also in danger as the observer of the stars.³⁴⁶ The next episode in the Greek camp has already been forecast in a number of ways,³⁴⁷ but the poet does it again with the ‘*horses feeding | by the chariots*’ (564),³⁴⁸ before closing once more with expressions connoting Trojan intent as they ‘*waited for dawn*’ (565),³⁴⁹ whilst their stance ‘*standing by*’ those chariots places an ambiguous construction on their effectiveness.³⁵⁰

³³⁹ 214, (20). ³⁴⁰ 215. ³⁴¹ 216. ³⁴² 175, (21).

³⁴³ 217. 8. 557–8 = 16. 299–300. Specific referentiality would underline in *II* the short-term respite following the period or action so designated, and it might also summon the audience’s awareness of the referential impact of the simile group here in *Θ*, i.e. just as the Trojan advance and Hektor’s satisfaction were dangerous for themselves as well in *Θ*, so the brief checking of the Trojans does not necessarily spell the end of danger for the Greeks in *II*. There are, however, doubts over the authenticity of the *Θ* passage; cf. also (22). ³⁴⁴ 218. ³⁴⁵ 219.

³⁴⁶ 217. The identity of the shepherd at 8. 559 has been considered something of a problem; cf. 218/4 n. 7.

³⁴⁷ The relationship between the poem’s narrative segments and its book-divisions is one of the many controversies in Homeric scholarship, and the bibliography is predictably large; cf. e.g. S. West (1967) 18–25; Goold (1977); Nicolai (1973); van Sickle (1980); S. West (1988) 33–48, esp. 40 n. 19; Taplin (1992) 285–93; Richardson (1993) 1–14; Stanley (1993) 36–7, 249–61; de Jong (1996); Heiden (1996), (1998), (2000*a*), (2000*b*); Jensen et al. (1999).

That the poet is drawing the audience forward into the narrative of *I* (for links with *K*, cf. Danek 1988: 12–13, 63, 86, 108–9) suggests its very close link with *Θ*, and has been invoked as an argument against the book-divisions, e.g. by Taplin (1992) 289; *contra* Heiden (1996) 20, who maintains that *Θ* closes a segment of the poem. The current work is trying to demonstrate that the narrative is constantly moving forward, drawing upon the interpretative possibilities of an anticipating audience in order to forecast events not only immediately subsequent but also many thousands of verses away. The division in the MSS should not be allowed to obscure the essential continuity between the end of *Θ* and the following Greek assembly, but this need not have any further consequences for a judgement of the originality of those divisions themselves.

³⁴⁸ 220. ³⁴⁹ 221. ³⁵⁰ 141.

Lexicon

Dawn [$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ | $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$]: 6 examples: [1] 2. 48–9, [2] 8. 1, [3] 11. 1–2, [4] 19. 1–2, [5] 23. 109–10, [6] 24. 695.¹ 1

There are three categories of dawn in the *Iliad*; (a) after a period of indefinite time, in the form ἀλλ' ὅτε ... γένετ' ἡώς | καὶ τότε (1. 493; 6. 175; 24. 31, 785); (b) after the commencement of a ritual action (usually a funeral) to signal the return to social normality, in the form ἥμος | τῆμος (1. 477–8, 7. 433–4, 23. 226–8, 24. 788–9);² (c) the current category, after a motivating episode during the night, introduced either by $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ | $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (*aut sim.*) or $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ | $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (*aut sim.*). Not every day of the poem is opened by an explicit description of dawn (e.g. 1. 1–52, 1. 54–476), and periods of indefinite time are also mostly so unmarked (1. 53, 1. 488–92, 24. 784; *contra* 24. 3–30). Moreover, there are at least two descriptions of dawn which do not fit precisely into the current tripartition: 7. 381 (ἡῶθεν), 24. 12–13. This last is a singular example of dawn occurring *within* a period of indefinite time, underlining the unusual behaviour and nature of Akhilleus.³ No other indefinite period before a 'lapse of time' dawn is accorded any temporal frames—morning, noon, night etc.

The defining feature of these expressions is the motivating nocturnal episode preceding them:⁴ [1] the devising of the Dream by Zeus (2. 1–47); [2] the hostility which Zeus manifests to *both* sides in his astral or meteorological manifestations;⁵ [3] the Trojan and Greek assemblies, the embassy to Akhilleus, and the *Doloneia* (8. 489–565 / 9. 1–668 / 10. 1–579); [4] the fashioning of the arms (18. 369–617); [5] Patroklos' shade (23. 62–108); [6] the ransoming of Hektor (24. 352–694). Notice also that the poet is wont to

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 2. 48–9, 119; de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 2. 1, 44; Latacz (2003) on 2. 48–9, 25; Kirk (1990) on 8. 1, 294–5; Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 1–2, 213–14; Macleod (1982) 47–8.

² This is the most common expression for dawn in the *Odyssey*; cf. Radin (1988); also 27.

³ For other situations where Akhilleus provides the only exception to a referential definition, or puts the system under some other kind of stress, cf. 8/3; 22/3a; 25/4; 48/13; 60/9; 71/6; 75/7; 18; 80 n. 1; 83/4; 87/12, 20; 92/8–11; 94/7; 105/11; 107/17; 113/7; 114/25, 26; 117/29, 30; 126/17; 139/12; 143; 153/9; 160/12; 161/4; 166/4; 176/16; 182/10; 183/8; 195; 197/15; 201; 205/14; 215/5; 221/2. For examples where he does not use rhetorical referentiality very well, cf. 70/3; 75/19; 93/10; 116/4; 125/19; 196/3; cf. also A. Parry (1956); Martin (1989) ch. 4.

⁴ This motivating episode is always introduced by an expression denoting *nightfall*; cf. 201.

⁵ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 7. 476–8, 292.

use herein forms of the adjective *παννύχιος* to denote a continuing context against which that action is expected, or that action itself.⁶ The episode motivates directly the coming action: [1] the Dream induces Agamemnon to attack; [2] Zeus continues to show his hostility, this time to the gods; [3] the preparations for the third great day of battle lead into it with varying degrees of direction; [4] the arms will play a quite important role in the coming battle; [5] in response to the shade's instructions, Akhilleus then begins the funeral of his friend; [6] Hektor's funeral can now and does take place.

From its deployment at the start of each of the four battle days, it would be tempting to say that this dawn is used for the most prominent or fully elaborated complete days of action; the day of the Funeral Games (23. 226–24. 3) is not thus introduced only because this event takes place on the second day of a funeral rite and marks the transition of the group from grief to social reintegration through the performance of a communal activity;⁷ hence the poet uses a dawn of category (*b*) above. On the other hand, the current category is employed for days whose events are not so prominent, as e.g. the first day of Patroklos' funeral [5], which comprises a little over one hundred verses.⁸

2, 3 The **Assembly** may be categorized by its beginning, for the scene may (*a*) be fully narrated from gathering to dissolution, or (*b*) introduced by a transitional device, the arrival of a character or the group's common observation of an action.

2 **Assembly *ab initio***: 12 examples: [1] 1. 53–305, [2] 2. 50–399, [3] 3. 76–120 || 245–327 || 449–61, [4] 7. 55–205, [5] 7. 345–80, [6] 8. 2–40, [7] 8. 489–542, [8] 9. 9–79, [9] 18. 243–313, [10] 19. 40–276, [11] 20. 4–32, [12] 24. 32–77 || 108–20. [3], [12] are interrupted in their course, with other episodes and arrivals being inserted into the sequence. It is another sign (cf. below) of this pattern's structural priority, that the poet is prepared to use this form as the backbone of an extended sequence of narrative.

3 **Assembly, transitional**: 12 examples: [1] 1. 12–34, [2] 1. 533–606, [3] 2. 786–808, [4] 4. 1–72, [5] 5. 367–430, [6] 5. 868–909, [7] 7. 381–412, [8] 7. 413–17, [9] 7. 443–64, [10] 8. 442–84, [11] 15. 79–150, [12] 22. 167–86.¹

This important structure will be discussed first with regard to its structure and then its placement.

Formally, all consultation patterns may be conveniently tripartitioned into (*a*) introduction, in which the gathering is set up, (*b*) *contio*, in which the

⁶ Cf. 205.

⁷ Cf. Edwards (1986).

⁸ Cf. 205 for discussion of the temporal markers around Patroklos' funeral.

¹ Cf. Arend (1933), 116–21; A. B. Lord (1960) 146–7; Nagler (1974) 121–30; Tsagarakis (1982) 100–3; Bannert (1987); Latacz (2000) on 1. 54, 47–8; Latacz (2003) on 2. 86b–401, 33; D. Beck (2006) ch. 5.

problem is debated and a determination established, and (c) resolution. The *Introduction*, to which there is no simple prescription, may tell the audience about the *locus* of the gathering, the time of day, the process itself, the identity of the summoner and perhaps a description of his appearance.

The usual *locus* for the Trojans' assembly is specified in 2/5 as ἐν πόλει ἄκριι παρὰ Πριάμοιο θύρησιν (7. 345–6; cf. also 3/3, 2. 788), for the Greeks in 3/7 as νηὶ πάρα πρυμνῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος (7. 383)² and for the gods in 3/2 as the house of Zeus (1. 533; cf. also 2/11, 3/4, 3/6, 3/9, 3/11). There is, therefore, obviously a correlation between *locus* and authority, but frequently the poet omits to give locational specifics or a simple εἰν ἀγορῇ *vel sim.* (as 2/1, 2/2, 2/8, 2/9, 2/10, 3/8). There are also other assorted expressions not necessarily contradictory with the specific *loci*: cf. 2/6 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο (8. 3), 3/5 θεῶν ἔδος αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον (5. 367). Therefore, though not every example mentions this element, unusual *loci* are noticeable. In these cases, the alteration is usually caused by an individual narrative context: 2/3 and 2/4 come as halting points in the battle, and so occur on the battlefield, whilst 2/7 comes at the end of the day, and both the place of the gathering and the source of the participants reflect the unusual situation in which the Trojans find themselves at the end of Θ, viz. being able to camp out in the field (similarly 2/9).³

Most of the assemblies occur in the morning (as 2/2, 2/6, 2/10, 2/11, 2/12) or during the day (as 2/1, 2/3, 2/4, 3/1–3/8, 3/11, 3/12).⁴ Only 2/5, 2/7, 2/8, 2/9, 3/9, 3/10 fall outside this time. The first four come at night, and their determinations are harmful to the group: 2/5 Priam's compromise between Paris and Antenor confirms the consequences of the oath-breaking and the re-enactment of Paris' original error;⁵ 2/7 the Trojans determine to stay out in the field and push their luck to the limit, perhaps understandably; 2/8 the Greeks are obviously in desperate straits, and their eventual plan to bring Akhilleus back into the fold fails; 2/9 again the Trojans, this time with good indication that they should stay inside, decide to remain in camp in the field.⁶ Furthermore, 3/9 and 3/10 fall at the end of the day before dusk, and they are both predicated on actions which are in themselves disturbing or unusual: 3/9

² Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 681, 131–2, who mentions that at 11. 806–8 it is specified by the ship of Odysseus which was next to Agamemnon's; cf. also, however, Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 5–9, 214–15.

³ Cf. Commentary ad loc. for a discussion of this quality.

⁴ Gatherings of the transitional variety usually occur during the day, for this is the accepted time for travel; cf. 45/4.

⁵ For other features in this scene (7. 345–79), cf. 4/6, 7; 4a/2; 49/15; 73 n. 1; 75/4; 182/8; B/6; also 185/2.

⁶ For the many other elements in this scene (18. 243–313), cf. 12 and n. 1; 26/25; 33/11; 69/11; 70/7; 75/15, 16; 90/5; 98/9; 99/14, 15; 176/15, 16; 185/10; 203/5, 6; 204a/8; 209/5, 6; 210/4; 221/4; B/9.

Poseidon remarks with anger on the construction of the wall without proper sacrifice. The need for a wall as a concomitant of the Greeks' sense of danger is therefore powerfully underlined;⁷ 3/10 Zeus' quarrel with Here and Athene is a symbol of the barely suppressed *stasis* which fuels much of their depiction in the poem.⁸ Whether one should say that time by itself is a negative intimation or simply a function of an unusual circumstance which is itself inherently dubious, is difficult to say.⁹ It would, however, seem more than a trifle coincidental that bad decisions tend to be taken in meetings at this time.

The gathering of the assembly is obviously a function of the narrative context, in that assemblies held in the usual place require very little explanation as to the source of the group or the process of its gathering (as in 2/1, 2/5, 2/6 and 2/12) and, of course, are not found with the transitional assemblies. Again, in cases like 2/3, 2/4 and 2/7, as these consultations are held in the middle of the battlefield, the poet will express the process of gathering (cf. 2/3 3. 77–8, 113–15; 2/4 7. 55–6, 57, 61–6). Narrative exigency does not seem to be the governing principle all the time, for in 2/2 the poet tells that the army gathered *νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων* (2. 91), which is not required from a strictly informative point of view. It seems to be the case that emphasis is a signal to the audience to pay particular attention to the following pattern: in 2/10 the poet expends a great deal of information on the group as it gathers, and the fact that Akhilleus' cry can summon even those from the rear echelon *οἷ περ τὸ πάρος γε νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι μένεσκον* (19. 42) obviously represents the importance of the assembly and the figure calling it, as well as the narrative juncture. Moreover, the poet extends this to the description of the arrival of the walking wounded, affording a powerful reminder of the Greek need at this point. In 2/11 the same point about the universality of the assembly can be made: *οὔτε τις οὐδὲν ποταμῶν ἀπέην | οὔτ' ἄρα νυμφάων* (20. 7–8).

The fact of summoning and the identity of the summoner are usually mentioned, this not being the case only in 2/5, 2/9 and 2/12: in the first case, the assembly is already in session, in the second the Trojans gather in fear after the end of hostilities, and in the third Apollo simply speaks up after dawn breaks.¹⁰ Summoners are generally figures of particular authority (Akhilleus 2/1, 2/10, Agamemnon 2/2, 2/8, Hektor 2/3, 2/4, 2/7, and of course Zeus 2/6, 2/10), and the equation of summoner = first speaker is a powerful

⁷ For the other features in this scene (7. 443–64), cf. 83/1; 108/7; 111/3; 113/3; 125/11; 214/6; also Maitland (1999).

⁸ Cf. Appendix B.

⁹ Cf. *Od.* 3. 137–40, where the emphasis on unsuitability seems to be linked to the presence of wine, as well as the time of day; also S. West (1988) ad loc., 168.

¹⁰ One might also consider that this last assembly occurs directly after a period of indefinite time as part of an *ἀλλ' ὅτε | καὶ τότε* progression; cf. 1.

indication of that authority: Akhilleus' concern with the plague and its remedy dominates the first half of 2/1, with the proposition of Kalkhas and Agamemnon's grudging assent amounting to the determination; Agamemnon dominates at least the first half of 2/2; Hektor's proposal of duels at the start of 2/3, 2/4 sets the narrative's precondition until the acceptance of the challenge, as do his commands for the night in 2/7 and Akhilleus' renunciation of his wrath 2/10.¹¹ Exceptions to this general rule gain their significance precisely because of it: 2/11 Zeus is interrupted by Poseidon before he can speak, who asks about his purpose and resumes the undercurrent of conflict between them which has dominated much of the narrative between *N* and *O*.¹² This example does not, nonetheless, directly confute the summoner's authority, as the poet does in 2/8, where Agamemnon's first proposal of flight is contradicted outright by Diomedes. The importance of this scene is underlined by the almost unprecedented nature of Diomedes' action at this pivotal determinative moment.

Of course, assemblies of the transitional variety are assumed to have gathered already, and the poet moves the narrative focus to the scene usually by following the arrival of a transitional character: 3/1 Khryses, 3/2 Zeus, 3/3 Iris, 3/5 Iris and Aphrodite, 3/6 Ares, 3/7, 3/8 Idaios, 3/10 Zeus, 3/11 Here. The other three examples are introduced with divine observation of an event down on earth; 3/4 the gods observe the stalemate after the duel and deal with its resolution; 3/9 the wall under construction, which causes Poseidon some pain; 3/12 the chase around the walls, which they resolve by despatching Athene to the scene.¹³ Of all these scenes, only 3/3, 3/7, 3/8 are not allotted to the gods. The transitional character is either questioned by another (as in 3/2, 3/5, 3/11), or simply issues a speech without provocation (as in 3/1, 3/3, 3/6–3/8, 3/10).

Finally, the poet may also describe the first speaker's physical appearance or equipment (as in 2/2–2/4, 2/7, 3/1, 3/3), actions (as in 2/8, 2/11, 3/2, 3/6, 3/11) or mental state, but may include other significant aspects. For instance,

¹¹ Though his domination over the narrative is eventually and successfully challenged by Odysseus on Agamemnon's behalf in this scene (19. 145–237); cf. 9/37; 10/13; 75/19; 77/21; 115/7; 148/28–31; 169/30; 193/17; 210/5; Appendix A (15). For elements within Agamemnon's first speech in this scene (19. 76–144), cf. 4/11 n. 4. It should, further, not go unremarked that both Agamemnon and Akhilleus have the authority to summon an assembly; only Zeus and Hektor do so for their respective groups. The contest over the right to be ἀριστος Ἀχαιῶν is therefore obvious from the moment at which Akhilleus summons the assembly in *A*.

¹² For other elements in this scene (20. 4–32), cf. 148/32; 179/3. For their potential conflict, cf. esp. 13. 10–16, 15. 173–219; 17/9 n. 13; for the scenes between Zeus, Iris and Poseidon (15. 157–219), cf. 77/16 n. 8.

¹³ For the other elements in this scene (22. 166–87), cf. 15/2 n. 3; 16/6; 83/6; 92/11; 108/25; 109/4; 148/34; 169/34.

in 2/9, the first speaker's rhetorical credentials are described before the speech, a typical element before the verse *ὁ σφιν ἔϋ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν*.¹⁴ This description generally allows the audience to connect the character with the situation and the substance of his following speech: 3/3 Iris' choice of form, the scout Polites, foreshadows the nature of her message; 2/2 Agamemnon's sceptre is a symbol of his authority, with the testing and proving of which this assembly is largely concerned;¹⁵ 2/8 Agamemnon's weeping symbolizes his helplessness in the situation, which has to be rescued by Diomedes; 3/6 Ares shows his wounds to Zeus, about the outrageous nature of which he goes on to complain; 2/9 Poulydamas' credentials as a speaker, and the proleptic value of *ὁ σφιν ἔϋ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν*, underline the importance of his advice and the calamity represented by their failure to heed;¹⁶ 2/3, 2/4 Hektor holds back the Trojans by grasping his spear in the middle, primarily a practical means of stopping the armies from fighting but also representative of his desire for a halt in the battle so that his proposal can be put. Description need not be limited to the first speaker: in 2/10 the poet describes the wounded leaders coming to attend the assembly, and Agamemnon's first speech is also prefaced with a description of his inability to rise to make his speech.

The *Contio* section of the assembly is much less regular in its construction, as speech is ubiquitous in the *Iliad* and exchanges of the sort found in assemblies are scattered throughout the poem in many different types of scene.¹⁷ Something one does expect in these circumstances, however, is the adoption of a determination for the group to follow in the coming narrative, though once again this is not a matter of formulaic or even particularly distinctive patterning.

The general pattern, though hardly confined to the assembly, is one of speech and reaction,¹⁸ which is found in its simplest form e.g. in 2/7, where Hektor simply delivers his instructions for the night and aspirations for the morrow, and there is no answering speech. One may compare 2/5, in which there are three such progressions, with speeches by Antenor (7. 347–54), Paris (354–65), and Paris (365–79), only the last of which seals the determination. The potential for large-scale generation can best be seen in the great assemblies of *A* (2/1) or *B* (2/2), where several progressions of increasing complexity and length allow the poet to construct the scene over several hundred verses.

¹⁴ Cf. B.

¹⁵ For the other elements in this scene (2. 100–8), cf. 104/1; 119/6, 7; also 177/1, 2.

¹⁶ Cf. B/9; also above, n. 6.

¹⁷ Cf. Arend (1933) 116 n. 1.

¹⁸ Cf. 11, 11a, 11b for one type of these reactions.

The *Resolution* of the scene makes explicit the link between the determination and the continuation of the narrative (where there is a positive course of action requiring implementation, which is not the case in 3/2, 3/5, 3/6, 3/9, 3/10; cf. below), but once again without a rigid prescription of elements. The poet may generate acclamation, dismissal, the departure of one, several or all of the characters, etc.

Though a common group reaction—when it is mentioned at all—is simple acquiescence (2/2, 2/5, 2/8, 3/8), acclaim is employed in five assemblies to confirm the adoption of the determination: 2/2 2. 394–7 (with simile), 2/7 8. 542, 2/9 18. 310–13, 3/1 1. 22–3, 3/7 7. 403–4. Such acclamation is an important element in the link between will and suffering which is so important in the *Iliad*: 2/2 the Greek army acclaims the decision to fight. After its earlier readiness to flee and abandon the entire project, it is important that they are brought back into line with the aims of the expedition and its leaders; 2/7, 2/9 the Trojans' folly in following Hektor's determinations involves them as well in the doom of the final day, for Hektor's death is represented as a tragedy for the city as a whole.¹⁹ In the examples from transitional assemblies, the acclaim occurs during, not at the end of, the pattern: 3/1 the crowd is sympathetic to Khryses' appeal, underlining the individual nature of Agamemnon's refusal. He goes against not only a priest of Apollo, but the entire army; 3/7 after Idaios' relayed offer of peace on certain terms, Diomedes' rousing refusal concerns only that part of the herald's speech, and does not address the truce.²⁰ The crowd acclaims Diomedes, and Agamemnon then gives the necessary approval for the truce.

Where the assembly is actually explicitly dismissed, this may be a separate action narrated after the final speech (as in 2/1, 2/10, 3/3), but by far the most common eventuality at the end of the assembly is the departure of a character or the whole group in order to fulfil the determination, and these departures are necessarily linked to the determination as a means of resuming the narrative: 2/1 Akhilleus storms off to his own tent, Agamemnon first to despatch a ship and then to claim Briseis; 2/2 the army departs to prepare for battle (as in 2/7, 2/10, 3/3, also 3/8 for the burials); 2/5 Idaios journeys to the Greek camp the morning after; 2/6 Zeus to the battlefield; 2/8 selected group to the pickets, the leaders to Agamemnon's tent; 2/11 gods to the battle; 3/1 Khryses departs in fear; 3/4 Athene speeds down to the battlefield to break the oaths, as she does again in 3/12 to hasten Hektor's end; 3/7 Idaios leaves the Greek camp to return to Troy; 3/11 Apollo and Iris speed on their way to Zeus; 2/11 the other gods leave for battle.

¹⁹ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

²⁰ Cf. 11/3.

Those examples which have no such departure or dissolution, i.e. those transitional assemblies with no immediate determination—3/2, 3/5, 3/6, 3/9, 3/10—are all allotted to the gods, who are assumed (as has been seen) to be in an assembly of some sort most of the time. These scenes usually end with at least some reconciliation among the divine community: 3/2 thanks to Hephaistos' comedy skills, the gods are able to continue their feast in good humour until sunset; 3/5 Zeus assuages Aphrodite after some teasing from Athene; 3/6 after his own sharp rebuke of Ares, Zeus instructs Paian to heal his son; 3/9 Poseidon's outrage over the construction of the wall is again soothed by Zeus; 3/10 is noticeable among these scenes in not ending in such a calming resolution but with Here's forced silence.²¹

The majority of consultation patterns fall within the four battle days, with only 3/1, 2/1, 3/2, 3/7, 3/8, 3/9, 2/12 located outside. The *ab initio* assemblies are usually used to introduce events of greater moment in the course of the poem: 2/1 is the locus for the great quarrel between Akhilleus and Agamemnon; 2/2 introduces the catalogue and the first of the four major days of battle; 2/8 eventually leads into the embassy and serves to introduce the battle on the following, long, day; 2/9 (on the preceding night), 2/10, 2/11 together serve as the final consultation before the great *aristeia* of Akhilleus, whilst 2/12 sets in train the ransom of Hektor. Transitional assemblies, on the other hand, are linked with less important episodes: 3/2 the initial declaration of Zeus' refusal to let Here interfere in his plans, 3/4 the oath-breaking at the start of Δ, 3/5, 3/6 the wounding of Aphrodite and Ares, 3/7, 3/8 the acceptance of the truce on the Greek and Trojan sides. This statement is true even of the pattern which dispatches Athene to the field to finish the final combat 3/12.

It should be noted that the freedom of movement from battlefield to Olympus and one camp to the other, which is a general quality of transitional assemblies, becomes increasingly impossible as the narrative progresses, accounting for the fact that only two of its examples are found after the end of Θ, 3/11, 3/12, as the battle from hereon in moves on increasingly predetermined lines. The gods are expressly forbidden to intervene (though their obedience is grudgingly gained), whilst the gathering bitterness in the battle removes the avenues of communication between Trojans and Greeks.²² Of course, this is not a limit on the prolepsis of these patterns; the determination of the assembly in which Akhilleus and Agamemnon come to grips 2/1 is

²¹ Cf. 200/5.

²² Cf. 133 n. 7 for a similar phenomenon.

immediately directed towards the propitiation of Apollo, but obviously prophetic for the entire poem.

These observations should not obscure contextual influences. Formal gatherings for the participants are generally impossible during the course of the battle, and so any decisions taken must occur within assemblies of the transitional variety, unless the fighting itself is halted (as in 2/3, 2/4). More usually, therefore, major decisions are taken by the groups before or after battle—hence the dominance of *ab initio* patterns there, where the poet has the leisure to treat them as separate events worth narration in their own right. Furthermore, the gods are generally assumed to be in a semi-permanent state of assembly on Olympus, thus accounting for the great number of transitional assemblies allotted to them, although they too seem to take major consultations at morning or night (as in 2/6, 3/10, 2/11, 2/12).

Finally, the clustering of these scenes allows the audience to see the perspective of each group upon a focal event or point in the narrative, and thus predict and / or summarize their attitudes and actions. As such, they are particularly concentrated around the junctures of the battle days: 3/2 (Gods), 2/2 (Greeks), and 3/3 (Trojans) preface the first day of battle, giving Zeus' determination not to be stopped and Here's resistance to it, the Greek belief in their coming victory, and the Trojan determination to resist; 2/5 (T), 3/7 (Gr), 3/8 (T), 3/9 (G), and 2/6 (G) introduce the second day, setting up the truce, the rejection of restitution, and Zeus' attitude to the action. The number of such patterns is an indication, perhaps not of the importance of the second day in itself, but that day in the progression of the *Dios boulē*;²³ 3/10 (G), 2/7 (T), and 2/8 (Gr) introduce the third central day of battle, and summarize the Greek and Trojan beliefs about the course of the coming clash, and their decision to renew hostilities (on the Greek side after some vacillation); 2/9 (T), 2/10 (Gr), and 2/11 (G) usher in the final day, and establish the Trojan persistence and acquiescence in their doom at this crucial moment, the renunciation of Akhilleus' wrath in the Greek camp, and the notion of divine action as a requirement and magnification of his presence on the battlefield.

²³ This tells strongly against the opinion of Diller (1965) 147 that everything from 8. 350 to 8. 484 is an interpolation. Without a divine assembly, the next battle day would be the only one lacking a complete complex of consultation—doubly strange given that this is the longest day of battle in the poem.

- 4 ‘hearken to me’ [κέκλυτέ μοι]: 11 examples: [1] 3. 86 (2/3), [2] 3. 97 (νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο) (2/3), [3] 3. 304 (2/3), [4] 3. 456 (2/3), [5] 7. 67 (2/4), [6] 7. 348 (2/5), [7] {7. 368} (2/5), [8] 8. 5 (2/6), [9] 8. 497 (2/7), [10] 17. 220 (σῖνε μοί), [11] 19. 101 (2/10).¹

Speeches so introduced are allotted to figures of particular authority, and contain proposals which are usually carried out (a narrative disjunction being the result when they are not) and reveal the speaker’s delusion: [1] Hektor proposes the duel with Paris;² [2] Menelaos accepts the proposal to fight Paris; [3] Priam informs the audience of his intention to return to Troy; [4] Agamemnon proposes the fulfilment of the obligation (*not* fulfilled, but reversed only by divine intervention). These four examples all occur within the same assembly, and are a progressive commentary on the delusion on both sides, who believe that decisions they take can affect the immediate outcome of the war or avert the destruction of Troy. In the last case, the disjunction is rendered by a divine intervention, for Agamemnon’s κέκλυτέ μοι makes it clear that this is precisely what should have happened, although he too is mistaken in the belief that such a process could bring an end to the war; [5] Hektor offers another duel, confident that he will be able to kill a major Greek hero; [6] Antenor proposes full restitution and peace, but is rejected by Paris and another κέκλυτέ μοι appeal [7] is then generated, this time in Priam’s speech, which is also deluded in implementing an offer of partial restitution;³ [8] Zeus, though acknowledging in several ways the recalcitrance of the gods, seems to feel that a threat of physical violence will suffice; [9] Hektor expresses his hopes for the course of the battle tomorrow, particularly focusing on Diomedes; [10] Hektor’s appeal to the allies seeks the capture of Patroklos’ corpse, and reminds them of longer-term considerations, in both of which he is deluded; [11] Zeus, clearly intending Herakles, is deceived by Here into granting authority to Eurystheus.⁴

- 4a ‘while I say what my *thumos* in my chest commands’ [ὄφρ’ εἶπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει]: 4 examples: [1] 7. 68 (4/5), [2] 7. 349 (4/6), [3] {8. 6} (4/8), [4] 19. 102 (ἀνώγει) (4/11).¹

¹ Despite its structural similarity with 3. 97, 10. 284 (κέκλυθι νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο) is discussed under prayers; cf. 126/14a, b.

² A certain habit of employing traditional language unwisely is characteristic of Hektor; cf. 5, 9, 10; 49/36; 75/16; 81/2–5, 8 nn. 2–3; 96/3–8, 10, 12; 98/2–7, 9; also 99/4, 11, 14, 24; 103/5; 104/3; 105/6; 112 n. 1; 193/14; 208/1; 209/1, 6; *contra* 46b/6; 55/5.

³ Cf. 2/5 n. 5.

⁴ For other features in Agamemnon’s speech (19. 76–144), cf. 4a/4; 9/36; 101/14 and n. 11; 116/5; 172/12; 197/17, 18; Teffeteller (2003). For the contest between Agamemnon and Odysseus, on the one hand, and Akhilleus on the other in this *assembly*, cf. 2/10 n. 11.

¹ (1).

This verse is used after the appeal for attention (*κέκλυτέ μοι*) in circumstances where the speaker expects the audience's consternation: [1] Hektor's proposal is clearly predicated upon his belief that he will kill his opponent, or at the least will not die during the encounter. The Greeks also hold his opinion and react with silent consternation,² and it takes a lengthy rebuke from Nestor to make them accept his challenge; [2] Antenor's speech will obviously denude Paris of much of his *time* and *kleos*, and the latter's angry reaction is therefore not at all unexpected;³ [4] Zeus' infidelities are a constant theme in the poem, and indeed the foundation of his continued rule amongst the Olympians,⁴ so it is hardly surprising that Here should be miffed at the announcement of Herakles' imminent birth and powerful honour.

‘[whomever] apart | I see’ [ὄν δ’ ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε | νοήσω]: 4 examples: [1] 5
1. 549, [2] 2. 391, [3] 8. 10, [4] 15. 348.¹

The expression usually denotes individuals who act against the speaker's wishes (though in [1] Zeus uses it to refer to any plan he chooses to form without the help or knowledge of the other gods)² and the consequences of disobedience vary with the group, defilement of the corpse for mortals [2], [4], (eventual) expulsion from the group for gods [1], [3].

There is a tension in the proposals so reinforced between the speaker's delusion about his purpose and the immediate apparent efficacy of the threat: [1] Zeus seeks to remove Here from his deliberations about the war and the honouring of Thetis. He gets his way, but only in the end, and this despite Hephaistos' hasty peacemaking; [2] Agamemnon's exhortations to his troops are predicated upon his belief that Troy is to fall on that very day, but in any case the Greeks' willingness to fight has already been established by exhortations from Odysseus and Nestor;³ [3] Zeus is unable completely to preclude the gods from intervening by a threat of violence, but they comply in the circumstances, as Here did in *A*; [4] Hektor's exhortation is obviously motivated by his belief that he will fire the ships and remove the Greeks from the beach, but the Trojans join him in his delusion and are hardly held back from their objective by wasting time looking for spoils;⁴ indeed, they are being actively aided by Apollo. In sum, despite the violence of the threat, it is

² Cf. 11/2. ³ Cf. 2/5 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 4/11 n. 4; also Appendix B. For ἀνώγει, cf. 101/14 and (1) n. 28.

¹ Cf. Lowenstam (1981) 73–5; Latacz (2000) on 1. 549, 172.

² His unique manipulation of the expression subtly hints at the violent reaction to come in his following speech (1. 560–7), and matches his individual usage of traditional units elsewhere; cf. 130/1; 146 n. 2; 193/8, 9; 194/2. For his less successful deployment of referential rhetoric, cf. 18/4, 110/2, 112/4, 198/3, 4, and Appendix B for Here's similarly directed attempts.

³ Cf. also 176/1.

⁴ Cf. also 176/8.

either always unnecessary or substantively ineffective, the bluster of a figure whose authority is particularly under pressure.

- 6 ‘not according to *kosmos*’ [οὐ κατὰ κόσμον]: 4 examples: [1] 2. 214, [2] 5. 759, [3] 8. 12, [4] 17. 205.¹

Actions or qualities so described (usually by characters, in [1] by the poet) are either immediately or eventually corrected in the ensuing narrative in order to return the story to its proper course or the characters to their proper position: [1] once aimed at Agamemnon, Thersites’ bolshevism is then immediately and violently countered by Odysseus;² [2] Here seeks Zeus’ permission to remove Ares from the battlefield, describing his actions as *μὰψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐμοὶ δ’ ἄχος*. Ares had promised Here and Athene that he would favour the Greeks (5. 832–4), and Zeus gives his permission for the action then undertaken; [3] after showing such flagrant disobedience, the unspecified god’s further participation in life on Olympos would be simply impossible, and immediately remedied by casting him into Tartaros;³ [4] Hektor’s possession of Akhilleus’ armour is so described because such actions are usually symbolic of victory over the owner of the armour; *kudos* of this sort would be enormous, but in this case the claim is a trifle questionable, for not only was Akhilleus not wearing the armour, but the poet goes to some lengths to share the *kleos* about.⁴ After a compensatory delay (17. 206–8) which implicitly recognizes the necessity of correction, Zeus will take steps to rectify the situation and return his armour to Akhilleus (22. 368–9).

- 7 ‘how far | [I] am’ [ὅσσον | εἰμί]: 8 examples: [1] 1. 186 (9/1), [2] 1. 516 (9/6), [3] 8. 17, [4] 9. 160–1 (102/13), [5] 21. 410–11 (102/19), [6] 21. 488 (9/39), [7] 23. 276, [8] 23. 890–1.¹

¹ Cf. Schmidt (1991); Edwards (1991) on 17. 205, 82; Latacz (2003) on 2. 214, 71.

² For the many other features in this episode (2. 212–77), cf. 9/7; 10/2; 46b/1; 64/3; 69/2; 77/5; 88/1; 108/3; 146/2; 159/1; 177/2; 199/1; also Nagy (1979) 259–64; Kirk (1985) on 2. 225–42, 140–1; Rose (1988); Thalmann (1988); Martin (1989) 109–13; Austin (1999) 29–31; Cook (2003); Marks (2005).

³ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον is construed with ἐλεύσεται Οὐλύμπόνδε; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 296; cf. also Σ A; contra Σ bT. The sentence means ‘after he has been struck, his return to Olympos will not accord with *kosmos*, i.e. would in itself be inappropriate or intolerable, but not only because he would be in ‘poor shape’, as Kirk would have it. Open conflict with Zeus would make the deity’s further presence on Olympian life socially impossible; cf. (2) for my reading and interpretation of 8. 12–13.

⁴ Cf. Edwards (1991) ad loc., 82; Allan (2005). For other elements in this episode (17. 183–209), cf. 96/10; 97/7. For Zeus’ later comment on the arms (17. 450), cf. 70/6.

¹ I include all examples where forms of ὅσσον expressing extent are coupled with a comparative or superlative adjective. For two other cases which could be considered particular variants of the current unit, cf. 183/1 on 2. 528–9, and 213/9 on 16. 722–3.

These expressions represent the speaker's statement of authority, and accompany actions in which the comparison is either threatened or exhibited forcefully: [1] Agamemnon thus closes his threat to remove Briseis, which angers Akhilleus and leads to his withdrawal. Of course, the threat is not actually carried out until later in the book;² [2] Thetis makes a negative comparison of herself (a noticeable departure from the usual expressions of superiority) in an attempt to get Zeus to accede to her request, which he has already refused to answer.³ That she should feel so dishonoured would be a great rebuke to Zeus in the light of her earlier favour to him;⁴ [3] Zeus threatens the other gods with removal from Olympos should they try to work openly against him, such is his power; [4] Agamemnon closes the offer of gifts (and clearly intends that this expression should be relayed in this form)⁵ with a demand that Akhilleus yield on the basis of his greater age and kingliness; [5] after she has wounded Ares (again), Athene berates him for his foolishness in not having recognized her greater might;⁶ [6] before beating her about the head with her own weapons, Here rebukes Artemis for daring to face her;⁷ [7] Akhilleus, having offered the prizes for the chariot race, declines himself to take part on the grounds that Patroklos is dead. Otherwise, the quality of his horses would mean inevitable victory; [8] Akhilleus now offers the prize for spear-throwing *de iure* to Agamemnon with the claim that he is the best at this activity, as they all know.

In every case, it is vitally important that comparison's truth be acknowledged by the addressee, for they are intended as persuasive statements of authority, either to get someone to perform an action or refrain from it. The importance of such authority thus stands out strongly in [8], where the comparison explicitly expresses the superiority of the addressee as *δυνάμι τε καὶ ἧμασιν ἄριστος* (23. 891). This is particularly ironic given its direction at Agamemnon, and represents Akhilleus' final—and successful—attempt at asserting his oratorical skill and heroic pre-eminence, the connotation of the expression representing the agonistic realignment explored in the Funeral Games.⁸ To underline the authoritative nature of such comparisons, it is worth remarking that the only mortal speakers to use the figure are Akhilleus and Agamemnon.

² Cf. 77/1–3.

³ Cf. 200/1.

⁴ Cf. Slatkin (1991).

⁵ Cf. 182/10.

⁶ For the many other elements in this episode (21. 391–434), cf. 49/48–50; 70/10; 99/20; 102/21; 108/24; 119/59; 120/12, 13; 133 n. 1; 157/15; 160/13; 173/4; 212/38.

⁷ For other elements in this episode (21. 470–96 / 504–14), cf. also 9/41; 77/25; 99/22; 113/8; 159 n. 1; 169/33; 184/2; 200/6.

⁸ This episode is just as much about conflict and its avoidance as any other; cf. 54/27; 119/64; also 9/45 n. 20 on Menelaos and Antilokhos; 50/6 n. 4 on Nestor and Akhilleus; 9/44 n. 29 on Aias *minor* and Idomeneus; cf. Motto and Clark (1969); Willcock (1973); Redfield (1975) 204–10; Donlan (1979); Macleod (1982) 29–32; Taplin (1992) 251–60; Lowenstam (1993) 120–31; Postlethwaite (1995); Kitchell (1998); Cairns (2001c).

- 8 ‘come, then | [you] try’ [εἰ δ’ ἄγε | πειρήσασθε]: 3 examples: [1] 1. 302 (9/3), [2] 8. 18 (9/19), [3] 22. 381 (9/43).¹

These invitations are always accompanied by a ‘*so you know*’ purpose clause indicating the character or group for whose edification the attempt is to be made,² and denote actions which the audience may reasonably know are impossible: [1] for the benefit of the gathered army, Akhilleus invites Agamemnon to take more than Briseis, on pain of death; [2] Zeus invites the gods to make an attempt on his hegemony, before predicting that it will fail, the point being to underline his authority in their presence; [3] Akhilleus wishes to find out whether the Trojans will continue to resist, given the death of their greatest champion. This may not seem, of course, to be such a strange thing to suggest in the circumstance, or even in the light of what the audience may know of Akhilleus’ eventual death. He immediately changes his mind, the traditional association of the invitation allowing the audience to recognize that he will not make the attempt.³ Once again, it is a question of authority, in that the speaker feels the need to issue the invitation in the first place, but these invitations are only issued by Akhilleus or Zeus; the former alone is able to resolve the matter by cancelling the proposal—another signal of his extraordinary status.⁴

- 9 ‘so | [you] know’ [ἵνα/ὅφρα | εἴδετε]: 46 examples: [1] 1. 185, [2] 1. 203, [3] 1. 302 (γνώωσι), [4] 1. 363, [5] 1. 409–11 (γνώι) [6] 1. 515, [7] 2. 237, [8] 2. 299 (δαῶμεν), [9] 3. 130, [10] 3. 163, [11] 4. 195, [12] 4. 205, [13] 4. 249, [14] 5. 128 (γινώσκεις), [15] 5. 221, [16] 6. 150, [17] 6. 230–1 (γνώσιν), [18] 6. 365, [19] 8. 18, [20] 8. 105, [21] 8. 110–11, [22] 8. 376, [23] 8. 406, [24] 8. 420, [25] 10. 97, [26] 10. 425 (δαείω), [27] 13. 326–7, [28] 13. 449, [29] 15. 32, [30] 16. 19, [31] {16. 242–3}, [32] 16. 423 (δαείω), [33] 17. 685 (πύθηαι), [34] 18. 52–3, [35] 18. 63, [36] 19. 144, [37] 19. 173–4, [38] 20. 122, [39] 20. 213, [40] 21. 61, [41] 21. 487, [42] 22. 244, [43] 22. 382 (γνώμεν), [44] 23. 487 (γνώις), [45] 23. 610 (γνώωσι), [46] 24. 555.¹

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 302, 115–16.

² Cf. 9.

³ M. L. West (2003a) 7–8 makes the interesting suggestion that ἀντίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ’ Ἑκτορα πόμος ἐτοῖμος (18. 96) implies the *Iliad* poet knew that Akhilleus’ death should have come on the same day as Hektor’s. The poet’s use of the invitation would suggest that he was aware of a tradition in which Akhilleus died whilst pressing an attack on Troy, but that he was being rather conscious about turning the audience away from that potential development. For more indications along this line, cf. 9/43; 48/14; 75/19 n. 16; 92/8, 9, 11; 143 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ I include all examples of final ὅφρα or ἵνα with verbs of knowing or perceiving; the former conjunction is by far the most common, as are verbs from the εἰδ- stem.

This expression is deployed by speakers who are convinced of the action or statement set out for this purpose, or the attitude behind it. This allows its deployment in a number of different situations, including command, exhortation, intention, threat, etc. The purpose offered as the justification of the action represents the speaker's conception of the narrative's continuation, in which he is usually correct: [2] Athene's response confirms Akhilleus' conception of Agamemnon's behaviour, and would intimate that Akhilleus' intentions were homicidal when he was stopped;² [3] Akhilleus' threat is obviously backed by his conviction that the others will witness Agamemnon's death should he attempt to remove anything else (cf. also [19]);³ [4] Thetis' demand for information from her son (as Akhilleus' from Patroklos in [30]) intimates a certainty that Akhilleus will answer her as he relies on her help to remedy the cause of dissatisfaction; [6] Thetis seeks from Zeus the honouring of her son by focusing on his option not to do it, so that she could know how far she is the most dishonoured of the gods. The point, of course, is that she knows full well the extent of her honour;⁴ [8] the Greeks do stay to find out whether Zeus did indeed support their mission to sack Troy;⁵ [10] Priam asks Helen to sit by him ὄφρα ἴδῃ the Greek army to identify for him the individual characters, which is what she does (as in response to Iris' request [9]); [11] Agamemnon tells Talthybios to fetch Makhaon so that he may tend to Menelaos (repeated in [12]);⁶ [13] Agamemnon asks the stragglers if they wish to allow the Trojans to come right to the ships so that they can see whether Zeus protects them. The implication here is that of course they do not wish to do this, and Agamemnon's point is powerfully underlined by his use of the figure. The irony, of course, is that this is precisely what will happen; [14] Diomedes does of course tell man from god, firstly Aphrodite as she rescues her son, and then Apollo;⁷ [15] Aineias bids Pandaros mount his chariot in order to see how good his horses are ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα διώκεμεν ἦδὲ φέβεσθαι (5. 223), since their knowledge of the plain will make them ideal should they find themselves in need of escape. He is right about the quality of his horses, but they do not get a chance to save their chariot's occupants. In any case, one should notice that he was clearly

² Cf. esp. 91/1. For other elements in this scene (1. 188–222), cf. 30/1; 41/1; 49/1; 54/1; 93/1; 146/1; 147/2; 148/3; 169/1; Appendix A (2).

³ For 3, 19 (and 43) cf. 8/1, 2, 3.

⁴ Cf. 7/2 with nn. 3–4.

⁵ For other elements in this speech (2. 278–335), cf. 11a n. 1; 12 nn. 1, 4; 88/2; 94/1, 2; 128/1; 134/4; 137/1; 185 n. 1; 214/3; B/4.

⁶ Cf. 182/5.

⁷ For other elements in this first encounter with Pandaros (5. 95–135), cf. 16 n. 1; 47/2; 48/3; 49/11; 86/1; 105/3, 4; 126/8; 185/1; also 9/15 n. 8 for the second encounter (5. 166–310).

worried about the chances of defeat;⁸ [16] Glaukos thus precedes his genealogy in the flying competition with Diomedes;⁹ [17] Diomedes and Glaukos avoid one another for the rest of the poem; [20] (= [15]) Diomedes focuses on the quality of the horses which he has taken from Aineias as part of his exhortation to Nestor, though once again this is subordinated to an attack on Hektor. His characterization in this section of the poem is centred around his self-confidence, but the confidence in his team is also a guarantee of success and his self-belief;¹⁰ [27] Idomeneus' decision about which side of the front to rejoin seems rather innocuous, but expresses a confidence in his military worth which the preceding episode has at least called into question.¹¹ In the ensuing combat, he does at least have some impact upon the fighting as he envisaged; [28] Idomeneus' pre-combat flying revolves around the assertion that his genealogy is superior, which Deiphobos would come to realize should they come to blows; [29] on discovering the reasons behind her amorousness, Zeus threatens Here with a barrage of penalties;¹² [30] Patroklos does indeed let Akhilleus know the source of his troubled appearance;¹³ [32] Sarpedon does indeed find out who the mysterious figure is setting his men to flight, but the knowledge does not prove salutary;¹⁴ [33] Menelaos' claim on Antilokhos' attention is based on the desperation of the news of Patroklos' death he brings, and the mission he will suggest;¹⁵ [34] Thetis' claim for attention from the Nereides is conducted so that they know the source of her grief, which she then sets out at some length. This is to be combined with [35] (in much the same way as [20], [21]) in that she then sets out her intention to go in order to see her son and hear the cause of his suffering; [38] Here suggests to Athene and Poseidon that they put some strength into Akhilleus so he knows

⁸ For the many other elements in Diomedes' second encounter with Pandaros (and Aineias) (5. 166–310), cf. 48/4; 49/12; 51/1; 52/1; 53/1; 60/2; 60a/1; 60b/1; 86/2; 90/2; 102/6–8; 107/3; 4; 113/1; 117/3; 119/13; 120/2; 124/2; 133/3; 156/1; 156a/1; 158/1; 169/3; 4; 193/6; 7; 197/4; 218/3; 202/2; 212/9; 10; 220/2; (13). For the first encounter (5. 95–135), cf. 9/14 n. 7. For Aineias' rescue (5. 311–52 / 432–53), cf. 20/1 n. 2.

⁹ For the other elements in this scene (6. 119–236), cf. 77/10; 87/7; 102/9; 10; 134/6; 7; 140a/1; 144/1; 153/4; 154/4; 182/6; 191a n. 1; 215/2; 3; also Riemer (1998); Commentary on 8. 192, n. 127.

¹⁰ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹¹ For the many other elements in this episode (13. 167–8 / 240–517), cf. 9/28; 29/9; 45/6; 75/11; 94/6; 96 n. 1; 107/8–13; 114/13–16; 115/5; 117/15–17; 124/5; 137/10; 11; 142/12; 164/14; 177/14; 15; 179/2; 192/6; 8; 197/11; 211/4; 212/25; 26; Janko (1992) on 246–97, 77–8, and ad loc.; also the conclusions, if not the argumentation (which deals only briefly with the *Iliad*), of Sherratt (1996).

¹² For the many other elements in this scene (15. 4–83), cf. 49/29–31; 54/21; 70/4; 142/14; 150 n. 1; 166/3; 167/2; 168/2; 3; 172/9; 173/2; 185/9; 193/13; 197/13.

¹³ For other elements in this scene (16. 2–101), cf. 49/34; 80/4; 83/4; 99/9; 111/6; 113/6; 116/4; 119/38; 137/13; 143/3; 182/15; also 9/31 n. 27; 17/10 n. 10.

¹⁴ For other elements in this scene (16. 419–30 / 462–86), cf. 37/10; 39/3; 45/9; 58/4; 5; 57/11; 12; 67/5; 122/5; also 54/23 n.12.

¹⁵ For other elements in this scene (17. 673–706), cf. 136/14; 161/4; 182/19.

of their support.¹⁶ The latter's deflective answer makes clear a determination to make their presence felt, but not until the other gods should impede Akhilleus; [39] as one element in his delaying of battle,¹⁷ Aineias does inform Akhilleus of his heritage;¹⁸ [40] even before Lykaon's supplication is delivered, Akhilleus' deliberations inform the audience that it is to fail;¹⁹ [42] Athene deceives Hektor, yet her exhortation to stand fast so as to see who wins is ironically correct; [45] Menelaos gives up his prize to Antilokhos to reinforce his public image;²⁰ [46] Priam's request for Hektor's body is an expression of his desire for the ransom to proceed apace, as it does. Akhilleus' angry response is not caused so much by the fact of ransom, as it is by the challenge to his control over the circumstance itself; in other words, by deploying this figure Priam attempts rhetorical supremacy.²¹

Where that purpose does not eventuate in the expected manner, one can detect the usual disjunctive purpose on the part of the poet: [1] the admission that Agamemnon is the greater figure is of course beyond Akhilleus, but is put forward again by Nestor in his attempt at reconciliation (1. 275–81); [7] Thersites is incorrect insofar as they do not all leave, but his speech is perilously close to truth, and it is only Odysseus' violent intervention which restores order;²² [18] speaking to Helen,²³ Hektor is wrong about the location of his wife and child, but his assumption was quite clearly that they would and *should* be there. His later question to the maid makes clear his perturbation at their absence,²⁴ and his delineation of male and female duties to his wife is an important part of the *Homilia*;²⁵ [22] Athene's conviction that Hektor will not be happy to see her is based upon the erroneous assumption that Zeus will allow them to intervene; [25] Agamemnon's suggestion of checking on the guard seems to suggest that they may not be doing their job. Nestor's reaction, which includes a little dig at Menelaos, may not be entirely unmotivated by the fact that one of his sons was an appointed leader of the guard (9. 81);²⁶ [31]

¹⁶ For other elements in this scene (20. 112–52), cf. 73/4; 77/22; 78/41; 212/35.

¹⁷ Cf. 88/7.

¹⁸ For other elements in this episode (20. 176–291 / 319–52), cf. 40/29; 70/9; 88/7; 89/3; 93/10; 99/16; 101/16; 102/8 n. 1; 102/18, 19; 108/21; 114/25; 120/10; 137/15, 16; 156/6; 156a/3; 157/14; 160/11; 173/3; 191a n. 1; 207/3.

¹⁹ For other elements in this episode (21. 34–136), cf. 49/45, 46; 87/20; 99/19; 108/22; 174/5; 176/16; 191a/3; 197/20; 212/37.

²⁰ For other elements in this scene (23. 566–613), cf. 35 n. 1; 48/16; 81/9; 89/5; 107/16; also 100/3, 4; 199/8 (and 5).

²¹ For other elements in this scene (24. 469–676), cf. 30/6, 7; 30a/4; 33/18; 49/60; 62/6; 64/15; 68/5; 78/47; 119/70; 134/20, 21; 142/17, 18; 150/5; 169/42; 196/4.

²² Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

²³ For other elements in this encounter (6. 325–69), cf. 18/2; 78/13; 169/5; 183/4; 197/5; 200/4; 212/13, 14.

²⁴ Cf. 45/1.

²⁵ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

²⁶ For other elements in this exchange (10. 73–130), cf. 54/14; 78/18–20; 117/8; 169/15; 212/18; Appendix A (7); also 78/17 n. 3.

Akhilleus' prediction is only partially correct, or perhaps even mostly incorrect, as the audience well know. His delusion is the important element in this scene;²⁷ [43] Akhilleus then changes his mind entirely before attacking the city, leaving the action and its purpose unfulfilled;²⁸ [44] Idomeneus proposes Agamemnon as ἑστωρ to Aias *minor*, so that the latter may recognize by paying up who is right about the course of the race.²⁹ Only at this point does Akhilleus intervene, because his right to officiate over the proceedings has been challenged.³⁰

- 10 **Third-person self-reference:** 13 examples: [1] 1. 240, [2] 2. 259, [3] 4. 354–5, [4] 7. 75, [5] 8. 22, [6] 8. 470–2, [7] 11. 431, [8] 11. 761, [9] 14. 454–5, [10] 16. 496, [11] 16. 833–4, [12] 17. 249, [13] 19. 151.¹

Projection of this sort amounts to an authority or an attempt at gaining authority over the addressee. It is almost as though the speaker removed the addressee's freedom of thought or independent experience: [1] Akhilleus expresses the loss from the perspective of the entire army; [2] Odysseus makes his continued existence in the eyes of the army contingent upon immediate punishment of insubordination;² [3] by denying Agamemnon's insult in this way, Odysseus strengthens the chastening power of his rebuke, which is now put into the cognition of the man who had erred on this issue in the first place;³ [4] Hektor views himself from the Greek side; [5] Zeus expresses the other gods' failure through their own eyes; [6] Zeus removes from Here the freedom to choose whether or not she will observe his actions on the following day;⁴ [7] Sokos expresses the potential vaunt from Odysseus' position; [9] Poulydamas' vaunt seems to quote the Greeks' (or indeed the poet's) reaction, and mocks their consternation at his success; [10] Sarpedon

²⁷ For other elements in this prayer (16. 220–58), cf. 48/11; 105/9; 126/17; 127/5; 192/9. For Akhilleus' referential abilities, cf. 1 n. 3; for Patroklos' shortcomings as his surrogate, cf. 17/10 n. 10; also 9/30 n. 13.

²⁸ Cf. 8/3 n. 3.

²⁹ For other elements in this scene (23. 450–98), cf. 40/35; 67/8; 77/27 and n. 21; 107/15; 119/62; 136/16; 212/41. Besides his abusive encounter with Idomeneus (cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 448–98, 220–1, and on 23. 473–81, 222), Aias *minor* generally suffers from an unflattering reputation: consider his impious actions during the sack of Troy (*Iliou persis* arg. 15–18 Bernabé; S. West (1988) on *Od.* 1. 325–7, 116–17) and his death after it (*Od.* 4. 499–510); cf. also Kirk (1985) on 2. 527, 201; Kullmann (1960) 72–4; Gantz (1993) 695–7. For other such referential indications about his character, cf. 131/4; 183/1.

³⁰ Cf. 7/8 n. 8.

¹ I exclude those references contained within *putative third-person speeches* 81, and those where the speaker is revealing his identity after a request (cf. e.g. 10. 88, 15. 254–6, 24. 461); Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 40, state that the expression here denotes Zeus' 'Selbstgefühl'; cf. also Muellner (1996) 137 and n. 9; Latacz (2000) on 1. 240, 100–1; Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 240, 192; Latacz (2003) on 2. 259, 83.

² Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

³ For other elements in this scene (4. 327–63), cf. 15/1; 47/1; 49/9; 75/2; 87/4; 178/1; 196/1; 210/2; cf. also Martin (1989) 69–70.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

underlines his importance in the eyes of others as a means of persuading them to fight for his body;⁵ [12] Menelaos' expression aligns itself with the perspective of those whom he is trying to summon, and it does so by projecting their commensal relationship;⁶ [13] Akhilleus positions himself as a paradigm of right behaviour from the perspective of his fellow soldiers.

The addressee need not actually be persuaded to act in the manner envisaged, though this is a common eventuality, for the structure is mostly concerned with an emphatic self-assertion at moments when that is required: [1] Akhilleus removes himself from the army because of the insult to his status; [2] Thersites represents a challenge to the authority not only of Agamemnon but the other chieftains as well; [3] Odysseus' heroic nature has been denied; [5], [6] Zeus asserts his will during assemblies in which he hopes to establish his primacy of action with regard to the battle; [9] Poulydamas has just proven himself as a warrior and his vaunt reinforces that; [11] Hektor's self-reference and detailing of Patroklos' delusion comes at the moment of his greatest triumph;⁷ [12] Menelaos' call for assistance is a response to the grave personal danger in which he and Aias find themselves, and summons the others' obligations to the fore at the very moment they should be recalled; [13] the re-emergence of Akhilleus has been the end-point of much of the poem, and none desires it more than he does as he marshals and tries to get the army moving as quickly as possible.⁸

'and they were all silent to silence' [οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένετο σιωπήι]: 10 11
examples: [1] 3. 95, [2] 7. 92, [3] 7. 398, [4] 8. 28, [5] 9. 29, [6] 9. 430, [7] 9. 693, [8] 10. 218, [9] 10. 313, [10] 23. 676.¹

The expression denotes group consternation at a proposal either physically dangerous or potentially momentous for the Trojan war, and connotes a crux with regard to the enactment of that proposal depending on the audience's further reaction. The poet constructs two groupings of this situation according to that reaction, depending on the general idea of (a) acceptance (as in [1], [2], [8]–[10]) or (b) rejection and / or serious qualification of the proposal (as [3]–[7]). One should note that the identity of these two groups is further indicated in the latter case by the 'marvelling at his word' unit to denote the rejection of the prior speech in the following one.²

⁵ Cf. 13/4.

⁶ For the many other elements in this scene (17. 237–55), cf. 54/24; 72/8; 87/19; 121/6; 176/10; 176a/3; 183/12.

⁷ For other elements in this scene (16. 829–61), cf. 41/8; 49/36; 99/11; 176/9; 193/14; also 24/25 n. 2; 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Montiglio (1993); Foley (1995b); Person (1995).

² Cf. 11a.

‘Acceptance’ examples: [1], [2] Menelaos accepts offers of a duel, first with Paris and then (after rebuking the Greeks) Hektor. Each of these situations, but especially the latter,³ could end in his death; [8] Diomedes takes up Nestor’s challenge (as Dolon does Hektor’s in [9]⁴), and a mission of this sort is inherently dangerous; [10] Euryalos silently accepts the challenge to box with Epeios, and it becomes clear that he was not so wise to do so, nor particularly happy about it.⁵ There appears to be no further connotation about the likelihood that the accepted proposal should turn out successfully.

‘Rejection’ examples (cf. also [11a]): [3] Idaios’ offer of peace would nullify the war without addressing the original *casus belli*, and ignores the oath-breaking which Diomedes pertinently brings up in his reply; [4] Athene’s counter-proposal tries to set out some role for divine intervention in the following battle, which is inherently dangerous given Zeus’ identification between his power generally and control over the narrative specifically; [5] Diomedes rejects outright Agamemnon’s suggestion of flight; [6] Phoinix tries to persuade Akhilleus out of his current extremism because of its ramifications for Akhilleus himself, not simply the Greeks as a whole; [7] Diomedes denies even the possibility that the embassy could have been efficacious given Akhilleus’ pride, and counsels letting him alone and getting on with it themselves. In these cases, it seems as though the course of action which is then proposed should be adopted.

- 11a ‘marvelling at his word’ [μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι]: 6 examples: [1] 7. 404 (11/3), [2] 8. 29 (11/4), [3] 9. 51 (11/5), [4] 9. 431 (11/6), [5] 9. 694 (11/7), [6] 9. 711 (11/7).¹

This reaction is intimately connected with the ‘*and they were silent to silence*’ unit, falling either (a) directly after it, being accompanied by the (confined to these contexts) expression *μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν* (in [2], [4] (*ἀπέειπεν*), and [5]) and denoting the audience’s negative reaction to the proposal,² or (b) with a genitive hemistich at the end of the speech

³ Cf. 4/5; 4a/1.

⁴ For other elements in this episode (10. 302–37), cf. 117/13; 147/10; 177/12; 182/13.

⁵ For other elements in this episode (23. 653–99), cf. 70/12; 102/22; 110/6; 136/17; 146/7; 177/23. For a similar rhetorical strategy, cf. 77/21.

¹ One might also consider 2. 335 (*μῦθον ἐπαυήσαντες Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο*), given that it follows a similar cry of approval as e.g. Diomedes’ proposal in 1 above, and that a participle of a different shape is required for a speech by Odysseus, who has no genitive formula in the *Iliad* extending from the penthemimeres. It is, however, the only such reaction not coupled with an earlier ‘*they were silent to silence*’ unit (cf. 9/8 n. 5) and, given the very common formula *Λαερτιάδῳ Ὀδυσῆος* in the *Odyssey* (12. 378, 16. 104, 19. 336, 19. 583, 20. 286, 22. 339), one suspects that the poet was not trying to apply the connotations of *μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι* to this case.

² Indeed, one should probably define *μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν* as a traditional element which helps the audience to identify the type of marvelling reaction.

which counters or modifies that proposal (in [1], [3], [6]) denoting the audience's qualified approval of the substance of that speech. To both of these reactions (and in every case but the last; cf. below) the poet generates a(nother) speech focusing on the insufficiency of the prior offering in the current circumstances.

To take the former group first: [2] Athene attempts to find a place within the *Dios boule* for some assistance to the Greeks; [4] Phoinix laments Akhilleus' harshness towards Odysseus and argues for a more temperate approach; [5] Diomedes heatedly regrets Akhilleus' refusal and indeed the sending of the embassy in the first place, before suggesting resolution on the morrow. The latter group also shows this response: [1] Diomedes' rather passionate rejection of Idaios' peace offer is followed by Agamemnon's granting of the truce, which the younger man had not addressed;³ [3] Diomedes roundly abuses Agamemnon for his suggestion of retreat, but Nestor's speech gently chides him before turning to positive proposals. The only exception is [6], where the dissolution of the *boule* follows immediately without further speech. Given the course of the following battle, this disjunction indicates the shortcomings of Greek military efforts without Akhilleus, and so of Diomedes' proposal.

'and late [he] spoke among' [ὁψέ δέ μετέειπε]: 6 examples: [1] 7. 94 (ὁψέ δέ δὴ Μενέλαος ἀνίστατο καὶ μετέειπε) (11/2), [2] 7. 399 (11/3), [3] 8. 30 (11/4), [4] 9. 31 (11/5), [5] 9. 432 (11/6), [6] 9. 696 (11/7). 11b

These responses all fall after a '*they were silent to silence*' unit, and all but [1] introduce a speech which qualifies or rejects that prior speech, as discussed above ([1] is also the only example not to be associated with the '*marvelling at his word*' unit). The prior proposal represents a risk to the speaker's personal safety (as with all '*they were silent to silence*' expressions), and so he must therefore overcome that reluctance—but in a context where material restitution or reward plays no role.

The case is best made initially by looking at other responses to the '*they were silent to silence*' expression, in all of which (unlike the present cases) the proposal itself is prominently concerned with such a reward: 11/1 Menelaos is eager for the contest, as his earlier reaction shows, but the substance of the offer is the end of the war and the return of Helen and all her possessions (cf. esp. 3. 90–4); 11/8 Diomedes is also eager for the mission, especially after Nestor's offer of a reward beyond the usual *kleos* (cf. esp. 10. 213–17); 11/9 Dolon makes Hektor promise him the horses of Akhilleus as a reward for the

³ A definite doubt hangs over Diomedes' conciliar authority in the *Iliad*, as can be seen e.g. in that several of his speeches delivered in this context require extensive modification or addition; cf. also Martin (1989) 124–30. For other indications of this sort, cf. 49/10; 51/2; 75/13; 80/2; 86 and n. 2; 87/5; 102/15; 140a/1; 144/1; 185/8; 200/2.

mission (10. 321–3; 330–1); 11/10 the boxing competition is conducted largely for the prizes on offer (cf. esp. 23. 660–3). In all these cases, material reward is stressed prominently and immediately before the responding character begins his reply or accepts the proposal.¹

This element of material gain for the respondent is generally lacking in the current examples, and indeed immediate advantage of any sort is often very difficult to detect: [1] Menelaos seeks to avenge the slight to Greek honour by facing up to Hektor, and the risk to his life is very real; [2] Diomedes refuses the material rewards of partial restitution because Troy is doomed. There is a point to the sacking of Troy beyond restitution (as he makes clear in [4]) and the immediate resolution of the war; [3] Athene seeks some role for protecting the Greeks within the *Dios boule*, in the face of some fairly direct threats from Zeus; [4] confronted with the disintegration of the army and its leaders, Diomedes (particularly after the abuse he had received earlier from Agamemnon) refuses to think of safety when accusations of weakness or cowardice could be bandied about, *σὺν γὰρ θεῶι ἐιλήλουθμεν* (9. 49); [6] Diomedes once more denies the efficacy of gifts, and urges instead the simple rigours of fighting hard in a difficult situation; [5] seems an exception, because Phoinix's lengthy speech is trying to underline the perversity of refusing gifts. There is, however, no idea that he personally will be rewarded for his advice or the choice he has made in fronting the embassy. Indeed, Akhilleus' reply (as well as the close of his speech to Odysseus, 9. 427–9) makes very clear the dangers for Phoinix himself in this course of action. In these cases, the late speaker is motivated to act by something other than immediate material gain. This would suggest at least some ability on the part of the tradition to distinguish between types of heroic motivation (or perhaps choose to emphasize one over the other).

- 12 'well | [we] know' [*εἶ νυ | ἴδμεν*]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 32, [2] 8. 463, [3] 18. 197, [4] 19. 421.¹

In using this expression at the beginning of a speech, the speaker acknowledges the truth or facts of a preceding speech, but introduces a qualification setting out a determination to act within or in spite of that limitation:

¹ 11/10 may seem an exception, for Epeios stands up after Akhilleus' proposal of the match and issues a vaunt before Eurylaos accepts the challenge, but this is clearly an individual circumstance in the Funeral Games, and does not downplay the prominence of material reward as a theme in this passage. This is not to preclude other motivations, but it seems to be a matter of emphasis (cf. below).

¹ One might also include two variants on this expression, 2. 301 (*εἶ γὰρ δὴ πόδε ἴδμεν*) and 18. 269–70 (*εἶ νύ πῃς αὐτόν | γινώσεται*).

[2] Here makes substantially the same qualification as Athene in [1], this time to a threat about what would have happened, had they come to conflict.² Zeus replies now with another, rather more precise, prediction about the course of the war, and an expression of his disregard for her. These first two cases spell out once again that the gods will attempt to interfere on the Greeks' behalf despite Zeus' determination to exclude them; [3] Iris agrees with Akhilleus that his armour has been taken, but assures him he can save Patroklos by appearing on the trench;³ [4] Akhilleus replies to Xanthos' prediction about his death with an acknowledgment that he knows it already, but he will not leave off battle until the Trojans are weary of the fight.

Gifted speakers may also manipulate the figure, considerably delaying its deployment until well into their speeches, and playing around with the idea of qualification: [2. 301] though there is no preceding speech with which to agree, Odysseus directs himself to the Greeks' current behaviour as both reprehensible and understandable. Instead of saying 'we know well that war is terrible, but nonetheless etc.' he applies the figure to the omen granted them at Aulis and leaves the qualification implicit. There is obviously no need to act in spite of that indication of favour because (unlike the above examples) it is not an undesirable phenomenon, yet that is precisely what the Greeks are doing. The inversion of the figure underlines the perversity of the Greeks' behaviour;⁴ [18. 269–70] again there is no preceding speech, but again the speaker (Poulydamas) addresses the situation itself, which does not this time provide the substance of the qualification. Poulydamas implies that there will be no possible qualification, for the Trojans will be glad simply to escape should Akhilleus find them in the field. This particular manipulation of the figure thus makes his strategy seem inevitable (though in the end it is not adopted).⁵ In each case, the traditional reference of the phrase provides the audience with the necessary background to appreciate the speaker's rhetorical purpose.

'not to be borne' [οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν]: 4 examples (1): [1] 5. 892, [2] 8. 32, [3] 13 8. 463, [4] 16. 549, [5] *Od.* 19. 493.¹

This collocation denotes a continuous strength or emotion, but in contexts where that power is qualified or criticized: [1] Zeus admits that Ares has the *μῆνος* of his mother, which he can barely control, and which makes Ares

² Cf. also Commentary ad loc.

³ For the many other elements in this exchange (18. 165–202), cf. 40/26; 48/13; 49/40; 78/35; 92/7, 8; 101/12; 148/27; 169/28, 29; 176/13; 180/7; 193/15; Appendix A (14); also 206/2.

⁴ Cf. 9/8 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1908a) on 5. 892, 101; Führer (1987a).

ἔχθιστος to him; [2] Athene seeks to find some way to assist the Greeks, given Zeus' injunctions; [3] Here, after her attempts to counteract Zeus' will during the course of the book, finds herself faced with a powerful guarantee of physical violence. Her admission of Zeus' power in these terms does little to convince him, or indeed the audience, that she will not continue in her opposition;² [4] Sarpedon's defensive value strikes the Trojans now most particularly that he is dead, and the unbearable grief they hold in his place sets up the parallel between his death and that of Hektor, which will magnify that grief tenfold. Furthermore, their counterattack succeeds in pushing the Greeks back (16. 569), notwithstanding that grief;³ [5] Eurykleia describes her constancy in these terms, though Odysseus goes on to deny his need for her participation in punishing the servants (19. 499–502).

- 14 'who are perishing completing evil destruction' [οἳ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὀλωνται]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 34, [2] 8. 354, [3] 8. 465.¹

This expression always occurs as part of an attempt on the part of the speaker to ameliorate the fate of the Greeks under the *Dios boule*: [1] in Zeus' presence and after his rather powerful opening, Athene attempts to gain the chance for some qualified assistance to the Greeks (as Here does, also after a threatening speech from Zeus, in [3]); [2] Here, now in open rebellion against Zeus, persuades Athene to join her in halting Hektor's rampage across the field. The deity involved is always determined to make an open effort to protect the Greeks: Athene's request in [1] looks forward to her action with Here after [2], whilst, of Here's two offerings, [2] obviously looks forward to the immediately ensuing action and [3] to her continued efforts on behalf of the Greeks later in the poem, specifically in the *Dios apate*. The significance of [3] is superficially complicated by 8. 466–8, verses which ask for the freedom to assist through advice (as Athene had done); this would not necessarily bring Here into conflict with Zeus. However, given that Athene's first sign of resistance is an open rebellion, her apparently submissive qualification before [1] is not necessarily to be taken at face value.²

Furthermore, if this is a case of specific referentiality within Θ , then the conclusion would be somewhat similar; the realization of these two goddesses

² Cf. also Commentary ad loc. for these two episodes.

³ Cf. 10/10. The reasons given for their sorrow over Sarpedon's death at 16. 549–51 are equally if not more applicable to Hektor; cf. 2. 816–18 for the size of his *λαός* (16. 550–1), whilst the primacy of his fighting skills are constantly emphasized throughout the poem.

¹ All these examples come from Θ , so that this could well be specific as much as, even more than, generic referentiality. Furthermore, the unit occurs within a larger, repeated section (8. 32–7 = 463–8); cf. Commentary on 8. 452^b, n. 301.

² Cf. also 15/2.

that they cannot act openly against Zeus' will is an important one, but they draw different conclusions. Athene does not attempt again to challenge her father, but Here now goes underground, as it were. In other words, Here ends up where Athene was at the beginning of Θ , i.e. looking forward to a future act of rebellion.

'at [her] smiling spoke' [$\tau\eta\eta\delta'$ ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη]: 3 examples (2): [1] 15
4. 356, [2] 8. 38, [3] 10. 400, [4] *Od.* 22. 371, [5] *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 531.¹

A speech so introduced reassures its addressee through the use of deception, which need not be located simply with either the present or prior speaker, but is a fundamental aspect of the issue at hand and the relationship as a whole. In every case, the situation between the speaker and addressee is one undercut by a current of deliberate misrepresentation and incomplete disclosure: [1] Agamemnon seeks to reassure Odysseus by taking back his harsh words, which deliberately overstated his case. He smiles because the deception has failed, though one might also keep in mind that there is a cloud over Odysseus' military effectiveness;² [2] Zeus smiles because his intention is hardly to act *πρόφρων* as he states. Athene is to be excluded from the current phase of the action like everybody else, while her intentions are not as limited as she makes out;³ [3] Odysseus has misled Dolon with an earlier guarantee of his safety, and his current speech continues the interrogation and the process of deception;⁴ [4] Odysseus does the same for Medon after the latter's rather specious entreaty, and saves him expressly in order that he warn the others about the ramifications of wrongdoing, not for any merit of Medon himself;⁵ [5] upon the Cretan sailors' questions about their means of livelihood, Apollo checks their worries on that regard and assures them of everlasting honour. As the god of prophecy, he must know of the usurpation of the 'Cretan' connection at Delphi (of which he warns at 540–4).⁶

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 4. 356, 366; Fernández-Galiano (1992) on *Od.* 22. 371, 284; W. Beck (1993).

² Cf. esp. 8. 92f. and Commentary ad loc.; also 10/3 n. 3.

³ Note that, when the poet in *X* gives Athene another exchange with Zeus very similar to the current one (8. 39–40 = 22. 183–4), he uses another speech introduction; cf. (3); 148/34 Appendix A (17); also 3/12 n. 13.

⁴ For the many other elements in this exchange (10. 349–464), cf. 9/26; 16/3; 41/5; 45/4, 5; 57/5; 78/22, 23; 119/23; 120/6; 126/15; 148/18, 19; 164/5; 169/18; 182/13; 191a n. 1; Appendix A (8).

⁵ Cf. Fernández-Galiano (1992) on *Od.* 22. 373, 284; also Tydeus' action at *Il.* 4. 396–8 when faced with a similar band of hostile young men.

⁶ I do not suggest that the poet of the *Hymn* necessarily refers to any single historical event concerning Delphi, but he may simply be explaining the fact that Cretans are no longer the priests at the temple, whether they be Krisaiaans or those who overthrew them in the so-called 'First Sacred War' of the first decade in the 6th c. BC. Such an intimation allows for change between the world of the poem and the world of its audience, whenever that was; cf. Allen and Sikes (1904) ad loc., 126–7; Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936) 266–7; M. L. West (2003b) 10 and n. 11; *contra* Clay (1989) 89–91; Förstel (1979) 220–2.

- 16 'be encouraged' [θάρασει]: 7 examples: [1] 4. 184, [2] 8. 39, [3] 10. 383, [4] 15. 254, [5] 18. 463, [6] 22. 183, [7] 24. 171.¹

Exhortations to this end respond to the addressee's troubled prior speech or emotional state, and the speaker tends to be correct in the reasoning behind the exhortation, or at least in control of the situation itself: [1] Menelaos reassures his brother that the wound is not serious, and the expedition is still on track;² [2] the ensuing narrative will make clear the authority of Zeus, and he never intends to destroy the Greeks fully, as Athene fears;³ [3] Odysseus deceives Dolon by assuring him of his safety;⁴ [4] Apollo calms Hektor's disquiet about his identity and thus informs him of Zeus' direct favour;⁵ [5] Hephaistos hurries to reassure Thetis, who has complained about her son's coming death (18. 436–43), that he is more than willing to perform her request, and indeed would protect him from death were he able;⁶ [6] Zeus sends Athene down to the field immediately, abjuring a serious intention not to allow Hektor's death;⁷ [7] Iris seeks to calm Priam's trembling (24. 170) at her approach, and to alleviate though momentarily the weeping and lamentation throughout the house (160–8).

- 17 Chariot journey: 13 examples: [1] 3. 259–66 | 310–13, [2] 5. 363–9, [3] 5. 720–55 / 768–77 | 907–8, [4] 8. 41–50 | 438–51, [5] 8. 382–96 | 532–5, [6] 10. 498–502 / 513–14 / 526–31 / 564–9, [7] 11. 273–83, [8] 11. 510–20 / 597–8 / 618–21, [9] 13. 23–8 | 15. 218–19, [10] 16. 145–54, [11] 17. 620–5, [12] 19. 392–424 | 22. 395–405 / 23. 1–29, [13] 24. 189–351 / 440–576 | 690–4.¹

These scenes may be either return (as in [1], [3]–[5], [9], [12], [13]) or one-way journeys (as in [2], [6]–[8], [10], [11]), and the poet may generate a variety of elements, including harnessing, dressing / arming, mounting, taking the whip, whipping,² departure, journey, arrival, stopping, unharnessing of the team, their tying up, concealment or feeding; unsurprisingly, no two such journeys are exactly alike.³

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1908a) on 4. 184, 17; W. Beck (1989). One could also include imperative uses of other forms of this verb, as 1. 85 (θαρήσας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον ὃ π οἶσθα) and 5. 124 (θαρήσων νῦν, Διόμηδες, ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι); cf. 9/14 n. 7. Both cases answer to the referential definition above.

² For the other elements in this episode (4. 127–91), cf. 38/1; 48/2; 81/1; 82/1; 93/2; 129 n. 1; 137/4; 148/7; 174/1; 182/5; 213/2.

³ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁴ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. 98.

⁶ For other elements in this scene (18. 369–467), cf. 26/26; 40/27, 28; 75/14, 17; 78/36–39; 146; 213/10.

⁷ Cf. 3/12 n. 13.

¹ In these citations, / refers to an interruption in the sequence, | to the return journey (where there is one); cf. Arend (1933) 86–91; Fenik (1968) 28, 74–5, 115–16, 219. I include here only those examples with a definite arrival point or an intention to return to the initial point; cf. 19; also 51.

² Cf. 19.

³ Although there is considerable phraseological connection between some examples, as e.g. 3, 5 and 4, 9.

Such formal freedom lends itself readily to small or large-scale generation. Compare e.g. [11] and [3]; [11] comprises taking the whip (17. 620–1), whipping (624),⁴ and a description of the journey (624–5),⁵ whilst [3] is, relatively, very complex. Firstly, the poet splits the outward journey to the battlefield into two parts, (a) 5. 720–55 and (b) 768–77, the first destination being Zeus' position away from the other gods and the second the battlefield. In the first half of this journey, one finds harnessing with variation through the construction of the chariot (5. 720–32), dressing / arming (733–47), mounting (745), whipping (748) departure (749–52), arrival (753–4), and stopping (755). Once Zeus has approved the journey, the second leg is composed of the '*whipped to drive; and they not unwilling flew*' unit (768),⁶ journey expanded by a simile (769–72), arrival (773–4), stopping (775), unharnessing (776), concealment (776) and feeding (777). The return journey (as with 15. 218–19 [9]), on the other hand, is very brief (5. 907–9) and not necessarily even completed on the chariot. Similarly complex journeys occur also in [6], [8], [13], though this is not the poet's only method of large-scale generation.

He may also increase the degree of elemental elaboration. Compare the dressing elements of [4] (8. 43) and [3] (5. 733–47) or indeed [12], where the arming scene takes up much of the preceding book, or even the way in which a simile is used to describe the journey in [3] (5. 769–72). Alternatively, consider the construction of the wagon in [13] (24. 189–90 / 265–82), where the poet intrudes between the first and second orders for harnessing and its fulfilment a scene with Hekabe and the gathering of the ransom.

One might expect there to be a proportional relationship between the number of elements and the size of the structure. Compare, however, the outward leg of [4] (closely related to [9])—which lacks only dismounting, tending of the vehicle, and tying up the team (though to some extent these last two are functional equivalents of other 'end of journey' elements; cf. below) in ten verses (8. 41–50)—with the fifteen-verse outward journey of [5] which comprises only five elements.

These journeys are usually provided with an explicit motivation: [1] Priam is summoned to the battlefield to witness the oaths (3. 245–58); [2] Iris removes the wounded Aphrodite, who pleads for Ares' horses beforehand (5. 357–62;⁷ similar speeches in the same situation in [7] 11. 275–80, [8] 11. 510–15 and [11] 17. 620–3);⁸ [3] Here and Athene (and then Zeus) have a

⁴ On the expression *ῥμασεν δ' καλλίτριχας ἔππους* used here, cf. 19 n. 8.

⁵ For other elements in this scene (17. 609–25), cf. 19/6 n. 8; 40/25; 56/12; 57/13; 58/7; 59; 60/8; 67/6; 69/10; also 143 n. 1.

⁶ Cf. 19.

⁷ Cf. 180/3.

⁸ For other elements in this scene (5. 353–69), cf. 19/1; 158/2; 160/4.

preparatory chat about the need to intervene (5. 713–19, 756–67; again in [5]); [6] Athene persuades Diomedes to join Odysseus (10. 507–11); [9] Poseidon's motives are explored at some length (13. 10–16); [10] Patroklos' determination has been heralded since the end of *A*, and even less need be said of Akhilleus' journey [12]; [13] the trip has been constructed since almost the beginning of *Ω*. Therefore, the lack of an explicit determination or motivational statement is noticeable in [4].

These purposes are usually fulfilled: [1] Priam does indeed witness the oaths; [2] the removal of the wounded or endangered characters is achieved also in [7], [8], [11]; [3] Here and Athene do negate Ares' influence; [6] Odysseus and Diomedes return safely; [9] Poseidon does (momentarily) breathe new strength into the Greeks; [12] Akhilleus does achieve the death of Hektor; [13] Priam returns to Troy with his body. Only twice is this association broken, both times deliberately: [5] Here and Athene's intervention in *Θ*, unlike that in *E*, brings the possibility of divine *stasis* very much to the fore. The poet's decision to give them a formal chariot journey heightens this possibility;⁹ [10] Patroklos' journey to the battle is of course fateful, and the disjunction adds greatly to the audience's dread in this scene.¹⁰

These scenes may also be tripartitioned: *Preparation* covers everything from harnessing to taking up the whip, *Travel* everything from using the whip until dismounting, and *End of journey* everything after that. Every journey contains at least one preparatory element, the two most common being harnessing and mounting. The former is lacking in retreats from the battlefield (in [2], [7], [8], [11]) for obvious reasons,¹¹ whilst the latter is omitted entirely only in [10].¹² Harnessing is important, as figures of great and / or supreme authority tend to have someone else do it for them, or at least involved in the action: [1] the companions of Priam (in [13] his sons) do the work, [3] Hebe assembling the chariot for Here and Athene (though Here

⁹ Cf. Commentary ad loc. Consider how the poet has Athene literally disarm the intended chariot journey of Ares down to the battlefield (15. 119–28), in this way stopping the association of the journey.

¹⁰ For other intimations about Patroklos' failure, both in general and as a substitute for Akhilleus, cf. 97/6; 99/9; 114/11; 143/3; 168/5; 177/19; also Lowenstam (1981). For other elements in this scene (16. 125–54), cf. 97/6; 177/19. For their earlier scene (16. 2–101), cf. 9/30 n. 13; also 9/31 n. 27.

¹¹ It is, moreover, varied in 6 into an unharnessing element, as Odysseus needs to release the horses from the chariot so that they can ride them back to the Greek camp.

¹² Another indication, were any needed, that this is an unusual and unpropitious development. It should also be noted that the only element it has at all, preparatory or otherwise, is a lengthy description of the harnessing through focusing on the genealogy of Akhilleus' team; compare 8, which only has the preparatory element of mounting (11. 517–18). It is as though the poet were stressing in as many ways as possible the qualitative deficiency in Patroklos as Akhilleus' surrogate; cf. above, n. 10 for other such indications.

ἐντρεν the horses and leads them under the yoke), [10] Automedon yoking (and again in [12]). Thus, that Zeus and Poseidon do it for themselves in [4], [9] is intended to show their isolation from the other gods at that stage in the narrative.¹³

Travel is the *raison d'être* of these scenes, and once again every example but [10] has at least one such element, a description of departure and / or the journey itself being the indispensable core. However, leaving aside temporarily the 'whipped to drive; and they not unwilling flew' unit,¹⁴ the poet also stresses the fact of arrival, which is found in every return journey on at least one leg (and several of the single journeys as well), presumably because the place to which the character travels is significant for the continuation of the action: [1] Priam witnesses the oaths before leaving; [2] an interlude on Olympos then follows; [3] arrivals both at Zeus' place on Olympos and then the battlefield preface his permission and Athene and Here's intervention; [4] Zeus enjoys his splendid isolation on Ide, leaving the other gods in relative freedom for their intrigues; [6] (multiple arrivals) they recover the spoils from Dolon (10. 526), then they come to the Greek camp and are questioned (540–65)¹⁵ before arriving at Diomedes' tent with the horses (566); [8] Nestor's arrival at the camp with Makhaon facilitates the fateful meeting with Patroklos (11. 618);¹⁶ [9] Poseidon's presence on the battlefield is clearly crucial for his participation; [12] Akhilleus' return to the camp with Hektor's corpse trailing behind him is obviously significant, though subsumed within the description of the general Myrmidon return (23. 1–29); [13] there are several important arrivals in this journey; the river (24. 349) where Hermes meets them, the Greek camp and Akhilleus' tent (448) where the exchange is to take place, and finally the city (695–7) wherein the lamentation for and burial of Hektor, which closes the poem. Therefore, arrival is an important proleptic element, because it looks forward to the completion of the journey's purpose in the ensuing narrative (consider that Athene and Here fail to get anywhere in [5]).

The *End of Journey* deals with the team itself; several journeys have no such section (as [1], [7], [10], [11]) but, where it does occur, it is by far the least formally regulated or emphasized segment of this sequence. Although [2]–[6], [8], [9], [12], [13] have such elements, they are usually of very small compass. In multiple stage and return journeys, only one section tends to

¹³ For Poseidon's isolation and lack of success in this section of the poem (*N—O*), cf. also 19; 20/5; 74/4; 78/25; 92/4; 120/8; 168/3; A/2, 3; on Zeus' isolation, cf. 18/3.

¹⁴ Cf. 19. ¹⁵ Cf. 77/15 n. 7.

¹⁶ For other elements in this scene (11. 504–20), cf. 19/7; 36/3; 40/14; 52/3; 54/16; 160/8.

include elements of this sort: [3] on Athene and Here's arrival on the battle-field (5. 776–7); [5] on their return to Olympos; [6] on the final stage of the return to the camp (as again in [8], [12]); [9] on Poseidon's arrival at Troy; [13] Akhilleus and his men unharness Priam's chariot and wagon as part of offering the old man hospitality for the night. Only [4] has such elements in both legs of the journey. Unharnessing is the indispensable element in this section, not being found solely in [6].¹⁷ Again, narrative sense accounts for at least some of this, as unharnessing etc. necessitates delay at that location (in [1] Priam has no intention of staying, nor had he in [13]), whilst briefly narrated sequences such as [7], [11] do not call for the poet's attention once the figure has been removed from the scene. In fact, this section is only included where the immediate progression of the narrative is to depend upon that character(s), and only where arrival had earlier been stressed (except [5]; cf. above). Thus, the fact of arrival and post-travel tendance (of its several sorts) predict the narrative's thematic and character resumption.

The actions themselves are of more than passing significance, in that the driver usually performs the duties:¹⁸ [2] Iris, [3] Here, [4] Zeus (on the outward leg), [6] both Odysseus and Diomedes, [9] Poseidon, [12] each man (presumably Akhilleus amongst them). Exceptions therefore seem significant: [4] Poseidon's earlier refusal to rebel (8. 208–11) is an obvious background to his tendance of Zeus' team and chariot; [5] when coupled with the omission of the arrival element because of the aborted nature of Here and Athene's mission (getting no further than the gates of Olympos, which are under the guard of the Horai), the service of the Horai is a clear indication of their failure to get anywhere, as well as a parallel with Poseidon's actions in [4]. There is thus a powerful contrast between the *therapontes* of Zeus and Here / Athene;¹⁹ [13] Akhilleus' performance of these duties signal his primary role in the hospitality ritual to which Priam has submitted himself. In certain cases, however, the tendance of the team is naturally undertaken by the subordinate, as the *therapon* in [8].²⁰

¹⁷ Pace Danek (1988).

¹⁸ Such actions are also performed outside the chariot journey typical scene: at 8. 543–4 the Trojans (instructed at 8. 504–5) release their teams and lash them to the chariots, presumably because they are to camp outside in the plain (they do it again at 18. 244); at 23. 515 Sthenelos tends to the unharnessing of Diomedes' horses after the race.

¹⁹ Cf. Commentary ad loc., esp. n. 285, for other connections between Here and the Horai.

²⁰ Furthermore, it is natural that Sthenelos, as Diomedes' charioteer, takes care of the horses in *Ψ*, concerns himself with the taking of Aineias' horses before rejoining Diomedes in *E*, and is singled out as his particular companion in the assembly in *I* in much the same way as Patroklos is by Akhilleus (cf. 16. 97–100 and 9. 48–9).

Wrathful withdrawal: 7 examples: [1] 1. 488–19. 75, [2] 6. 325–41, [3] 8. 41–437, [4] 8. 477–82, [5] 9. 524–99, [6] 11. 78–<16. 431,¹ [7] 13. 459–68.²

This action is typical of very powerful figures, and the pattern can be a small scale motif (as at [2], [4] or [7]), a separate episode (as in [5] or the *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* [309–54]), or an extended narrative pattern (as in [1], [3], [6] or the *Hom. Hy. to Demeter*). Notwithstanding this structural variation, separation betokens a refusal to act with regard for the consensus of the community as a whole, or the reciprocal relationships governing it. Secondly, these episodes are usually accompanied by some detriment to both the withdrawing figure and the community: [1] Akhilleus obviously takes himself angrily out of the community and (as in Phoinix' paradigm in [5], where Meleagros loses the honour of the gifts, and his community is almost destroyed) because of what he feels to be Agamemnon's breaking of reciprocal duties. His loss is the death of Patroklos and his own, the community's is the reversal they suffer and the deficit of one (in fact, two) prominent heroes; [2] Hektor assumes that the only cause for Paris' absence from the battlefield must be his *χόλος* (6. 326), and his absence makes the destruction of Troy more likely (cf. esp. 331);³ [3] Zeus' withdrawal from Olympos allows him to impose his will upon the narrative directly for the first time. In this case, as in [6], his isolation from Olympos is motivated by a desire to show that he does not need their participation or assent, and is preceded by a naked threat to the other gods. The loss for the community is the barely avoided risk of open confrontation amongst the gods, and the consequent straining of the Olympian order to its breaking point (as in [4], [6]);⁴ [4] in the obvious consequence of the previous case, Zeus expresses himself with a '*I do not care*' unit,⁵ in terms very similar to those hurled by Agamemnon to Akhilleus (1. 179–81), thus marking his lack of consideration as unwise.⁶ Compare the withdrawal of Here from the gods in the *Hom. Hy. to Apollo*,

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 375.

² Cf. A. B. Lord (1960) 186–97; Schadewaldt (1965) 227; Nagler (1974) 131–66; also M. L. Lord (1967); Sowa (1984) ch. 4; *contra* R. Friedrich (2002) esp. 60–1, 61 n. 36.

³ Cf. 9/18 n. 23. L. Collins (1988) 27–35 suggests that the wrath of Paris may refer to the withdrawal story in order to underline the differences between Paris and Akhilleus or Meleagros, whose withdrawal would have suitable heroic justification. In such a circumstance, where the hero refuses to identify himself with an honourable heroic paradigm, there is little response to be given. That there should be tension between Paris and the other Trojans is hardly surprising; cf. e.g. 3. 156–60, 3. 451–4, 6. 281–5, 7. 348–53; also 215/1.

⁴ Cf. 21/3, 4; also Appendix B for the extent to which peace among the gods depends on the consensual acquiescence (especially) of the female deities.

⁵ Cf. 198/3, 4, 5.

⁶ One might consider that, had he told her or the other pro-Akhaian deities what his plans were, their reaction could well have been different. After all, the death of Hektor was not far from the top of their wish-list; cf. 5/1 n. 2.

where she produces Typhaon as an act of rebellion against Zeus. Not only does Zeus defeat Typhaon, but all such rebellions are doomed to fail. Here's withdrawal only serves to make her impotence all the clearer.⁷ [6] in the extended doublet of [3], Zeus' absence once again connotes his lack of care for the other gods, and he is similarly opposed by the others (as they recognize; cf. 15. 132–6);⁸ [7] Deiphobos summons Aineias to the battle by calling to mind the death of Alkathoos, who raised Aineias when he was young (a powerful source of motivation).⁹ This case, like [2] and indeed the rebukes delivered by Agamemnon during the *Epipoleis*, still functions on the opposition between those reciprocal duties and the character's failure to observe them. Deiphobos implies that Aineias' absence has resulted in Alkathoos' death and could well eventuate in the claiming of his corpse by the Greeks. Hence he has no trouble in motivating him.

- 19 '[he] whipped [to drive]; | and they not unwilling flew' [μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· | τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην]: 8 examples: [1] 5. 366 (17/2), [2] 5. 768 (*ἵππους*) (17/3), [3] 8. 45 (17/4), [4] 8. 117 (*μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους only*), [5] 10. 530 (*ἵππους*) (17/6), [6] 11. 281 (*τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην only*) (17/7), [7] 11. 519 (*ἵππους*) (17/8), [8] 22. 400 (17/12).¹

The poet employs this method of denoting chariot-driving when the character's conviction in the journey's success is not in doubt. The case is best proven firstly from those journeys which do not employ this verse or its constituents; in each, the circumstances of the journey are such as to give rise to considerable character and / or audience uncertainty about its eventuality: 17/1 Priam is so afraid for Paris that his first reaction was to shudder (3. 259) and he cannot witness the combat itself. His departure, further, makes resolution on the battlefield after the combat's unusual outcome impossible; 17/5 both Here and Athene are well aware, after the assembly at the start of the book and the former's exchange with Poseidon at 8. 198–211, that their determination to intervene will not be without ramification; 17/9 Poseidon similarly can be under no illusion about his interference, and he waits until Zeus turns his attention from the battle before daring to act;² 17/10 Patroklos himself had of course asked for the opportunity to fight on the Greeks' behalf, but nothing hitherto has encouraged the audience about his likelihood of success;³ 17/11 in a situation of overwhelming Trojan success, Idomeneus

⁷ Cf. Appendix B. ⁸ Cf. 198/5, 8.

⁹ Cf. 144/4. For other elements in this episode (13. 459–515), cf. 24/15; 34/15, 16; 43/5; 44/4; 49/23; 91/5; 114/16; 137/11; 140/9; 164/14; 211/4; 218/6; 219/3. There are other indications of tension between Aineias' family and Priam's; cf. 5. 265–71 (and 119/13), 20. 179–83, (and crucially) 20. 303–8; also Edwards (1991) on 20. 75–155, 298–301; Anderson (1997) ch. 4; Cramer (2000).

¹ Cf. 17 n. 4; 4, 7 occur within examples of the *reactivated chariot attack*; cf. 51/3, 4.

² Cf. A/2; also 17/9 n. 13. ³ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

yields to Meriones' suggestion and retreats in danger of his own life after an unsuccessful attempt on it by Hektor.⁴ This is to be differentiated from Nestor's similar retreat in 17/8 (= 19/7 below; also 17/2 = 19/1, 17/7 = 19/6), firstly because the removal by chariot of a *wounded* figure to safety seems to be a typical action in whose success the characters may have some confidence, and secondly because the death of Koiranos is a substitute for Idomeneus himself, whilst there is no hint that Nestor himself is in danger in 1/5; 17/13 despite explicit instructions from Iris, Priam is perhaps understandably afraid throughout the journey to and from the Greek camp.

Now to argue positively, from the current cases: [1] Iris' confidence in return to Olympos and healing for Aphrodite is hardly to be doubted (cf. just above, but in this case also because of her divinity);⁶ [2] Here and Athene have just consulted Zeus about removing Ares from the battle, and he has suggested setting Athene on to him; [3] Zeus, though perhaps not quite as fully informed as he would like, is supremely confident in his power to control events on the battlefield; [4] Diomedes feels the need to demonstrate his superiority, in this case over Hektor, as an integral part of his character, and is convinced of the outcome;⁷ [5] Diomedes and Odysseus have of course been particularly favoured by Athene during the *Doloneia*, and Athene has just advised them to flee; [6] at an early stage in the fight when things have generally gone well for the Greeks, Agamemnon feels no threat to his own life;⁸ [7] Nestor, as said above, is in no immediate danger himself;⁹ [8] perhaps the most convinced character in the poem, Akhilleus is utterly determined to honour Patroklos and wreak *αεικέα ἔργα* on Hektor's corpse. The occurrence of this verse after the description of binding Hektor from the chariot combines the two notions brilliantly.

⁴ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. below, n. 8; also 160 n. 1. Consider also the difference in concern between the preceding speeches (17. 622–3; 11. 511–15).

⁶ Cf. 17/2 n. 8. It should also be remembered that Iris has a particularly close association with Zeus; cf. 180. Thus her confidence may not be unassociated with a knowledge of the attitude evinced in the gentle rebuke Zeus gives Aphrodite at 5. 426–30.

⁷ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁸ Agamemnon's departure is described as follows: *ὡς ἔφαθ' ἠνίοχος δ' ἵμασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους | νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς· τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην* (11. 280–1). The unit *ἵμασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους*, also at 11. 531 (51/4) and 17. 624 (17/11), is employed directly after a speech motivating this stage in the journey (retreat at 11. 280 and 17. 624, advance at 11. 531) to connote a cloud over the character's attitude (cf. also 13. 819): Agamemnon does not want to leave the battle, or Hektor to face Aias (cf. 11. 542), and Idomeneus retreats in fear. Thus 19/6 (= 17/7) combines both the idea of confidence in retreat (*τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην*) with an expression connoting the hero's unwillingness to leave (*ἵμασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους*), whilst 17/11 only represents the latter; cf. 17/11 n. 5.

⁹ Cf. 17/8 n. 16.

- 20 Divine precinct / altar [*ἐνθα/ὅθι δέ οἱ*]: 6 examples: [1] 5. 446, [2] 8. 48, [3] 8. 250, [4] 11. 807–8, [5] 13. 21–2, [6] 23. 148.¹

The poet uses these relative clauses not simply to give irrelevant information about the location of shrines or other possessions of the god involved, but to relate the coming action fundamentally to that deity's power and freedom to act: [1] Apollo rescues Aineias and removes him from the battle, taking him to his own *νηός* and having him restored by Leto and Artemis before constructing a phantom around which the others may fight. His freedom to do so is intimately related to his championship of the Trojans, in whose city the temple is located;² [2] Zeus' determination not to be impeded by the other gods is augmented by the expectation of thematic dependence and success created by his chariot journey (and the halting and unharnessing of his team to come),³ and the impression of his power as he comes to his own place on Ide; [3] the omen is dropped next to Zeus' altar as a sign of its provenance;⁴ [4] that Patroklos should meet Eurypylos delays his transmission of Nestor's suggestion to Akhilleus, and that he should do it where the altars of the gods were is an obvious link with the responsibility which the Olympians as a group take for the unfolding of the action;⁵ [5] similarly involved in a journey to the battlefield, Poseidon goes to Aigai in order to harness his chariot. The usual resting place for the divine chariots is Olympos itself (cf. e.g. 5. 368–9, 5. 720–32, 8. 41–2, 8. 382–3, 15. 119–20), and that Poseidon should harness his team away from the other gods (though actually closer to Zeus on Ide than were he on Olympos), in another and separate dwelling, is a reflection both of the fact that he does not have freedom to act in this situation, but also the depth of his current involvement. There is no need for him to journey by chariot, of course, but the associations of that journey add greatly to the audience's configuration of Poseidon's determination;⁶ [6] Akhilleus remarks upon Peleus' sacrifice *ἐς πηγάς*, which was, as the relative clause shows, conducted at the proper place. Thus Sperkheios' failure to ensure the safe return of Akhilleus makes the dedication of hair for Patroklos all the more incumbent on the somewhat recalcitrant

¹ One could also compare a case like 20. 391 (*Γυγαίη, ὅθι τοι τέμενος πατρώϊον ἔστω*), where Akhilleus' vaunt over Iphition makes this reference to the location of his victim's *τέμενος πατρώϊον* because of the fact that this traditional indication of power and freedom is so far from Troy, and he can never simply be relocated there as the deities in the above examples; cf. also 105/11.

² For other features in this episode (5. 311–52 / 432–53), cf. 40/4; 42/2; 70/1; 86/3; 92/1; 113/2; 160/2–4.

³ Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 17.

⁴ Cf. 128/2.

⁵ For other elements in this scene (11. 807–48), cf. 49/20; 107/7; 141/10; 169/19; 176/5; 182/15; 210 n. 1 (and 26/20 for their scene in *O*).

⁶ Cf. 17/9 n. 13.

deity, almost implying a failure on the river's part to fulfil its end of the sacrificial bargain.⁷

'he sat revelling in might' [*καθέζετο κύδει γαίων*]: 4 examples: [1] 1. 405, [2] 5. 906, [3] 8. 51, [4] 11. 81.¹ 21

This expression denotes manifestations of divine power and self-confidence during an undercurrent of heavenly disorder, but one where the deity's action actually guarantees at least the temporary suppression of that *stasis*: [1] Briareos' exhibition of power stops the other gods from their revolt; [2] Ares has just been rebuked and his position within Olympus threatened by Zeus for his violence (even though he has failed to carry the day) and his maternal inheritance. He settles next to Zeus after he has been healed and bathed, representing the temporary cessation of hostility; [3] Zeus' isolation follows his threats to the other gods in the assembly which opened the day's play;² [4] again, Zeus' disregard for the other gods and their opinion of his course of action is emphasized by his solitary position.³

Major battle preparations: 4 examples: [1] 2. 432–3. 14 / 4. 221–445, [2] 8. 53–9, [3] 11. 3–66, [3a] 16. 124–275, [4] 19. 340–20. 75.¹ 22

In these passages, the poet narrates first the Greek and then the Trojan actions (excluding [3a]) prior to battle itself. He generates basically six types of element—meal, marshalling, exhortation, arming (group and / or individual), displacement of the forces, advance—though there are other common features which may be subsumed within these categories (such as the catalogue, divine presence etc.; cf. below). For instance, the noise made by the army, on which the poet always comments at least once during the sequence, may occur during moments of marshalling, exhortation, arming, displacement and advance. The purpose of these activities is obviously to get the

⁷ Of course, Akhilleus' reliance on the efficacy of ritual performance is a little disingenuous, as e.g. Agamemnon's complaint to Zeus at 8. 236–41. Piety is hardly an enforceable guarantee of favour or fulfilment; cf. 109 and n. 5. On the status of the river as *kourotrophos*, cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 127–53, 182–3; Onians (1954) ch. 7; Burkert (1985) 174–5.

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 51 and n. 11; Latacz (1966) 128–33; Mader (1982a); Kirk (1985) on 1. 405, 95; Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 81, 230; Latacz (2000) on 1. 405, 140.

² Cf. 18/3. ³ Cf. 18/6.

¹ There are many passages which could be considered preparatory for battle, but the most immediate *comparanda* are those sequences preceding the beginning of the day's battle (hence the Myrmidon attack in *II* is listed as 3a, for it is obviously related to these sequences), when the poet narrates first the Greek and then the Trojan preparations; cf. Albracht (1886–95) 5–14 = (2005) 21–34; Hainsworth (1966); Fenik (1968) 190–1; Hellmann (2000) 138–40. Throughout this study, I follow these authors in viewing Homeric battle description as primarily a compositional phenomenon, and do not consider any feature from a historical or historicist perspective; *contra* Latacz (1977); Pritchett (1985) 7–32; van Wees (1986), (1988), (1992), (1994), (1997).

armies together and fighting, but the audience will be able to draw inferences about the coming conflict from both their scale and general construction.

The simplest example illustrating the basic pattern is [2]; Greek meal and arming (8. 53–4) is followed by Trojan arming and advance (55–9) before the battle is joined (60). Against this background, the structural complexities of [1], [4] reward closer examination. The poet constructs [1] in two sections [i], [ii], adding a reference to the first group ([i] A and [ii] B below) before summarizing them both ([i] C and [ii] C), and then inserting the elaborated combat between Paris and Menelaos (3. 15–4. 220):

i A	Greek (2. 432–784)	ii B	Trojan (4. 221)
B	Trojan (2. 786–3. 7)	A	Greek (222–432)
A'	Greek (3. 8–9)	B'	Trojan (433–8)
C	both (3. 10–14)	C	both (439–45)

The first two constituents of each section are connected by an advance, first Greek [i] then Trojan [ii], the poet thus managing to achieve a reversal in the aggression between the two sides because of the oath-breaking. The addition to the simple sequence ([i] A'–C; [ii] B'–C) is achieved in each case by a juxtaposition of the armies in advance: at 3. 1/2–7 he describes the noise made by the Trojans (end of [i] B), and then contrasts the silence of the Greeks (start of [i] A': 3. 8–9); then at 4. 422–32 (end of [ii] A) the silence of the Greeks is contrasted again at 4. 433–8 (start of [ii] B') with the noise made by the Trojans. Thus at the end of [ii] the audience is returned to the battle which was expected at the end of [i].

The beginning of the final day's battle [4] is also expanded, but in another way. After an ordinary sequence (though with only one verse granted to the Trojan preparations [20. 3]), the poet then generates a divine *assembly* (20. 4–32)² and a full sequence of divine preparations (20. 32–75)—in other words, [4] comprises three groups:

A	Greek (19. 340–20. 2)
B	Trojan (20. 3)
C	Divine (20. 4–75).

The third constituent is connected with the first two in a complex fashion; the poet splits it into two halves (20. 32–40, 48–75), between which he generates a passage of general description to denote the opening of battle (20. 41–7). Such a passage is typical of the means employed to narrate the commencement of the actual fighting, and is delayed from the end of the first two sections in the sequence, where it naturally occurs. It is clear from this short passage that

² Cf. 2/11.

the divine preparations until that point are to be seen as occurring simultaneously with the structurally prior human preparations (cf. 41–2 and 47), although the poet is not too concerned about their precise relationship. The gods do not actually join battle until 21. 391, but retire *en masse* at 20. 112–55 in the lead-up to the duel between Aineias and Akhilleus (75–111, 156–352). By constructing [4] in this way, the poet manages to get the gods down on the battlefield, join the general battle, and prepare for the first major duel of Akhilleus' *aristeia*—which is brought about by Apollo's advice to Aineias (75–111), and ended in a traditionally safe manner by the intervention of Poseidon (291–340). In other words, all the antagonists are thus located to the battle scene, and the possibilities for the interaction between those characters subtly foreshadowed. One must keep in mind that this unusual example is demanded by the fact that this is the only time that gods play a direct role in the battle *as a group*—hence they require their own full preparation sequence.

The diminution in scale of [2] is obvious merely from the citations above, but its elemental poverty can be summarized by comparing [3], the next largest example, which is constructed of four types of element in the Greek section, and two in the Trojan: (Greek) divine exhortation (11. 5–12), marshalling (15–16), arming (16–46), displacement of the army (47–50); (Trojan) displacement (56–60), exhortation (61–6). By contrast, [2] contains only two in each section: (Greek) meal (8. 53–4), arming (54); (Trojan) arming (55–6), advance (58–9).

This introduces an important theme in Θ , the imbalance in these preparations in favour of the Greeks (in [3a] the Trojans are already in the field, and so cannot take part): [1] 2. 432–784 (Greek), 786–3. 7 (Trojan) | 4. 221 (Trojan), 222–432 (Greek);³ [3] 11. 3–55 (Greek), 56–66 (Trojan); [4] 19. 340–20. 2 (Greek), 20. 3 (Trojan). This inclination is also evinced from the range of elements usually allotted to each side. For instance, with regard to the noise made by the army as it advances, it is more usual for the poet to apportion this element to the Greeks ([1] 2. 781–5, [3] 11. 50, [4] 19. 363–4, 424). Trojans do of course make noise in their advances ([1] 3. 1–7, 433–8, [2] 8. 58–9), but the poet's failure to mention it is at least as common (in [3] and [4]). Thus the fact that the Trojans not only have more of the narrative in [2] but also the same number of elements would strike the audience as noteworthy, and forecast their success in the coming battle.

Of course, it is true that in [3] the Greeks are accorded the lion's share of the preparations, and yet suffer terribly during the latter half of the day after Agamemnon's withdrawal. This is because the poet usually inserts into the

³ Cf. above for discussion of this sequence.

major preparation for battle a direction to the audience to follow the fortunes of a powerful figure in a period of martial pre-eminence generally termed the *aristeia*.⁴ Thus the audience follow that character until his death, wounding, or final victory: [1] though it is unclear until 5. 1 which hero is to be dominant in the narrative, the prominence of Diomedes as the last figure in the *Epipoleis* is surely setting the stage for that development;⁵ [3a] Patroklos' intervention dominates the narrative until he is killed, whereon during the *Leichenkampf* the Greeks are forced right back to the ships; [4] Akhilleus' preparations of course dominate before the final day, and his victory is not only personal but, however unwitting, for the benefit of the army as a whole. In a very real sense, Akhilleus becomes the Greek army, for no *androktasia* is allotted to anyone else until the end of his rampage. Only in [2] is such information entirely lacking. Not only is there no figure to follow, there is no Greek figure to follow.

The presence of the gods as figures exhorting the mortals is also an important factor in these sequences: [1] Athene (2. 446–54), Iris (2. 786–806), and Ares, Athene, Deimos, Phobos and Eris (4. 439–45); [3] Eris (11. 3–14), Here and Athene (11. 45–6), Zeus (11. 52–5); [2] though not participating in the preparation sequence itself, Zeus' presence on Ide is emblematic of his determination to govern the narrative; [3a] Zeus' answer to Akhilleus' prayer (16. 249–52);⁶ [4] Zeus and Athene (19. 340–51), *dei multi* (20. 32–75). In [1] the freedom of the gods is a symbol of the undetermined nature of the battle, while in [3] Eris (at Zeus' behest [11. 3–4]) is the only deity taking an active part in the battle, at least at the beginning of the fight. This must again be related to the progression of the *Dios boule*, in that at the latter stage of the day the control Zeus exercises over the battle is absolute; [4] introduces a divine free-for-all, because the *Dios boule* has been fulfilled, Akhilleus is arisen, and Zeus himself speeds the gods down to the field. [3a] represents a variation on that theme, because Patroklos' attack will of course be unsuccessful and no deity takes a more active part than Zeus' answer to the prayer. Instead, the figure fulfilling that separated exhortatory function is Akhilleus himself.⁷ Once more, then, it is notable that [2] has no such figure at all *within* the process itself.

Another common feature at this juncture in the day is the catalogue (lacking unsurprisingly only in [2]), which has a general significance in that it presents to the audience the groups whose martial activity is to form the background of the narrative:⁸ [1] both sides, [3] Trojan leaders, [3a]

⁴ Cf. 138 n. 1; also 177/13.

⁵ Certainly he remembers Agamemnon's insult (9. 32–6); cf. 86 n. 2; also 11a/1 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. 126/17; 127/5.

⁷ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. 34.

Myrmidons, [4] gods. There are, however, more specific significations to the catalogue form. For example, there is only one occasion [1] where both sides are allocated a separate catalogue, and there the Greek one is noticeably larger. On this day in general, a great proportion of the major figures have a prominent role to play during the course of the battle, but the fighting is indecisive (though the Greeks have the better of it); [3] the Trojans alone are allotted a very brief catalogue here, balancing the greater weight given Agamemnon's preparation and predicting their success after his removal later in the day; [3a] only the Myrmidons are granted a catalogue, but the situation of the narrative—given that the Trojans are already fighting and are to be pushed back immediately—favours no Trojan catalogue. Despite the fact that they lose their leader, there is no doubt but that they dominate the course of the battle until Apollo's intervention reverses the fight. The catalogue helps to underline that Patroklos' death is against the flow of the game; [4] the gods assisting each side are listed by the poet, combining so it would seem the catalogue form to cover both sides. It is once again noticeable that the Greek gods are the more powerful and given more description (20. 33–7 as opposed to 38–40).

Finally, similes are often found in major preparations: [1] (Greek army) 2. 455–8, 459–66, 467–8, 469–73, 474–6; (Agamemnon) 2. 478, 479, 480–3; (Greek army) 780; (earth) 781–5; (Trojan army) 3. 2–7; (Greek army) 3. 10–13; (Greek army) 422–8; (Trojan army) 433–8; [3] (Hektor) 11. 62–4, 65–6; [3a] (horses) 16. 149; (Myrmidons) 156–63, 212–17, 259–65; [4] (Athene) 19. 350–1; (army) 357–61; (Akhilleus) 365–6; (shield) 374, 375–8; (crest) 381; (Akhilleus) 397–8, 20. 46; (Ares) 20. 51. Again, only [2] lacks this ornamentation entirely.

‘[great] clamour arose’ [πολὺς δ’ ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει]: 7 examples (1): 23
 [1] 2. 810, [2] 4. 449, [3] {8. 59},¹ [4] 8. 63, [5] 10. 185 (ἐπ’ αὐτῷ *pro* ὀρώρει), [6] 16. 633 (*sine* πολὺς), [7] 21. 313 (πολὺν ὀρυμαγδὸν ὀρινε), [8] *Od.* 24. 70.²

¹ (4).

² Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 810, 262; Fenno (2005) 485 and n. 24; Kaimio (1977) 32 focuses on multiplicity of the sound's source in these *loci* as the expression's connotation (with πολὺς; she does not discuss 6). One might also include 17. 424–5 (ὥς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο, σιδήρειος δ’ ὀρυμαγδός | χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἵκε δι’ αἰθέρος ἀπρυγέπειο) to describe the battle over Patroklos' corpse directly after the poet has given each group an imaginary *ps* speech detailing their compulsion to pursue this combat to the end (414–19 / 420–3), and 17. 740–1 (ὥς μὲν τοῖς ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν αἰχμηπῶων | ἀζηγῆς ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπῆιεν ἐρχομένοισιν) in a passage with its primary focus being the removal of Patroklos' corpse from the field.

This noise always accompanies an activity undertaken by a group which is on the defensive or acting under great constraint: [1] (= [3]) the Greeks have advanced first, and the Trojans are induced by Iris to react; [2] (= [4]) both groups have been forced into the situation, not only in the general sense that the gods have engineered the war, but in the immediate context that their direct intervention or control has been stressed. In [2] divine exhortations immediately precede the start of battle (4. 439–45), in [4] Zeus' determination to enforce his will on the battle was expressed in the *assembly* and his *chariot journey* to Ide;³ [3] the poet reminds the audience of the constraint under which the Trojans, who are numerically inferior, react to the Greek arming (8. 56–7); [5] the wakefulness of the hunting dogs and men to whom the pickets are compared cannot obscure their constraint, so recently stressed at the start of *I*. Moreover, the reference functions within the simile narrative, in that the beast had quite clearly attacked the flock;⁴ [6] the advance of Patroklos and Meriones, the immediate cause of the clamour in the simile, leads into the following *Leichenkampf* over Sarpedon. The Trojans' duty to act has already been presented by Sarpedon's plea (16. 491–501) and Glaukos' prayer to Apollo and rebuke of Hektor (537–47), whilst Patroklos' preceding speech is directed towards forcing the Trojans back from the corpse (626–31);⁵ [7] Skamandros exhorts Simoeis *δρυμαγδὸν ὄρινε | φειτῶν καὶ λάων* (21. 313–14) to stop the rampant Akhilleus. As protector of the Trojans (cf. 228–32), and faced with the need to prevent his own waters being fouled (212–21), his attack on Akhilleus is hardly a matter of choice, particularly given the latter's somewhat disingenuous or at least dilatory response to his direct command.⁶ Furthermore, the inevitable failure of the river's attack has just been made clear to Akhilleus by Poseidon (287–97);⁷ [8] the Greeks' clamour over the corpse of Akhilleus is both reactive and defensive as they mourn their greatest warrior.

- 24 **Even contest:** 32 examples: [1] 4. 446–56, [2] 4. 470–2, [3] 4. 539–44, [4] 6. 1–4, [5] 8. 60–7, [6] 11. 67–85, [7] 11. 216, [8] 12. 156–61, [9] 12. 278–89, [10] 12. 338–41, [11] 12. 377, [12] 12. 417–36, [13] 13. 169, [14] 13. 330–44, [15] 13. 496–9, [16] 13. 526, [17] 13. 540, [18] 14. 24–6, [19] 14. 392–401, [20] 15. 312–17, [21] 15. 405–18, [22] 15. 696–715, [23] 16. 565–8, [24] 16.

³ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁴ Cf. also 6, for another example of the poet applying the referential import of the phrase not to the agents within the simile narrative, but the main narrative; also 164/4.

⁵ This underlines the importance of claiming the corpse, whether friend or foe, in heroic battle; cf. Segal (1971) *passim* but also 39 n. 1 with regard to this current scene.

⁶ Not to mention his anger (21. 136–8) at Akhilleus' vicious vaunt over Lykaon (21. 121–35); cf. 176/16.

⁷ For the many other elements in this episode (21. 211–382), cf. 40/30; 44/10; 57/14; 77/24; 96/11; 111/9; 116/6; 117/30; 118/13; 148/33; 174/6; 183/17, 18.

633–43, [25] 16. 763–76, [26] 17. 360–77, [27] 17. 384–401, [28] 17. 412–25, [29] 17. 543–5, [30] 20. 156–8, [31] 20. 374, [32] 21. 385–91.¹

Such passages are not ‘typical’ in the same sense as arming scenes, for there are no universal elements and very few verbatim repetitions, no fixed order, number, or relationship between the elements, and indeed one statement may express more than one feature. The even contest is an opportunity for the poet to pause before he begins or resumes the specific narrative, and he deals with it by deploying a number of features which denote battle in a fairly generic manner. They are found commonly after a passage of preparatory action, and usually followed by specific combat narrative or further preparations for it. Thus the function of the even contest is to open the fighting with a broad picture of the initial clash which then devolves into specific encounters.

The poet may focus on the reciprocity or ferocity of the battle (e.g. 4. 444–51 [1]), its evenness (e.g. 11. 72 [6]), the noise arising (e.g. 14. 25–6 [18]), the thoughts of the protagonists (e.g. 15. 702–3 [22]), its *locus* (wall, ships, corpse; e.g. [19] or [25]),² divine activity or influence during it (e.g. 17. 400–1 [27]), and the weaponry employed (e.g. 20. 156–7 [30], which itself occurs during a mention of the fight *locus*), and he may even deliver an authorial comment upon any and all of the above aspects (e.g. 17. 366–9 [26]). The reciprocity of the battle and its noise are the most common descriptive elements, but neither are universal and the import of the scene is one of type rather than content or internal structure.

These scenes are not as a rule extensive, and so the larger ones are generally located in important beginnings or reactivations³ of the battle: [1], [5], [6] occur at the beginning of the fighting on their respective days, [12] is followed by the shattering of the gates and Hektor’s advance into the camp, [14] the *aristeia* of Idomeneus, [19] the Greek resurgence during the *Dios apate*, [22] the firing of the ship, [24] Zeus’ decision and intervention to save Sarpedon’s body, and [26]–[29] are all linked with several episodes during Patroklos’ *Leichenkampf* (cf. below).

The positioning of these passages makes obvious their bridging function between preparation and specific combat. Preparatory features, such as

¹ Cf. Albracht (1886–95) 27–34 = (2005) 53–63; Fenik (1968) 79–80; Krischer (1971) 61–7; Latacz (1977) 116–29, 178–209; Hellmann (2000) 140–1.

² For the other elements in this scene (16. 727–76), cf. 58/6; 74/6; 85/6; 108/16; 119/40; 145/10; 157/13; 178/6; 216/6; cf. also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3 (16. 777–828) and 10/11 n. 7 (16. 829–61).

³ This is a term frequently encountered in this book. It represents a cyclic conception of Homeric battle techniques, and suggests that the poet moves repeatedly from preparation to specified combat in his composition. It goes without saying that this responds to a compositional imperative, giving shape not only to his narrative but also the audience’s ability to follow it; cf. also 22 n. 1.

exhortation, advance etc., appear frequently (as in [1], [4]–[9], [11]–[15], [19]–[26], [30], [31]). Of the ten remaining examples, five ([2], [3], [16], [17], [29]) are preceded by the death of a warrior over whose corpse a *Leichenkampf* has developed, or is in the process of developing. Two more [27], [28] are situated within the *Leichenkampf* of Patroklos (as are [26], [29], but they are both preceded by the usual types of preparatory actions), and their pre-texts concern the lack of knowledge of another warrior (in the first case Antilokhos, in the second Akhilleus) about the death of Patroklos. Lack of knowledge is a common motif in the battle scenes,⁴ and is employed here to connect the fight, Antilokhos, and the eventual informing of Akhilleus at the start of Σ, thus:

[26]	Preparations (17. 356–60)	Antilokhos does not know
[27]	Antilokhos does not know	Akhilleus does not know
[28]	Akhilleus does not know	Preparations (424–40)
[29]	Preparations (424–40)	Exhortation (Ath. / Men. [553])

The even contest gives way to specific combat narrative, whether immediate (as in [1], [2], [4], [9], [11], [13], [15]–[17], [19], [30], [32]) or after another reactivation (as in [3], [7], [8], [10], [12], [14], [18], [21]–[24], [28], [29], [31]). One should not insist on too rigorous a differentiation between these two groups, for some of the latter are only separated from the former by a single and briefly narrated action: [7] the reactivation is comprised of an advance for Agamemnon which is very briefly narrated (11. 216–17). Lengthy reactivations occur only after [3], [18], [22], [24], [29], [31]. These two continuation strategies account for twenty-six of the current passages. Of the rest, four are followed by an ὄφρα | τόφρα correlation⁵ ([5], [6], [20], [25]) and then, after the directional moment closing these correlations,⁶ by specific combat narrative. The last two ([26], [27]) fall during the *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos, whose relationship was charted above.

Finally, not a great deal of emphasis can be laid upon differences of scale between [5] and the other even contests at the start of the day's battle (as in [1] 4. 446–56 and [6] 11. 67–85), but the relative decrease in size is obvious, and resumes one of the observed characteristics of this part of Θ. The opening of hostilities on the fourth battle day is the most complex of all, but the first clash of the armies is not actually described. Instead, the poet switches to a divine assembly, and then the advent of the gods on the battlefield (20. 32–40); the audience is only told that the battle has been joined, and the Greeks in the ascendant (41–6) before the gods make their presence felt (47).⁷

⁴ Cf. Commentary on 8. 97, n. 55.

⁵ Cf. 26.

⁶ Cf. 26, 27.

⁷ Cf. 22/4.

‘earth flowed with blood’ [ῥέε δ’ αἵματι γαῖα]: 4 examples: [1] 4. 451, [2] 25 8. 65, [3] 15. 715, [4] 20. 494.¹

This expression signals the resumption of a theme to dominate the coming fight, though that direction is shortly thereafter placed into the background (but not cancelled out) by another which has itself already been heavily foreshadowed.

The expression is therefore a linking device encouraging the audience to look backwards in preparation for the continuation of the narrative: [1] the opening of battle on the first day is a series of reciprocal *androktasiai*, which resumes the relatively evenly allotted divine support (4. 439), and so the undetermined nature of battle on this day (cf. also 507–16). These encounters are then interrupted by Diomedes’ *aristeia* at the start of *E*, which dominates much of the rest of the day and was itself foreshadowed during the *Epipoleis*; [2] the beginning of the second day skips over any individual episode before the first turning in the battle,² engineered by Zeus, and the following Greek retreat. This resumes the theme of his control introduced in the assembly, before the poet generates the Nestor–Diomedes episode which threatens to overturn that direction. Diomedes’ pre-eminence on the previous battle day, as well as his role in the assembly refusing Priam’s offer, makes him the natural figure for such activity; [3] the *even contest* closed by this unit occurs straight after Hektor grabs hold of Protesilaos’ ship, to which he had been heading at 15. 688–95, but the Trojans have been aiming at the ships since the end of *Θ*, when Hektor spoke openly of his hopes for the morrow, and Kaletor’s earlier attempt to hurl a torch had failed (15. 419–21). The battle is now frozen at this point as the poet returns to Patroklos arriving at Akhilleus’ tent (16. 1). This refers not only back to his encounter with Nestor in *Δ*, but also the assemblies of the previous night; [4] as usual, Akhilleus provides the rule-proving exception, for the sequence of resumption is more complex and the expression itself is only here used for the effect of a *single* warrior upon *one* group.³ Here it introduces the continuation of his killing run, closing a catalogue of *androktasiai* (20. 455–89) and being followed by his pursuit and advance into the river (21. 1–33), and the encounter with Lykaon (34–135). These two encounters represent a temporary pause in the slaughter, but the spree will continue until the intervention of the river, first in the anger at the death of Lykaon (136–8), then his support of Asteropaios (145–6), and finally his appeal to the hero and subsequent pursuit. When Skamandros does finally intervene, they are drawn back to the divine assembly at the start of *Υ* and its emphasis on the need for deities to stop Akhilleus’ rampage (20. 26–30). Thus the audience are prepared for the continuation, but also for the moment which will bring that to an end or send it in a new direction.

¹ Cf. Edwards (1991) on 20. 494, 343–4.

² Cf. 32.

³ Cf. I n. 3.

- 26 'while | so long' [ὅφρα | τόφρα]: 28 examples: [1] 4. 220–1, [2] 5. 788–91, [3] 7. 193–4, [4] 8. 66–7, [5] 8. 87–90, [6] 9. 352–6, [7] 9. 550–2, [8] 10. 507–8 (ἔως), [9] 11. 84–5, [10] 11. 187–90, [11] 11. 202–5, [12] 11. 264–6, [13] 11. 357–60, [14] 11. 411–12, [15] 11. 476–7, [16] 12. 10–12, [17] 12. 195–9, [18] 15. 318–19, [19] 15. 343–5, [20] 15. 390–4 (ἔως), [21] 15. 539–41 (ἔως), [22] 16. 777–8, [23] 17. 106–7 (ἔως), [24] 18. 15–16 (ἔως), [25] 18. 257–8, [26] 18. 380–{1}, [27] 21. 100–2 (πρίν μὲν γάρ), [28] 21. 602–7 (ἔως).¹

These expressions connect two simultaneous actions before introducing a situational redirection, whose relationship to the correlatives may be one of strong contrast or simple succession: [1] ὅφρα the Greeks tend for the injured Menelaos, τόφρα the Trojans are advancing, and the poet then moves into the *Epipoleis*; [5] Nestor's stranding (ὅφρα) and Hektor's advance (τόφρα) set up the intervention of Diomedes; [8] ἔως Diomedes ponders his course, τόφρα Athene comes up and tells him to flee, and he does so; [14] while Odysseus reflects on his situation, τόφρα the Trojans advance, and he then launches into them; [16] the period of the Trojan war (ὅφρα Akhilleus was angry, Hektor was alive and Troy stood) is commensurate (τόφρα) with the existence of the Greek wall. When the war is over (12. 13) the gods destroy the wall; [17] ὅφρα the Lapithai strip their victims, those around Hektor and Poulydamas are stopped in wonder at the omen, and Poulydamas' attempted redirection suggests retreat;² [19] the Trojans strip the dead Greeks, the Greeks scatter inside the wall, and Hektor exhorts his men (redirection), thus continuing the reactivated Trojan advance, but heralding the final phase of the fight at the wall; [20] Patroklos' stay in Eurypylos' tent (τόφρα) and the duration of the battle over the wall (ἔως) is contrasted with the former's reaction to seeing the Trojans overbearing the wall. In each case, what strikes one most is the poet's intention to move the narrative to new ground.

Whilst most of these examples fall during the narrative (as in [1], [4], [5], [8], [9], [12]–[28])³ some are employed by characters. One of the most common uses is as a persuasive device to compare the admirable situation of the past with the current, relatively less positive state of affairs: [2] Here (*qua* Stentor) rebukes the Greeks for the fact that ὅφρα Akhilleus fought, τόφρα the Trojans were afraid to essay forth, but they are now fighting far from

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 15. 318–19, 262.

² For other elements in this scene (12. 195–250), cf. 40/16; 41/7; 59; 66/2; 69/7; 85/2; 98/4; 128/4; 151; 185/4, 5; 198/7; 204/3. Poulydamas is a constant advocate of defensive and sensible actions against Hektor's more aggressive instincts: cf. Schofield (1986); Hainsworth (1993) on 12. 60, 325. For other indications of Hektor's shortcomings as leader, cf. 42/3 n. 5; 210/3 n. 4.

³ 4, 9, 18, 22 form a distinct grouping (cf. 27, 26a | 27a).

the city and posing a real threat (as Akhilleus says of himself in [6] and Phoinix somewhat similarly of Meleagros in [7]); Poulydamas makes the same point in [25] from a Trojan perspective;⁴ [27] Akhilleus contrasts his attitude before and after Patroklos' death. This negative redirection is not inevitable, however: [3] Aias connects the period of his arming (*ᾠφρα*) with the Greeks' prayers for his victory. There is no explicit redirection here, but the moment when the duel is joined is obviously to be understood;⁵ [10] (= [11]) Hektor's instructions from Zeus employ the correlation to join the period (*τόφρα*) of Hektor's caution and (*ᾠφρα*) Agamemnon's aggression, and to contrast that with the Greek leader's retreat—when Hektor shall be the daddy.

'when | then' [*ἤμος* | *τῆμος*]: 8 examples: [1] 1. 475–6 (*δῆ τότε*), [2] 1. 477–8 (*καὶ τότε*), [3] 7. 433–4, [4] 8. 68–9 (*καὶ τότε*) (26/4), [5] 11. 86–91 (26/9), [6] 16. 779–80 (*καὶ τότε*) (26/22), [7] 23. 226–8, [8] 24. 788–9. 27

This method of correlation is employed to connote progression in a ritual process extending over more than one day. Expressions for dawn account for [2], [3], [7], [8]; [2] introduces the second day of the propitiation of Apollo (and [1] denotes the sunset before that dawn),¹ [3] the second and last day of the funeral for the dead of the first battle day, [7] the day of the games as the culmination of Patroklos' funeral and [8] the final day of Hektor's funeral.²

The remaining three examples ([4]–[6]) occur after those examples of the *ᾠφρα* | *τόφρα* unit which accompany the expression *τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπτετο, πίπτε δὲ λαός*, and constitute a separate grouping (cf. next unit). Nonetheless, the continuative function identified above is still in effect here, for these three cases all represent determinative moments in the progress of a theme from the immediately preceding narrative: [4] Zeus' following thundering enacts the intention to control the battle he evinced in the assembly; [5] Agamemnon's emergence into prominence resumes the intimation of his primacy in the major preparations before battle; [6] the claiming of Keb-riones' body dominates the preceding narrative, and is Patroklos' penultimate hurrah.³

'so long did weapons hit both sides and the people fell' [*τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπτετο, πίπτε δὲ λαός*]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 67 (26/4) 26a |

⁴ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

⁵ For the many other elements in the duel between Hektor and Aias (7. 189–310), cf. 35 n. 1; 73/2; 74/1; 77/12; 81/5; 88/4; 104/2; 114/6; 120/3; 126/12; 137/5; 140/5; 155/3; 157/4, 5; 169/9, 10; Appendix A (5).

¹ Cf. 201; also 1.

² Cf. Edwards (1986); also 201 for 7.

³ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3; also 24/25 n. 2.

(27/4), [2] 11. 85 (26/9) (27/5), [3] 15. 319 (26/18), [4] 16. 778 (26/22) (27/6).¹

This expression is employed only where the $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$ | $\tau\acute{o}\phi\rho\alpha$ unit follows a passage of even contest, and the resolving moment is closely related to the imposition of the *Dios boule*. Zeus is therefore particularly involved, whether directly or indirectly through his agents: [1] he is present on Ide, and the action introduced by the double correlation is the direct imposition of his will upon the battle; [2] he is represented on the field by Eris' lone presence whilst he watches from Ide (cf. 11. 3–4, 73–83), and the action is the initial run of Greek success represented by Agamemnon's fortunes, at whose wounding the fighting will turn inexorably against them. Zeus in fact informs Hektor of this (181–209); [3] Apollo acts on his father's instructions and wields the aegis, forcing the Greeks into their final period of retreat before Patroklos notices their predicament (15. 395);² [4] Apollo is again acting on Zeus' wishes, though the immediate event introduced by the correlation is the claiming of Kebriones' body as prelude to the final reactivation of Patroklos' *aristeia* and his death.³

After those examples combining the $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$ | $\tau\acute{o}\phi\rho\alpha$ and $\eta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ | $\tau\eta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ units ([1], [2], [4]) the imposition is qualified, i.e. this is not the final or even determinative moment at which Zeus' will is enacted: [1] another thundering or two is required to make Diomedes retreat, and the course of the battle is temporarily reversed with Zeus' assent later in the book; [2] the first turning of the battle represents a victory for the *Greeks* as Agamemnon begins an *aristeia* which will lead to his wounding and withdrawal. As the *ἀριστεύων* at the start of the day's play, he represents his side's prospects;⁴ [4] the Greeks claim Kebriones' corpse and enjoy a further brief period of ascendancy before Apollo acts to neutralize Patroklos. In these cases, the decisive moment initiates an action which conforms to the general direction of the *Dios boule*. By contrast, [3] is not an example of this double correlation, and the imposition is determinative and immediate. The aegis turns the battle instantly, bringing the narrative into the final phase of Greek retreat and the breaching of the wall before Patroklos' intervention.

- 28 Scales of Zeus: 4 examples: [1] 8. 69–74, [2] 16. 658, [3] 19. 223–4, [4] 22. 208–13.¹

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 20; Fenik (1968) 81; Janko (1992) on 15. 318–19, 262.

² Cf. 26/20.

³ For other elements in this scene (16. 777–828), cf. 27/6; 46a/5; 46b/4, 5; 77/18; 92/6; 114/21; 134/12; 156/4; 216/7.

⁴ Cf. 22 n. 4.

¹ Cf. Leaf (1900–2) on 8.69–74, 337–8; cf. Dietrich (1964) 98; Erbse (1986) 290–1; Willcock (1978) ad loc., 261; also Morrison (1997). Neoanalysts contend that the 'Kerenwägung' is derived or borrowed specifically from the death of Memnon in the *Aithiopsis*, a *Memnonis*, or other cyclic material concerning that hero; cf. Pestalozzi (1945) 11–13; Kakridis (1949) 94–5;

The scales are a symbol of Zeus' direct and immediate control over the battle, and usually applied to groups in general rather than individual combats: [1] Zeus takes immediate steps to implement his control by hurling a thunderbolt into the Greek army. They all flee—but for Nestor out of necessity, and Diomedes from heroic excess; [2] Zeus causes Hektor to retreat and he does so *γνώ γάρ Διὸς ἰρὰ πάλαντα* (16. 658). The inference is that, as soon as he recognizes that fact, he obeys its indications;² [3] Odysseus invokes Zeus' supreme martial power through a striking metaphor,³ where the decisive moment in battle is described as *ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι πάλαντα | Ζεὺς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμὴς πολέμοιο πέτυκται* (19. 223–4); [4] in a close parallel with this episode, the *πάλαντα* are whipped out again at Hektor's penultimate moment.⁴ Perhaps one could conclude that the poet has here unusually applied this motif to the most anticipated individual combat in the *Iliad*; Akhilleus has certainly replaced the Greek army as a whole (no other Greek enjoying a kill once he rejoins the fray), whilst Hektor's importance for—almost identification with—the city is obvious (cf. e.g. 22. 410–11). The application of the scales would definitely make a great deal of sense on these terms as a symbol of the exceptional significance of this encounter.

Thunder and lightning omens: 14 examples: [1] 2. 350–3, [2] 7. 478–9, [3] 8. 75–6, [4] 8. 133–5, [5] 8. 170–1, [6] 9. 236–9, [7] 10. 5–8, [8] 11. 45–6, [9] 13. 242–4, [10] 13. 796, [11] 14. 414–17, [12] 15. 377, [13] 17. 595–6, [14] 20. 56–7.¹ 29

This action is confined to Zeus, with the rather significant exception of [8],² where Zeus' lack of favour will ensure Agamemnon's ultimate failure. Thunder may be used by itself (as in [2], [5], [8], [10], [12], [14]), as may the

Leumann (1950) 227–8; Von der Mühl (1952) 147; Schoeck (1961) 25–31; Kullmann (1960) 32–3, 317–18; Clark and Coulson (1978); van Thiel (1982) 273; Janko (1992) on 16. 658, 394; Heitsch (1992); M. L. West (2003a). The definitive refutation of these treatments is that of Fenik (1968) 219–20: 'Zeus' scales are also mentioned elsewhere in the *Iliad*, briefly and casually, which indicates that the motif was familiar. Note, too, that at *II* 658 and *T* 223 it is used in reference to *whole armies* and not individuals. Here in *Θ* it is therefore fully typical.' Neoanalysis is generally excited by the apparent grammatical difficulties in 8. 73–4, on which cf. Σ bT on 8. 73; Reinhardt (1961) 176–7; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 304; van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 420–1; *contra* Willcock (1978) ad loc., 261.

² Cf. 84/4. ³ Cf. Edwards (1991) on 19. 221–4, 260–1.

⁴ Cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 129–30.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 350–3, 106; also Stockinger (1959) 24–5, 120–1, 135–44, though he includes other 'atmosphärische Zeichen' in his discussion of 'Himmelserscheinungen'. I exclude here the use of these phenomena as weapons against the other immortals (8. 405 = 419, 15. 117, 21. 198–9, 21. 401); cf. also 128 for bird omens.

² Perhaps one might also include Poseidon's action (*ἐπὶ νῆαξ*) at 20. 57–8 following Zeus' in 14, though the point remains the same, since it is only at Zeus' behest that Poseidon is free to rejoin the battle; cf. Appendix B for Here's attempts to appropriate more of Zeus' activities.

lightning bolt (as in [1], [6], [7], [9], [11]), and they may be found together (as in [3], [4], [13]).

In every case, the poet ensures that such manifestations of the divine will are clearly directed in terms of the god's import, and are followed immediately by a usually appropriate human reaction: [1] Nestor's reminiscence implies that the Greeks were favoured by the phenomenon (*ἐπὶ δεξι'* 2. 353), and their positive reaction at the beginning of the war is implicitly contrasted with their current despondency; [2] Zeus thunders all night, and the mortals react with 'pale fear' (*χλωρόν δέος* 7. 479)³ and an attempt to placate him with libations; [3]–[5] are a remarkable collocation of examples:⁴ [3] after the *Kerostasia*, Zeus indicates the verdict of the *τάλαντα* by hurling the *σέλας* into the Greek army, after which one finds another 'pale fear' reaction and head-long flight; [4] Zeus directs both weapons at the horses of Diomedes, causing the common fearful reaction of both the team and the horses;⁵ [5] in his final demonstration, Zeus determines Diomedes' retreat after his hesitation. The narrative is now removed from him until the brief, Zeus-sponsored, Greek resurgence (8. 253); [6] Odysseus' attempted persuasion links the signs of favour with Hektor's rage *πίσυνος Διί* (9. 238); [7] Agamemnon's mood is likened to the lightning of Zeus, indicating either storms or the *πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα* (10. 8). The situation of the simile does not really require a reaction of the sort found in the narrative examples (cf. also [10] below), but seems to indicate the beginning of battle; [8] the action of Here and Athene is directed specifically to the honouring of Agamemnon (11. 46), though the need for reaction on behalf of the Greeks is absent, being assumed in the person of Agamemnon, whose *aristeia* is being forecast; [9] Idomeneus is *ἄσπεροπῆι ἐναλίγκιος* which Zeus uses as a *σῆμα* for mortals (13. 244). The Trojans' reaction is postponed until after the interlude with Meriones,⁶ but the simile clearly presupposes mortal understanding and recognition of the sign in the simile itself before its realization occurs in the main narrative; [10] likening the attacking Trojans to an *ἀέλλη* which goes *ὑπὸ βροντῆς Διὸς* to the earth and stirs up the sea etc., the poet implies from the simile narrative the correct interpretation of and reaction to this direction, which directly precedes in the main narrative (*τότε δὲ Ζεὺς ὤρσέ μάχεσθαι* 13. 794); [11] another simile, this time describing Hektor's fall, compares him to an oak struck *ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς* which causes fear in whoever sees it, since *χαλεπὸς δὲ Διὸς μέγαλοιο κεραυνός* (14. 417). Though one cannot be sure that this was specifically intended as a *Vorzeichen*, the reaction is clear; [12] Zeus responds to Nestor's prayer favourably, but this time the Trojans react to

³ Cf. 31/1. ⁴ Cf. Commentary; also Willcock (1995).

⁵ Cf. also 66/1; 67/2; 68/1.

⁶ Cf. 9/27 n. 11; also 94/4.

it (15. 379–84), increasing the irony of their situation;⁷ [13] combining thunder and lightning with the shaking of the aegis and the covering of Ide in clouds (17. 593–4), this *Himmelserscheinung* is followed by Greek rout, and a series of speeches (Meriones to Idomeneus, Aias to Menelaos) in which Zeus' hostility is recognized and / or explicitly acknowledged; [14] Zeus thunders to mark the opening of the divine battle, though his sign is immediately followed by the noisy activity of Poseidon and Hades' fearful reaction (20. 57–65). Despite the apparent resolution of the *Dios boule*, all is not well between the elemental powers of sky, sea, and the Underworld.

It is noticeable that the use of the phenomena, when directed at mortals, is usually of an indirect *Vorzeichen* sort;⁸ of the examples occurring in direct narrative, only in [3], [4] does the lightning bolt come close to functioning as a weapon.

'[they] were astonished' [*θαμβησαν*]: 7 examples: [1] 1. 199, [2] 3. 398, [3] 8. 77, [4] 23. 728, [5] 23. 881, [6] 24. 483, [7] 24. 484.¹ 30

Reactions of this sort occur upon the observation of an action which is unexpected and necessitates a modification of opinion (or, in [1], [2], actual behaviour): [1] Akhilleus, on becoming aware of Athene's presence, is surprised that the goddess has chosen to come now after his decision to kill Agamemnon.² He may already feel that she will try to stop him, but the astonishment is explicitly related to her protection of Agamemnon; [2] similarly, Helen cannot understand Aphrodite's attempt to deceive her, nor indeed why she is so concerned with Paris' constant gratification. In the context, her reaction is also related to Menelaos' undoubted victory in the contest, but should not be limited to it. In any case, one might also say that she does not wish to succumb, as to do so in these circumstances would bring odium from the Trojans, which she is often depicted as trying to avoid or ameliorate; [3] as Agamemnon's appeal to Zeus later in *Θ* will make clear, it would not automatically be clear to the Greeks why Zeus should be against them; [4] the mastery of Odysseus in the wrestling match would not be the expected one, even in the light of Aias' constant failures in the Funeral Games;³ [5] similarly, Meriones' victory over Teukros is hardly the expected one from the crowd's point of view, in light of the latter's mastery of the bow throughout the poem; [6], [7] the uniqueness of Priam's situation is a surprise

⁷ For other elements in this episode (15. 370–80), cf. 32/17; 105/8; 126/16; 129/3; 167/3.

⁸ Cf. above, n. 1, for examples where Zeus' power is turned against the immortals.

¹ Cf. Dietrich (1983); Aubriot (1989); Führer (1987c); Fisher (1995); Latacz (2000) on 1. 199, 90.

² Cf. 91/1; also 9/2 n. 2.

³ Cf. 97/5 and n. 5.

to himself, Hekabe, Akhilleus, and Hermes, when he warns the sleeping *basileus* of the danger inherent in the situation. Though Akhilleus knew that some such process was in the offing (24. 139–40), that Priam himself should suddenly appear in his tent is truly astonishing. That the poet employs three such reactions in the space of three verses is an indication of the episode's individuality and significance.⁴

30a 'astonishment held [the onlookers]' [θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας]: 4 examples: [1] 3. 342, [2] 4. 79, [3] 23. 815 (πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς), [4] 24. 482 (ἔχει).¹

This expression represents a refinement of the referential definition proposed above for '*they were astonished*', describing such reactions in contexts where the cause of astonishment is then explored in an individual encounter with a strong intimation of potential lethality: [1] the onlookers marvel at Paris and Menelaos as they move into position to begin their duel (as again with Aias and Diomedes in [3]); [2] the crowd marvel at Athene's arrival for, as the following speech (4. 81–4) shows, they suppose that it portends Zeus' decision for war or peace in the circumstance. Athene's intervention will of course eventuate in the encounter between Pandaros and Menelaos;² [4] the poet uses this phrase (in simile) for the initial reaction to Priam's arrival to underline that his supplication of Akhilleus is another exploration of the latter's sense of authority, and another type of contest between two very powerful heroes.³

It is noticeable that in each case no one is in any mortal danger, but the onlookers and participants themselves feel that they are: [1] Paris and Menelaos cannot kill one another, but the prospect is clearly that one of them will die; [2] Athene is divine and, again, Pandaros cannot kill Menelaos, but Agamemnon and the other Greeks are concerned for his life; [3] Aias and Diomedes are having a mock battle, but it is stopped at the point of harm; [4] Priam's simile figure is in no danger of his life,⁴ but Priam himself of course almost arouses the ire of Akhilleus, while Akhilleus and Hermes later

⁴ Cf. 9/46 n. 21; also 30a/4.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1978) 35–8; Kirk (1985) on 3. 342, 274; Führer (1987c); Richardson (1993) on 23. 815, 262.

² Cf. also 217/1.

³ Consider Akhilleus' outrage at Priam's attempt to hurry the hospitality along at 24. 559–71; also 9/46 n. 21; Appendix A n. 40; Davies (1981); Minchin (1986) explores the idea that the supplication is Priam's *aristeia*, with several expressions and associations typical of martial encounters.

⁴ The 'metanastic' figure in the simile (cf. Martin 1992 for this traditional theme) makes a powerful link with Akhilleus, for whom both Phoinix and Patroklos are dependent metanasts, and it simultaneously underlines and undermines his authority in the situation, for both characters were received by Peleus, who is to be an important figure in the coming encounter.

speak of the danger he is in.⁵ The obvious conclusion is that the imminence or fear of death is at the least a motivating factor in arousing *θάμβος*.

‘pale fear’ [*χλωρόν δέος*]: 3 examples: [1] 7. 479, [2] 8. 77, [3] 17. 67.¹

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The motivating hostility for this specifically mortal (and group) reaction is usually that of a deity, and so naturally beyond the group’s control. Arresting the emotion or its consequences is the result or province of divine intervention. In short, the emotion is intimately related to the existential difference between the group and the cause of the fear, which in itself has a knock-on effect on the possibility and type of resolution: [1] the thundering of Zeus causes an attempt through libation to avert the threatened hostility. The lightening of this hostility is intermittently exhibited by Zeus (and the other gods) at various points throughout the following day(s) to both groups, but the point is surely that the libation is insufficient, like so many other ritual actions, in securing the safety of the group; [2] the manifestation of that attitude through such a direct indication as hurling a thunderbolt among them is obviously a situation about which the Greeks can do very little, even Diomedes. Zeus is later induced to partial favour before finally penning them in the camp; [3] within a lion simile applied to Menelaos as he strips Euphorbos, the Trojans are likened to hunters who do not dare face him.² Given Menelaos’ somewhat dubious martial status, the simile seems somewhat unsuitable, and deliberately so, for it underlines the Trojan dependence upon Hektor (and, by extension, Zeus) for their success. It is of course left to the former, after he has been rebuked by Apollo (17. 70–81), to force Menelaos onto the defensive.

Flight-phase: 28 examples: [1] 4. 505–7 (517) (T), [2] 5. 37–444 (461) (T), [3] 5. 596–710 (792) (G), [4] 6. 5–72 (103) (T), [5] 7. 8–16 (44) (G), [6] 8. 78–216 (251) (G), [7] 8. 253–315 (335) (T), [8] 8. 335–49 (G), [9] 11. 86–180 (211) (T), [10] 11. 284–309 (320) (G), [11] 11. 486–97 (544) (T), [12] 11.

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⁵ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

¹ M. L. West (1966) on *Theogony* 167, 216; Irwin (1974) ch. 2, esp. 62–8, 77–8; Renehan (1976) 37; also Foley (1999) 216–18: ‘it describes a situation in which a *supernaturally inspired fear* takes hold of a person or a group of people’ (217). His comparative pool is broader than the current (including *Od.* 11. 43, 11. 633, 12. 243, 22. 42, 24. 450, 24. 533, and *Hom. Hy. to Demeter* 190). He discusses an apparent exception in the *Odyssey* (22. 42) in a fruitful manner, but misses the fact that 3 also has nothing to do with supernaturally inspired fear. Nonetheless, Foley’s instinct is essentially right, as long as it includes the idea that arresting the group’s reaction is only possible by divine intervention, and privileges helplessness over a putative divine provenance (although the two will often naturally coexist). For 14. 506, where some MSS read *χλωρόν δέος*, cf. (5).

² For other elements in this scene (17. 1–69), cf. 111/7; 125/16; 130/3; 133/8; 153/7; 161/3; 163/4; 183/11; 191a n. 1.

508–20 (G), [13] 11. 544–74 (595) (G), [14] 12. 470–13. 42 (13. 125) (G), [15] 13. 717–22 (795) (T), [16] 14. 506–15. 4 (262) (T), [17] 15. 279–369 (405) (G), [18] 15. 636–58 (667) (G), [19] 16. 278–418 (548) (T), [20] 16. 569–80 (G), [21] 16. 588–92 (600) (T), [22] 16. 656–97 (726) (T), [23] 17. 274–7 (G), [24] 17. 316–18 (343) (T), [25] 17. 597–18. 165 (222) (G), [26] 18. 222–31 (T), [27] 20. 381–21. 211 (234) (T), [28] 21. 520–43 (T).¹

In these passages, which may extend from a few to several hundred verses, the poet sets one side in retreat or flight as the context for the narrative; individual encounters may still occur, but the audience can use the phase as the frame for the following narrative, as they wait for its resolution and the inclination of the battle the other way. Just as with the even contest, there are no universal elements of inception, conduct, or conclusion. The immediate motivation for flight may include the death or advance of a prominent warrior, the direct or indirect intervention of a deity, or simply the ability of one side to force the other back. The actions describing the course of the flight may be general or specific battle narrative, there may be a focus upon a single character, and there may also be extensive interruptions and even temporary reversals in the course of the retreat, but the poet has nevertheless provided the audience with a directional moment setting the course of the battle until a (sometimes immediate) steadying, when the process begins once again.²

The categories of motivating actions are not mutually exclusive, including death / wounding of a usually prominent warrior (as in [1], [8], [10], [12], [16], [21], [23], [24]; also during [19], [27] and the Pylian / Epeian conflict [11.744–9]), advance of a warrior (as in [3], [5], [10], [11], [13], [14], [17]–[19], [21], [24]–[26], [28]), direct or indirect divine intervention (as in [3], [6]–[8], [13], [15]–[17], [22], [25], [26]), *σφῆι ἀρετῆι* (11. 90 as in [2], [4], [5], [7], [9], [13]–[24], [26], [27]). The poet does on several occasions make an equation between Greek victory and divine absence (as before [2], [4], [27]), though Zeus rouses the Greeks before [23] and still the Trojans manage to push them back, albeit only temporarily.

The activity possible within these periods runs, of course, the entire gamut of the battle scenes, and is best illustrated briefly, by taking one of the larger examples and summarizing it: [2] the motivation or pretext is the withdrawal

¹ The citations in brackets denote the point at which the delayed reversal begins on the battlefield itself, after the poet has introduced another action or character which leads to the steadying of the army and usually a counterattack. One might also consider Nestor's narration of the battle between the Pylians and Epeians (11. 737–61, esp. 744–49); cf. Albracht (1886–95) 41–52 = (2005) 73–90; Trümper (1950) 212–33; Fenik (1968) 85, 114; Krischer (1971) 52–8; Latacz (1977) 212–15; Hellmann (2000) 134–41, esp. 135 n. 6.

² There are, of course, narrative units which are particularly associated with the turning points in these patterns; cf. 129, 166, 167 (also below).

of Ares and Athene (5. 29–36), then the Greeks force the Trojans back (37–8). There follows a list of *androktasiai* (85–94) for each of the leaders, then a general description of Diomedes' advance (35–84), the first episode with Pandaros and Diomedes' rehabilitation by Athene (95–133), more general narrative and *androktasiai* for Diomedes (134–65), then the combat with Aineias and Pandaros (which includes the confrontation with Aphrodite and her retreat, 166–431), and Diomedes' encounter with Apollo (432–53). From this point, the poet uses Apollo's exhortation of Ares (454–70) and then Sarpedon's rebuke of Hektor (471–93) as the immediate pretext for steadying the ranks (494–7).

Resolution or reversal of these periods is frequently achieved, as in the above example, by the intervention of another character, and this process may take a number of different forms: [1] after the Trojans withdraw, Apollo cries out and the poet resumes reciprocal *androktasiai*; [2] Apollo's rescue of Aineias leads into his exhortation of Ares and the Greeks' consequent retreat; [3] it takes the drawn-out intervention of Here and Athene to put the Greeks back on track; [4] Helenos suggests a rally and the mission to Hektor, who steadies the troops before he departs; [5] Athene's noticing of Hektor and Paris leads into the confrontation with Apollo and the duel between Hektor and Aias; [6] Here's inspiration of Agamemnon leads into his prayer, the answering omen, and the Greek counterattack; [7] after the implied retreat represented by the Greek counterattack and Teukros' *aristeia*, the delayed resolution begins with Hektor's attack and wounding of the latter (8. 320–34); then Zeus intervenes (335) before the Trojan counterattack [8];³ [9] again Hektor rallies his troops, this time after an intervention from Iris;⁴ [10] after Hektor's initial *aristeia* and advance (11. 285–309), the poet deploys the noticing and intervention of Diomedes and Odysseus to halt the Trojans' forward move; [12] is connected with [11], [13] in a complex manner to depict a picture of complete Greek withdrawal in *Δ*. The delayed resolution of [11] begins with Hektor *not* knowing about Aias' victories. The poet then inserts an immediate resolution [12] to put the Greeks into flight on the other side of the battle, before he has Kebriones move Hektor over to the right side of battle before [13], when Aias also retreats. [13] thus represents the closure of [11], whilst [12] is an insertion which serves not only to make the retreat universal (for after that point, the audience focuses on Aias' side of the battle) but also to introduce Makhaon and Nestor's retreat, whose arrival at the Greek camp will be the occasion for the despatch of Patroklos; [14] the highpoint of Hektor's success is then reversed by Poseidon's intervention;⁵ [15] Poulydamas' strategic suggestion leads to a concentration of Trojans around Hektor,

³ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁴ Cf. 180/5.

⁵ Cf. 17/9 n. 13.

and a more successful advance; [16] the reversal of the Trojans' retreat is engineered by the waking of Zeus (15. 4), but does not actually begin until Apollo's arrival on the field (236) and revival of Hektor (262); [17] Nestor's prayer receives a favourable answer, yet it is the Trojans who are thereby encouraged to press on,⁶ and so Patroklos' noticing of the trouble at 15. 390 and his departure from Eurypylos precedes the Greek rally; [18] Nestor's exhortation precedes Athene's removal of the ἀχλὺς (15. 668) covering the battle; [19] Sarpedon's intervention goes against the general retreat, but the following combat is disastrous for him, and the Trojans only rally specifically in order to fight over his body; [21] Glaukos' turning and killing of Bathykles achieves the general steadying; [22] Apollo's opposition to Patroklos precedes his exhortation of Hektor back into battle for the (pen)ultimate confrontation; [24] Apollo encourages Aineias to counterattack; [25] Iris' arrival, which is actually a structural doublet for Antilokhos' information (18. 2), brings Akhilleus to the trench; [26] the Trojan reversal simply coincides with the end of the day, so there is no reversal; [27] Skamandros' attack on Akhilleus brings to an end his first triumphant rampage, though not for long; [28] Apollo inspires Agenor to face Akhilleus, and then leads him away from the city, allowing the Trojans to escape into Troy.

Immediate counteraction is far less common (in [20], [23]): [20] Patroklos answers Hektor's victory by killing Sthenelaos, leading immediately into [21] (above); [23] Aias immediately counterattacks and kills Hippothoos.

The range of actions with which the resolution may be initiated includes exhortation or rebuke by a character who has noticed the problem (as in [1]–[6], [8], [9], [13]–[19], [22], [24], [25], [27], [28]), the making of an individual attack (as in [7], [10], [13], [19], [22], [24], [27]) and, on one occasion, the setting of the sun [26], which always closes battle (cf. 7. 282) and has been consistently emphasized as the limit of the Trojans' victory (cf. e.g. 11. 194, 209, 17. 455).⁷ Thus, moments which initiate flight-phases give the audience a direction to the fighting which sits in the background, as it were, bestowing shape on what might otherwise seem an amorphous series of encounters.

There is often a rally at a prominent point as a prelude to resolution: [6] Greeks in the camp (8. 213–16), [8] Greeks in the fortifications (8. 345–7), [16] Trojans to their chariots beyond the trench (15. 3–4), [17] Greeks at the ships (15. 367–9),⁸ [18] Greeks at the huts and the rear ships (15. 655–8), [27] Trojans in the city (22. 1–3). This prominent topographical mark is also found in [9] in a doublet:⁹ as the Trojans reach Σκαίᾱς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν (11. 170)

⁶ Cf. 29/12 n. 7. ⁷ Cf. 201/4.

⁸ Cf. Commentary ad loc., on the relationship between 8, 17, 18; also below 166/1, 3; 167/1–3.

⁹ Pace Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 231–2; cf. also 165.

there is a partial halting (171) before the poet turns back to those still on the plain being chased by Agamemnon. The halting of this group does not begin until they too reach the city (181–2), at which point Zeus intervenes by encouraging Hektor to make the requisite exhortation (211).

‘did not | dare’ [οὐ | τλή]: 18 examples: [1] 1. 226–8, [2] 1. 534, [3] 1. 542–3, 33
[4] 5. 21, [5] 7. 151, [6] 7. 480, [7] 8. 78, [8] 17. 153, [9] 17. 489–90, [10] 17.
733, [11] 18. 246, [12] 19. 14, [13] 20. 421, [14] 21. 608, [15] 22. 136, [16] 22.
251, [17] 24. 35, [18] 24. 565.¹

In all these cases, the action is performed in the context of a prior episode motivating the speaker’s expectations, whereby the character’s reaction is depicted as its logical, natural, and expected consequence: [10] the Aiantes continually whirl around (motivating action), the Trojans go pale with fear, and none dares to face them. The power of these two warriors is thus underlined, as in [5], where Nestor’s description of the general fear engendered by Ereuthalion makes his stand against him seem all the braver; [13] Hektor is shamed by the death of his brother Polydoros so that he does not endure standing off, expressing the appropriateness of their combat; [2] the arrival of Zeus is the motivating action which demands the gods not dare remain seated, but stand. The acknowledgment of his power, given what he is going to do, is essential.²

There are several occasions where an exception is stated to the general rule, in which case the exception is highly significant: [5] Nestor uses his own exception to emphasize his valour; [7] Nestor is of course trapped, and the poet then goes to some lengths to detail why he alone did not retreat;³ [12] Akhilleus is the only one able to look at the divine armour; [14] in contrast to all the other Trojans, Hektor is bound to remain outside by his *μοῖρα*. This sets the stage for the exchange with his parents and flight; [16] Hektor himself contrasts his past refusal to face Akhilleus with his new determination, in effect acknowledging his opponent’s greater might, which casts his decision now in even greater relief;⁴ [18] Priam’s exception to the general rule about coming into the Myrmidon camp is used by Akhilleus not to show the old king’s greatness in being able to achieve it, but his dependence upon the gods’

¹ Here I only include actions in past time; cf. however 3. 306–7 (οὐ πω πλήσομ’ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρασθαι | μαρνάμενον φίλον υἱὸν κτλ.), where the figure is uniquely applied to the future. Priam is naturally unable to look upon his son fighting and—probably—dying (cf. 259). His absence is of course necessary for the oath-breaking to come.

² Cf. 211/1. ³ Cf. 35/1.

⁴ For other elements in Hektor’s speech (22. 249–59), cf. 211/6. For his next speech (22. 278–88), cf. 46/5; 46a/6; 55/5; 72/11. For his final, magnificent speech (22. 296–305), cf. 96/12; 108/26; 190/4; 202/7; 208/3.

favour. Akhilleus wishes him to understand fully the undercurrents of the situation, and his own greater knowledge about the divine world.⁵

The figure may also be used in speeches as a trope of rebuke: [1] Akhilleus scolds Agamemnon for never joining in the battle. However fair, the implication is surely that Agamemnon's behaviour is consistent with Akhilleus' description of him as *οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο* (1. 225); [3] Here rebukes Zeus for failing to reveal his plans. In the light of her characterization of him as *δολομήτα* (1. 540), this is a natural conclusion for her to reach;⁶ [17] Apollo rebukes the gods for failing to dare rescue Hektor's corpse despite all the offerings he made to them whilst alive. He inverts the relationship between the prior episode and the action they did not dare perform, powerfully underlining the perversity of the gods' current behaviour.

The point is well made in relief, for the positive forms of *τλήναι* all denote unexpected or extraordinary activity: (21. 150), Akhilleus' challenge clearly implies that Asteropaios' advance is foolish;⁷ (22. 236), Hektor promises to reward Deiphobos for being the only one to come to his aid, when all the others remained within the city; (24. 519), Akhilleus wonders at Priam's courage to have come to the camp alone (cf. also [18] above). Moreover, collocation of positive *τλήναι* and *μένειν* in 2. 299, 11. 317 and 19. 308 occurs where the expression of resolve (endure and stay etc.) explicitly counteracts the prevailing opinion about the course of action to be adopted, which may in fact be recognized by the speaker. Finally, when Dione details the sufferings the gods have had to endure from mortal men, *τλήναι* is employed five times (5. 382 [= 1. 586], 383, 385, 392, 395) in the space of fifteen lines to outline these extraordinary events.⁸ Compare also the statements of Thetis (18. 433) and Priam (24. 505) to Akhilleus, where they detail an action which they should not in the ordinary course of things have had to experience.

- 34 Small-scale catalogues:** 31 examples: [1] 2. 405–7, [2] 3. 146–53, [3] 4. 293–6, [4] 4. 440–5, [5] 7. 161–9, [6] 8. 78–80, [7] 8. 261–5, [8] 9. 81–6, [9] 10. 227–32, [10] 11. 56–66, [11] 12. 19–23, [12] 12. 139–40, [13] 13. 4–6, [14] 13. 91–3, [15] 13. 477–9, [16] 13. 490, [17] 13. 758–9, 790–2, [18] 14. 29, [19] 14. 380, [20] 14. 425–6, [21] 15. 301–2, [22] 16. 535–6, [23] 17. 216–18,

⁵ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

⁶ Cf. Appendix B.

⁷ For other elements in this episode (21. 139–204), cf. 57/14; 92/10; 72/10; 102/20 and n. 1; 116/6; 119/56, 57; 120/11; 176/16; (13).

⁸ For other elements in this episode (5. 370–431), cf. 99/3; 78/10; 113/2; 171/3; 172/3; 178 n. 1; also 9/15 n. 8 for the preceding combat, and 20/1 n. 2 for Aineias' rescue.

[24] 17. 256–9, [25] 17. 534–5, [26] 18. 39–49, [27] 19. 239–40, [28] 19. 310–11, [29] 20. 33–7, 38–40, [30] 20. 67–74, [31] 24. 249–51.¹

Catalogues are obviously preparatory to another event, providing its personnel and / or precondition, though there seems to be no constant relationship between the personnel of the catalogue and the continuation of the narrative. For instance, all the characters in [15] are either killed or play a role in the battle to come, and ‘such lists ... were surely a device to help the bard create [the following narrative] and recall it.’² This is clearly the case in [24], where a group of Greek leaders advance in response to a call for help from Menelaos (17. 246–56), for all the figures play some role in the fighting until the appearance of Akhilleus in Σ. However, [21] defeats any such interpretation. The action-unit is the response to Thoas’ suggestions in the battlefield *boule* (15. 281–99),³ and the figures named are the Aiantes, Idomeneus, Teukros, Meriones, and Meges. Aias *maior* plays an important role, and is constantly singled out (e.g. 419), Teukros likewise is of individual importance (437), but Meges plays a very minor role (520), and neither Aias *minor* (not mentioned again until 17. 256) nor Idomeneus (next mentioned in the *aristeia* of Patroklos at 16. 345) nor Meriones (unmentioned until Patroklos’ *aristeia*, at 16. 342) actually appears in the fighting which follows. Compare also [23], where the list is made up of figures who are to be killed later on (Hippothon, Phorkus, Khromios, Thersilokhos, Asteropaios), are elsewhere unknown or very minor characters (Mesthles, Ennomos), and who are never mentioned again in the poem (Glaukos, Medon, Ennomos).

However, the poet does on several occasions state that catalogues are not exclusive: [20] τῶν τ’ ἄλλων οὐ τις εἶ ἀκήδεσεν, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν | ἀσπίδας ἐυκύκλους σκέθον αὐτοῦ (14. 427–8); [24] τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τις κεν ἦισι φρεσὶν οὐνόματ’ εἴποι, | ὅσσοι δὲ μετόπισθε μάχην ἤγειραν Ἀχαιῶν; (17. 260–1).

¹ Because the catalogue is one of the most characteristic and common features of Homeric narrative, I have restricted this pool to those catalogues denoting the participants of a small scale action-unit. Thus I exclude extended catalogues (e.g. 2. 484–779, 2. 816–77, 12. 88–104, 16. 168–97), sequences of reciprocal and serial *androktasias* (e.g. 6. 5–36, 15. 515–24, 16. 307–50), genealogies (e.g. 2. 101–9, 6. 196–8, 14. 117, 20. 232 / 236–40), catalogues employed in characters’ speeches (e.g. 1. 145–6, 1. 263, 1. 400, 6. 435–7, 9. 149–52 etc.), catalogues of things rather than people (e.g. 9. 149–52), and catalogues of victims (cf. Commentary on 8. 273–7; and 138, 139). These exclusions are to some extent arbitrary, given that so many features isolated here are also to be found in other types of catalogue. Nonetheless, some sacrifice had to be made for space, the addition of further examples being purely quantitative; cf. Minton (1962); Beye (1964); Fenik (1968) 80, 153, 167; Edwards (1980); Minchin (1996); Patzer (1996) 142–8; Gaertner (2001).

² Janko (1992) on 13. 478–80, 108; also 18/7 n. 9.

³ For other elements in Thoas’ speech (15. 281–300), cf. 68/4; 69/9; 102/16; 108/14; 204a/7; 212/30; B/8.

On the other hand, he is also free to use numerical expressions when he apparently wishes to convey that the group represents the totality: [1] Odysseus, the last figure of those summoned to the sacrifice, is numbered *ἔκτον* (2. 407), before the poet adds the information that Menelaos came of his own accord (408); before [5] *ἐννέα* responds to Nestor's rebuke (7. 161); [7] the last item, Teukros, is described *ἑννατος* (8. 266); [8] those who lead the setting of the guard are *ἑπτὰ* (9. 85); [31] the sons of Priam are numbered after the catalogue (*ἐννέα* 24. 252).⁴ How far to push this information is a little difficult to know, for in [8], [31] the poet mentions figures who do not reappear.

This is not to deny the presence of the figures any proleptic import. It is just that any such ramification is so variable that the audience would not draw any conclusion from a character's appearance in a catalogue about his presence or role in the coming narrative. As part of its action-unit, such a list provides the audience with a general connotation of preparation, and an intimation of the broader sweep of the action beyond the particular narrative focus, the figures apparently there in order to fill out the picture of who should be present during the particular action (as in e.g. [1], [26], [27]).

In this regard, it is noticeable that the poet avails himself of these catalogues before battle (as in [1]–[4] in general, [9]–[11] (interlude), [29], [30])⁵ and its many reactivations (as in [12]–[25]). However, other episodes are also introduced by catalogues of those involved: [26] the lamentation of Thetis, [27] the fetching of the gifts, [28] Akhilleus' lamentation over Patroklos, [31] the preparation of the wagon. These episodes, it should be noted, are all in themselves preparatory to another major episode, from the encounter between Thetis and Akhilleus, the 'reconciliation' between Agamemnon and Akhilleus, the eruption of Akhilleus' fury against the Trojans, and the memorable episode between Priam and Akhilleus. This pre-preparation, as it were, is also evident in the many battlefield examples where an exhortation is often the immediate action-unit of the catalogue, which then leads into the actual advance and reactivation of the battle (e.g. [14], [15], [22], [23]). Even if the figures named may not be important, it is clearly important that the audience understand a preparatory phase as a result of the action-unit as a whole.

- 35 'in no way willing' [*οὐ τι ἑκὼν*]: 1 example (2): [1] 8. 81, [2] *Od.* 4. 377, [3] *Od.* 22. 351.¹

⁴ Cf. 134 for the connotations of the number 9.

⁵ Cf. 22.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) on 8. 81, 45; Matthiessen (1984). There are other uses of negated *ἑκὼν* (3. 66, 7. 197, 23. 585), though only the last is really apposite (*ᾄδοντι, μὴ μὲν ἑκὼν*), as Menelaos demands from Antilokhos an oath that his damaging activities were not undertaken *ἑκὼν*, the implication being that this is the only possible excuse

These expressions denote exceptions to the proper or expected course of events, and usually occur in direct speech (as the examples in n. 1) where a character seeks to justify his position or action, specifically by explaining why his behaviour does not match the expectations either of his interlocutor or the requirements of the situation itself: [1] in the light of the poet's focus on the fact that the Greek retreat is the natural and expected reaction to Zeus' thundering (and especially to the 'did not dare' expression and the *small-scale catalogue*),² Nestor's exception requires explanation, and he is hardly the type of figure whose present heroic status would naturally lead into his defiance of custom;³ [2] Eidothea's prior question implies a lack of resolve on Menelaos' part in being stuck on Pharos, and his answer makes clear the responsibility of the gods for his situation; [3] Phemios attempts to excuse his behaviour by referring his presence in the house to the suitors and their compulsion. In all these cases, the figure is used by or of characters over whose physical prowess hangs a cloud: [1] Nestor's physical unsuitability for this situation has been mentioned by Agamemnon in the *Epipoleis*, and Diomedes will go on to talk about it at an almost unseemly length;⁴ [2] Menelaos is hardly the most powerful or impressive heroic figure in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*; [3] though a bard like the poet, Phemios has not the authority of Demodokos or even the unnamed bard of Agamemnon put away by Aigisthos. Given the *Iliad*'s thorough exploration of free will, this association is striking.

Arrow wounds from Paris: 4 examples: [1] 8. 81–2, [2] 11. 369–78, [3] 36 11. 505–7, [4] 11. 581–4.¹

In these circumstances, the wounding of the hero is used in order to introduce a further episode centred upon the fact of that injury: [1] the

in the circumstance. Of course, Antilokhos does not really come into his own in the *Iliad*, but he is depicted at least as being somewhat hasty and reckless in certain circumstances; cf. 199/5, 8; 9/45 n. 20. The other two examples comprise *gnomai* about the inevitability of the action so described: 3. 66 (ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις ἐλοιτο) in his reply to Hektor's rebuke, Paris deflects blame by generalizing about the nature of the gods' gifts (cf. 71/1 n. 2); 7. 197 (οὐ γάρ τις με βίηι γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται) Aias suggests that the Greeks have no need to fear, since no one could willingly, were Aias unwilling, subdue him; cf. 26/3 n. 5.

² Cf. Commentary ad loc.

³ Cf. 33/7.

⁴ Cf. 51; also Kelly (2006) 5, 10–11.

¹ Cf. Schadewaldt (1966) 61 n. 2; also Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 505, 267. It should be noted that Paris does actually kill someone with an arrow at 13. 660–72 as the last encounter in a period of reciprocal *androktasiai* (and so is rightly excluded from the examples above), and he also enjoys more conventional victories at 7. 8–10 and 15. 341–2. The killing of Akhilleus and the following *Leichenkampf* in the *Aithiopis* could be a vastly expanded example of this convention, but would represent an individual manipulation of that theme, in that the victim eventually dies. One suspects that Apollo's involvement would be the decisive element in reconfiguring this theme, just as the same deity's actions against Patroklos in *II* or, perhaps better, Athene's against Pandaros in *E*.

stranding of Nestor through the death of his horse motivates the eventually abortive Diomedean renaissance;² [2] the wounding of Diomedes leads to his retreat and Odysseus' stranding, who then enjoys a defensive *aristeia* before being wounded in turn and rescued. Their joint removal from the battle signals the reversal predicted since the opening of *Δ*; [3] the strike on Makhaon leads into an exchange between Idomeneus and Nestor on the need for his retreat (11. 510–15), and then the retreat itself.³ The narrative switches to Hektor driving to face Aias, who is whirled into retreat by Zeus, at which point there follows [4], where Eurypylos is wounded whilst trying to give assistance to the beleaguered hero.⁴ When he in turn retreats into the crowd, he exhorts the other Greeks to protect Aias (11. 585–92), who thereon reaches the Greek lines. Then the poet resumes the continuation introduced by [3], as Akhilleus sees Nestor and Makhaon driving into the camp and sends Patroklos to make enquiries. Thus these last two examples are closely intertwined at the end of the fighting in *Δ* to represent the totality of the Greek retreat, [3] being used to set up the expectation of a continuative episode which is delayed until the end of [4], whose own continuation is only briefly narrated in order to make way for the important episode between Patroklos and Nestor which was set in train by [3].

- 37 **Strike description (*corporis locus*):** 13 examples: [1] 5. 305–6, [2] 5. 856–7, [3] 8. 83–4, [4] 8. 325–6, [5] 12. 389, [6] 13. 546–8, [7] 13. 568–9, [8] 13. 593–4, [9] 16. 314–15, [10] 16. 481, [11] 20. 413–15, [12] 20. 478–80, [13] 22. 324–5.¹

In this element of the *androktasia*, the poet introduces a description (beyond simple specification) of the place on the body struck with (usually) a local relative (*ἐνθα*, *ὅθι*, *ἔνα*, etc.). These strikes are overwhelmingly by Greeks, and are either fatal (as [3], [6], [7], [9]–[11], [13]) or render the opponent helpless, in which case retreat or rescue occurs (as in [1], [2], [4], [5], [8]) in order to avert death from a follow-up attack (which eventuates in [12]). Escape is usually immediate and always successful.

The description itself may be of several types, whether an often unusual physiological detail, the armour or clothing around the *locus*, and the danger or pain involved in a strike on such a place: [1] Aineias' hip-socket injury necessitates his rescue, with the surprising twist that Aphrodite is wounded

² The horse is most likely a surrogate for Nestor himself at this point; cf. 38/2; 39/2. For another way of denoting a failure to kill, cf. 57.

³ Cf. 17/8 n. 16.

⁴ For the other elements in this episode (11. 575–95), cf. 43/3; 49/20; 121/3; 141/9, 10.

¹ I exclude for the immediate purposes of the discussion descriptions of a place on the armour or equipment where a strike has been made, such as 3. 357–60, 4. 132–8; 7. 251–4; 11. 435–7 etc.; cf. also W. Friedrich (1956) 44, 48–9, 52–7; Saunders (2004).

during the action; [2] Ares is struck where his *μίτρη* is buckled over his *κενεών*. He retreats bellowing; [3] Nestor's stricken horse fouls his team and calls Diomedes to his aid. That they then go on the offensive is another index of Diomedes' valour;² [4] Teukros is removed from the battle immediately, though his reappearance in *M* shows him suffering no ill effects; [5] Glaukos retreats from the wall principally in order to avoid being boasted over;³ [6] the removal of the *φλέψ* running up Thoon's back unsurprisingly spells his end; [7] Meriones' fatal strike on Adamas ushers from the poet a wince on his behalf not unlike that from the crowd when a batsman finds himself struck on the protector;⁴ [8] Helenos' wound (like Teukros' in [4]) demands his incapacitation as an archer and, upon retreat, he is tended by Agenor; [9] Phyleides kills Amphiklos during the run of *androktasiai* opening Patroklos' account;⁵ [10] Patroklos' fatal hit on Sarpedon where the *φρένες* surround the heart obviously removes him from the battle;⁶ [11] Akhilleus transfixes Polydoros on the back where his *θώρηξ* and *ζωστήρ* meet; [12] Deukalion is first incapacitated by a strike on the tendons of his hand, and then gets dead by the advancing Akhilleus; [13] finally, Hektor is hit in the throat.

'kairion' wound: 4 examples: [1] 4. 185 (*οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ*), [2] 8. 84 (*μάλιστα δὲ 38*
καίριον ἔσπιν) (37/3), [3] 8. 326 (*μάλιστα δὲ καίριον ἔσπιν*) (37/4), [4] 11. 439
(*οὐ κατὰ καίριον*).¹

Offensive actions whose results are described in terms of their relationship to *καίριον*, whether positively or negatively, are overwhelmingly unsuccessful: [1] Menelaos reassures Agamemnon that Pandaros' shot has not seriously or fatally wounded him;² [2] one can only assume that Paris was not trying to kill Nestor's horse instead of the old man himself;³ [3] Teukros' wounding and successful rescue was surely not Hektor's most desired outcome; [4] Odysseus is reassured by the realization that Sokos' strike is also not fatal.

[2], [3] are obviously closely connected, as examples of the strike description (*corporis locus*) unit, where they comprise a further characterization of the struck area in terms of this *καίριον* quality (*μάλιστα δὲ καίριον ἔσπιν*).⁴ On each occasion, though the area is in fact hit and the strike could at least on

² Cf. Commentary ad loc. for a discussion of the range of features focusing on Diomedes' extraordinary valour in this situation, as well as those which predict the counterattack.

³ For other elements in this episode (12. 290–414), cf. 40/16; 43/4; 54/17–19 81/7; 87/15; 103/6; 135/3; 136/5; 141/12; 164/12; 155/6; 157/7; 182/16; 191a n. 1.

⁴ Cf. (13) for the expression *τὸν δὲ σκόπος ὅσ' ἐκάλυψεν*.

⁵ Cf. (13).

⁶ Cf. 9/32 n. 14.

¹ Cf. Führer (1989).

² Cf. 16/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 36/1 n. 2.

⁴ It is quite possible that these two examples represent the evolution of a new referential unit (*μάλιστα δὲ καίριον ἔσπιν*), applying the *καίριον* connotation to the *corporis locus* in unexpected circumstances, i.e. where the attacker is a Trojan, in order to foreshadow the failure of the strike.

some level be differentiated from the strikes of [1] and [4], the attacker's purpose is still thwarted, because in the first case Nestor is not killed, and in the second the incapacitated Teukros is saved by Aias.

- 39 'trace[-horse]' [*παρήορος*]: 4 examples: [1] 7. 156, [2] 8. 87, [3] 16. 471, 474 (and 152), [4] 23. 603.¹

This word is used both literally of the trace-horse (in [2], [3]) and as a metaphor derived from it (in [1], [4]), in either circumstance connoting the superfluity of the object so denoted. The two literal examples denote the horse whose death does not prevent the hero [2] or his chariot [3] from participating in the ensuing combat (on both occasions with immediate success but eventual failure). Trace-horses seem to exist in order to be killed; [2] Diomedes and Nestor defeat Hektor before being driven back by Zeus; [3] Patroklos kills Sarpedon in the next round of blows, and I would suggest that the mention of the trace-horse during the pre-battle preparations (16. 152) alerts the audience to its coming death. The other two examples have given scholarship much exercise, but may be explained as a metaphor in which the usual connotation of superfluity suggests the application:² [1] in Nestor's pointed story of his own youthful prowess, Ereuthalion is so described as he lies dead on the ground (*πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο παρήορος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*). The metaphor relies perhaps principally on the notion of the hero's death, but also on the fact that Ereuthalion was unable to preserve the armour for his son (cf. 18. 84–5; compare 7. 146–9); [4] as justification for giving in to the younger man, Menelaos contrasts Antilokhos' current silliness with his former good sense (*οὐ π παρήορος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων | ἦσθα πάρος*, 23. 603–4). To be *παρήορος* would imply a tangential importance, which Menelaos goes to some pains to point out is simply not the case (*ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πόλλ' ἔπαθες καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησας | σὸς τε πατήρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀδελφεός, εὔνεκ' ἐμείο* 607–8).³

- 40 **Contrafactual conditional sentences:** 38 examples: [1] 2. 155–6, [2] 3. 373–5, [3] 5. 22–4, [4] 5. 311–13, [5] 5. 388–90, [6] 5. 679–80, [7] 6. 73–6, [8] 7. 104–8, [9] 7. 273–5, [10] 8. 90–1, [11] 8. 130–2, [12] 8. 217–19, [13] 11. 310–12, [14] 11. 504–7, [15] 11. 750–2, [16] 12. 290–3, [17] 13. 723–5, [18] 14. 258–9, [19] 15. 121–4, [20] 15. 459–62, [21] 16. 698–701, [22] 17. 70–1,

¹ Cf. Leumann (1950) 222–31; Turfa and Steinmayer (1993); Erbse (1993*b*); W. Beck (2000*b*); also Commentary ad loc., n. 46.

² Erbse (1993*b*) 134; cf. 9/32 n. 14.

³ Though there are only two examples of the trace-horse scene itself (which would not justify typicality in Fenik's terms), I suspect that there is a typical scene at work here in *Θ* and *Π*, in which the trace-horse is killed and the chariot temporarily disabled, the charioteer cuts the horse free and rights the chariot, and the vehicle continues on its immediately victorious path to eventual reversal.

[23] 17. 319–25, [24] 17. 530–2, [25] 17. 613–14, [26] 18. 165–8, [27] 18. 397–9, [28] 18. 454–6, [29] 20. 288–91, [30] 21. 211–13, [31] 21. 544–6, [32] 22. 202–4, [33] 23. 154–5, [34] 23. 382–4, [35] 23. 490–1, [36] 23. 540–3, [37] 23. 733–4, [38] 24. 713–15.¹

The apodosis is introduced by *ἐνθα κεν, καί νύ κεν, aut sim.*, the protasis (generally placed second) by *εἰ μή, ἀλλά aut sim.* This structure resolves conflicting narrative strands by stating what would have happened, but for the emergence of a third party heralding a causal chain of action and / or exhortation which always succeeds in resolving the conflict or altering the direction of the preceding narrative.

The figure introduced in the protasis is either intimately linked with the characters or the situation itself, or is the subject of motivational explication, ensuring that the audience know precisely why the intercessor has acted: [2] Menelaos' imminent victory in the duel with Paris, which is of course traditionally impossible, is resolved by Aphrodite's breaking of the helmet-strap. Aphrodite is particularly closely linked with Paris, and she will soon despatch Helen to re-enact the initial adultery; [3] the death of Dares' two sons at the hands of Diomedes is clearly implied by the fate of the first, the favour shown to Diomedes by Athene (5. 1), and the typicality of the slaying of two sons in the same chariot.² Hephaistos is the natural intercessor given that Dares is his priest; [4] Aineias' defeat and death is imminent, which would confound an obviously early tradition that he survived the Trojan war (cf. 20. 301–8). Aphrodite's action returns the narrative to a safe course, guaranteeing both the continuation of the war for which she is largely responsible and the survival of her son;³ [6] the continuation of Odysseus' brief *aristeia* is cut off by Hektor's intervention. Hektor is obviously the natural figure to do this, but he is attended by Ares, who is the constant opponent of Athene (cf. esp. 5. 765–6), Odysseus' patron and the deity responsible for turning him against the Lykians rather than Sarpedon; [8] Menelaos, as the poet acknowledges, would have perished at the hands of Hektor, who is not fated to die yet. The other *basileis'* intervention prevents that unfortunate and impossible eventuality, and to have Menelaos die (as Agamemnon pointed out when he was wounded by Pandaros) would be the death-knell of the expedition.⁴ Also, given that the other leaders are far more prominent warriors, it would reflect

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 175–7; de Jong (1987) 68–81; Lang (1989); Morrison (1992a), (1992b); Nesselrath (1992); Loudon (1993). One could also include 16. 686–7 (*εἰ δὲ ἔπος Πηληϊάδαο φύλαξεν | ἦ τ' ἂν ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα κακὴν μέλανος θανάτῳ*). The essence of this construction is exactly caught by Σ bT on 8. 217: *εἰς ἄκρον τοὺς κινδύνους εἴωθεν ἐξάγειν ἀεὶ, καὶ ἐναγώνιον ποιήσας τὸν ἄκροατὴν τῇ προσδοκίᾳ εὐθὺς τὴν ἴσιν ἐπιφέρει.*

² Cf. Fenik (1968) 88; also Kirk (1990) on 5. 20–1, 55–6.

³ Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 134/8.

poorly on them, as Nestor's following rebuke makes clear; [10] Nestor's imminent and impossible death is prevented by Diomedes' perspicacity. His motivation is then set out in his speech to Odysseus, particularly in the detail about avoiding the charge of being a *κακός* (8. 94). In what follows, his heroic determination is to be the central feature of the action;⁵ [12] Hektor's advance would necessarily have eventuated in Greek defeat on the terms promised to Thetis in *A*, but Here's action gives the Greeks brief respite for a counterattack. This action resumes the intimation of her determination to intervene despite Zeus' ban;⁶ [13] the action decided upon by Odysseus and Diomedes is directed specifically towards stopping the retreat inspired by Hektor's victorious course over the battlefield (esp. 11. 304–9). After the withdrawal of Agamemnon, the dominant figure since the opening of battle, the duty of the other leading Greek figures is clear. Furthermore, Diomedes has been particularly prominent in the first two days and is as yet unwounded. However, in order to make their motivation and attitudes clear, the poet allots each of them a brief speech (11. 312–15, 316–19, and then 346–8); [15] in Nestor's story, he would have killed the Moliones if Poseidon, their father, had not rescued them; [17] as Poulydamas' following tactical suggestion makes clear, the Trojan attack requires refocusing if they are not to be driven back from the ships. Their lack of success on the other side of battle is due to Poseidon's intervention (13. 676–8), and Hektor's side is at a stalemate. The responsibility Poulydamas feels in the circumstance is set out in his speech, defending his conciliar authority (726–34); [18] Hypnos recounts that Zeus' previous anger at him, which would have been of dire consequence, had surely been fulfilled were it not for the intervention of Nyx. She is a particularly appropriate figure here because of Zeus' special respect for her;⁷ [20] Teukros' second major period of prominence is naturally aimed eventually at Hektor (cf. 15. 440), and requires Zeus' intervention to prevent it, for Trojan success and the imposition of the *Dios boule* depends upon Hektor;⁸ [22] as a result of the Trojan reluctance to face him, Menelaos' possession of Euphorbos' armour would have been easy. Instead, Apollo and Hektor force him to retreat. Both are obviously appropriate figures, but the poet also gives the audience a rebuke from the former to the latter which ensures full understanding of Hektor's motivation;⁹ [24] the poet says that Hektor and Automedon would have come to blows, had it

⁵ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁶ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁷ Cf. Appendix B. For other elements in this scene (14. 225–91), cf. 54/20; 76/3; 147/12, 13; 148/24; 169/23; 172/7; 177/17; 191a n. 1; 197/12; Appendix A (11).

⁸ For the many elements in this scene (15. 436–83), cf. 47/5; 57/9; 58/3; 60/6; 60a/4; 62/4; 76/5; 78/31; 96/7–8; 108/15; 117/23; 119/36; 124/6; 129a/1; 135/4; 155/8; 159/6; 177/18; 208/2.

⁹ 17. 91–2 implies that he leaves the armour of Euphorbos; certainly no mention is made of it during his retreat; cf. Willcock (2002); Allan (2005).

not been for the arrival of the Aiantes, whereat Hektor and the other Trojans retreat, and the danger is averted. The Aiantes' purpose was earlier established by Automedon's summoning of aid;¹⁰ [26] there is an obvious need to resolve the rather lengthy and still doubtful *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos, and the poet does so by introducing Akhilleus' stirring at Iris' actions. Akhilleus, Iris and Here are all intimately connected with his rejoining of battle;¹¹ [28] in Thetis' retelling of Patroklos' death, she repeats the essential action of [21], in which Apollo prevents Patroklos and the other Greeks from taking Troy.¹² That god's role in the battle is a constant in the *Iliad*, repeated e.g. in the following example; [29] though momentarily depicted as successful,¹³ Aineias' attack could only have ended in his destruction;¹⁴ [31] the Trojan retreat, and continuing slaughter, can only have one eventual result unless the army safely manages to get into the city. Apollo's stirring of Agenor into battle, not to mention the generation of a mirage, stops Akhilleus for long enough and draws him into a fruitless pursuit away from the city;¹⁵ [33] the continuation of the lamentation would have prevented the proper performance of funeral ritual on its second day. As Patroklos' closest friend and the driving figure behind the ritual, Akhilleus is obviously the one to return the narrative to its expected course (as Priam in [38]);¹⁶ [35] in line with other such confrontations between squabbling *basileis*, the abuse between Idomeneus and Aias *minor* would have gone further, had not Akhilleus intervened. His is the authority in this situation, not only because of his behaviour in *A* but also the fact that he is the sponsor of the games,¹⁷ and it is surely not coincidental that his intercession only comes when the spectre of Agamemnon as a rival source of authority has been suggested by Idomeneus (23. 486–7).¹⁸

There is no example of an intercession expressed by this revolutionary method in which the action does not prove to be successful. One might argue that [4] is an exception, given that Diomedes then goes on to wound Aphrodite (5. 330–42), who promptly drops her son before he is rescued by Apollo (343–6), with further Diomedean attempts to confound the issue.

¹⁰ For other elements in this scene (17. 426–542), cf. 43/7; 46b; 51/6; 54/25; 56/11; 64/10; 70/6; 99/13; 103/9; 114/24; 119/43; 133/9; 168/5; 212/31.

¹¹ Cf. 12/3 n. 3. Iris' usual association with Zeus (esp. 180/7) makes this one of the few occasions where Here successfully usurps Zeus' traditional functions, and represents the temporary alignment of their wills; cf. Appendix B.

¹² Cf. 16/5 n. 6.

¹³ Cf. 157/14.

¹⁴ Cf. 9/39 n. 18. For the other elements in the coming scene between Here and Poseidon (20. 291–342), cf. 78/42; 99/17; 108/20; 109/3; 191a n. 1.

¹⁵ For other elements in this scene (21. 544–611), cf. 44/11; 48/14; 74/8; 99/23; 118/14; 141/16; 160/14; 191a n. 1.

¹⁶ Cf. Edwards (1986).

¹⁷ Cf. Connor (1992); Scott (1997); *contra* Taplin (1992) 251–60.

¹⁸ Cf. 9/44 n. 29.

Nonetheless, the rescue is still eventually effected, and its successful outcome is delayed here in order to allow the poet a memorable series of episodes.¹⁹

- 41 'lost his life' [*ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν*]: 9 examples: [1] 1. 205 (*sine ἀπό*), [2] 8. 90, [3] 8. 270, [4] 8. 358 (*sine ἀπό*), [5] 10. 452, [6] 11. 433, [7] 12. 250, [8] 16. 861, [9] 18. 92.¹

This expression is found most often in predictions or threats, where the speaker intends to do everything in his or her power to fulfil it: [1] Akhilleus expresses to Athene his intention to kill Agamemnon (as for Hektor in [9]),² though structured somewhat differently;³ [4] Athene expresses to Here her desire for Hektor's death, in pursuit of which she risks confrontation with Zeus; [5] again in a conditional, Diomedes tells Dolon that he is going to kill him;⁴ [6] Sokos attempts to revenge his brother on Odysseus, and dies in the attempt; [7] Hektor's threat is contingent on Poulydamas continuing to undermine the Trojan fighting spirit;⁵ [8] Hektor tells the dying Patroklos that he believes Akhilleus will perish in the ensuing encounter.⁶

The phrase is only used twice in narrative, the first where Nestor is stranded and Hektor is attacking [2], the second where Teukros' fighting method is described [3]. A contrafactual resolves the threat in [2],⁷ but it introduces Hektor and his eagerness to drive the Greeks back on this second day of battle; [3] is unusual in that the killer is using a bow rather than a spear (or sword [1], [5]), but it too connotes Teukros' intent to do everything he can to keep his killing run going. This is important for the audience's reading of Agamemnon's encouragement, which is marked as unnecessary and misdirected in several ways, not least by Teukros himself.⁸

- 42 'keenly [she] noticed' [*ὀξὺ νόησεν*]: 8 examples: [1] 3. 374 (40/2), [2] 5. 312 (40/4), [3] 5. 680 (40/6), [4] 8. 91 (40/10), [5] 8. 132 (40/11), [6] 11. 343, [7] 15. 649, [8] 20. 291 (40/29).

This expression is usually confined to defensive movements, conducted in response to a specific threat to another individual or group; its connection with negative contrafactuals and the assistance and rescue sequences is thus somewhat unsurprising:¹ [1] Aphrodite notes Paris' danger and moves to

¹⁹ Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 205, 92–3.

² For other elements in this episode (18. 65–148), cf. 49/39; 64/11; 72/9; 75/14; 78/34; 101/11, 12; 111/8; 119/47; 143 n. 1; 169/27; 172/11; 197/15; Appendix A (13).

³ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 10/11 n. 7.

⁷ Cf. 40/10.

⁸ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹ Cf. 40, 43, 160. Only 6, 7 occur outside a contrafactual, where the *Iliad* poet is expanding its usage beyond that context whilst preserving its generally successful connotation.

rescue him, as she does again in [2] with Aineias (and Poseidon in [8] also with Aineias);² [3] Hektor counteracts Odysseus' brief *aristeia* by advancing against him. No meeting takes place, but the force is now with the Trojans; [4] Diomedes goes even against Zeus' will in opposing Hektor, and is remarkably successful at it; [5] fittingly, Zeus now reverses Diomedes' offensive; [6] Hektor once more moves to counteract Greek success, this time in the persons of Diomedes and Odysseus, but his attack is unsuccessful; [7] Hektor kills the fallen Periphetes during a period of Greek retreat. This is the only example where the subject of the unit is not on the defensive, a disjunction which focalizes the action from Hektor's perspective—for him, killing the Greeks is a defensive activity above all—but it may also qualify his status as an offensive warrior.³

It is noticeable that the interceding individuals all have deeply felt reasons for their action: Aphrodite is Paris' patron [1] and Aineias' mother [2], Poseidon feels that he is ensuring the proper operation of fate (and thus avoiding further anger from Zeus, 20. 301) [8], Diomedes' attention in [4] raises again the spectre of a very personalized motivation behind his coming activity,⁴ Zeus has already made it clear that the imposition of his will on the second day is absolutely paramount [5], Hektor's desperation to rid Troy of the Greeks is one of the things about him which leads him to his doom (in [3], [6], [7]), and one might also remember that it is Sarpedon's wounding and Tlepolemos' death which causes or motivates Odysseus' *aristeia* in [3] and which continues the theme of the allies' rather difficult relationship with Hektor, introduced at 5. 471–92.⁵

The success of the intervention is usually automatic, especially with those examples falling within the contrafactual. This is temporarily undermined in [2] when Aphrodite is forced by Diomedes' attack to drop Aineias. He is, nonetheless, rescued by Apollo, and there are several respects in which this sequence of events is deliberately exceptional, to highlight the extraordinary qualities of Diomedes during his *aristeia*.⁶ Of the two examples which do not occur within the contrafactual sentence, the intervention is unsuccessful in one case [6] and successful in the other [7]. Thus it is difficult to conclude that this phrase by itself connotes success, as it generally falls within a broader contrafactual frame which always connotes success, and the number of examples outside this frame are simply too few, and their evidence too equivocal, to speak for it definitively. However, [6] might indicate a moment

² Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

³ For another indication to this effect in this episode, cf. 44/6.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc., for the other features connoting this; also 11a/1 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 17. 140–82, 183–7; also 87/17, 18; 200/3. For other manifestations of political strife or tension within Troy, cf. 18/2 n. 3, 18/7 n. 9 and 26/17 n. 2; also 210/3 n. 4. ⁶ Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

of connotative uncertainty, where the poet employs the associations of victory in order to suggest Hektor's success in his coming confrontation with Diomedes and Odysseus.⁷

- 43 **Battlefield assistance:** 7 examples: [1] 5. 565–70, [2] 8. 92–117, [3] 11. 575–7, [4] 12. 333–77, [5] 13. 477–88 | 489–95, [6] 17. 237–61, [7] 17. 507–32.¹

In these sequences, one character moves to the aid of an endangered or specifically threatened figure, before the augmented group then successfully faces the threatening figure, either overcoming or at least neutralizing the immediate danger. These activities may be introduced by a character noting the difficulty and moving to intervene (as in [1]–[3]), or by the endangered character calling the aid of another (as in [4]–[7]).

The range of actions, and of precise configurations of these events, is very great. The audience are intended only to identify the fact of assistance and its sureness of success, before sitting back to see the precise form which the sequence will take: [2] as the intercessor in a contrafactual,² Diomedes notices the difficulty of Nestor and, before moving to intervene, calls to Odysseus to join him in saving the old man and repelling Hektor (varied e.g. in [4] where Thootes calls Aias and Teukros to match the attack of Sarpedon and Glaukos).³ Odysseus fails to hear (or reply),⁴ and then Diomedes addresses the old man, they mount his chariot and attack Hektor. Here the poet has combined the assistance sequence and a *reactivated chariot attack* (as again with [7]).⁵ Contrast this with [1], both in terms of size and range of actions. Antilokhos notes Menelaos' danger (5. 565–70) as he is inspired by Ares into battle with Aineias (563–4), moves up to assist him and thus causes Aineias to retreat (571–2). The two of them then enjoy a double *androktasia* (576–89). Then consider the even more boiled down [3], where Eurypylos simply sees Aias' trouble (575–6) and moves beside him before making a cast (577).⁶

Finally, consider the complexities of [5] and [7]. The first of these episodes is conducted in two cycles, as its citation makes clear. Initially (13. 455–69), Deiphobos decides to call for Aineias to face Idomeneus. Upon his advance (468–9) Idomeneus summons aid from his own side (477–86), which Aineias

⁷ As with the momentary indication of victory for Aineias in his encounter with Akhilleus in Y; cf. Introduction, p. 4; also 156a/3; 157/14.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 58–60, 112; Hellmann (2000) 116–17. I differentiate between assistance and rescue in a way which is not to be found in Fenik's treatment, and am not interested here in cases ending in the removal of the character from the battlefield, though there may well be structural and verbal similarities between them; cf. 160.

² Cf. 40/10.

³ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc., n. 55.

⁵ Cf. 51/3, 6.

⁶ Cf. 36/4 n. 4.

matches before battle is finally joined over the corpse of Idomeneus' last victim (496).⁷ [7] also shows considerable structural sophistication, for the poet introduces the assistance with a *reactivated chariot attack*,⁸ and then augments the expectations of victory by having Automedon call for further assistance in the form of the Aiantes and Menelaos (17. 507–15). This is followed by an *androktasia* victory (516–24) after which Automedon is temporarily prevented from claiming the armour by Hektor (525–9),⁹ before a *contrafactual* making clear that the Aiantes' arrival chases off the Trojans.¹⁰

The augmented entity is always successful: [1] Antilokhos' arrival chases off Aineias; [3] before he is wounded, Eurypylos provides temporary relief for Aias, allowing him to return to the ranks of his comrades; [4] the advent of Aias and Teukros prevents Sarpedon and Glaukos from overturning the wall; [5] in a series of escalating arrivals, that of several Greek heroes prevents Idomeneus' death at Aineias' hands, and then that of several Trojan heroes obviates Aineias' overwhelming; [6] the arrival of several Greek figures hinders the claiming of Patroklos' corpse by the Trojans; [7] the advent of the Aiantes stops Hektor from closing with Automedon and Alkimedon, so that the former can claim the armour from his victim.

'*smerdaleon*' [σμερδαλέον]: 12 examples: [1] 2. 334, [2] 2. 466, [3] 8. 92, [4] 13. 498, [5] 15. 609, [6] 15. 648, [7] 16. 277, [8] 18. 35, [9] 19. 399, [10] 21. 255, [11] 21. 593, [12] 22. 95.¹ 44

This adverb only accompanies sounds, either from an animate (as in [3], [8], [9], [12]) or, more usually, an inanimate object reacting to the actions of men: the ships (in [1], [7]), the earth [2], armour or weaponry (as in [4]–[6], [10], [11]).

Sounds from the inanimates are obviously reactive to aggressive actions: attacking groups (as in [1], [2], [7]), actual strikes on the battlefield (as in [4],² [11]³), general offensive movement by the hero [5] or individual attacks (as in [6], [10]) where the hero owning the armour is not actually aggressive himself: in [10] Akhilleus' armour makes this sound as he leaps away from the river,⁴ whilst in [6] Periphetes' helmet rings out as he falls—obviously not in itself an aggressive action, but certainly caused by one, viz. Hektor's inspired advance over the field.⁵ In [5], closely related to the last example, the

⁷ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

⁸ Cf. 51/6.

⁹ Cf. 56/11.

¹⁰ Cf. 40/24 and n. 10.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 309, 95; Kaimio (1977) 62–3; cf. also the related expression σμερδαλέα ἰάχων 156 (and 156a). The current animate examples are not unrelated, particularly with regard to the aggression and tendency towards (almost necessity of) a response.

² Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

³ Cf. 40/31 n. 15.

⁴ Cf. 23/7 n. 7.

⁵ Furthermore, Hektor's slaying of this figure is introduced with an expression of defensive connotation; cf. 42/7. The reversal of the usual attitude for *both* protagonists in this encounter

aggressive action is now that of the hero himself, and the transfer of *σμερδαλέον* to animates is perhaps accounted for by this increased level of personalization.

The adverb may also be applied to an animate, whose attitude or action is naturally aggressive: [3] Diomedes' intervention is presupposed by Hektor's advance (and Zeus' thundering), and will be turned towards fighting Hektor very soon; [8] Akhilleus' groaning is caused by Patroklos' death, and his grief entails Hektor's doom (and again in [9]); [12] in the simile describing Hektor waiting for Akhilleus, the snake to which he is compared *ἄνδρα μένησιν* (22. 93) at his lair. The circumstance in both simile and main narrative is therefore particularly apt. The aggression thus connoted, so personalized or individualized, seems to demand a response of some sort: [8] Akhilleus' lamentations are immediately heard and answered by his mother; [9] one of his horses in fact replies to him; [12] Hektor discusses with himself the wisdom of his current stance with an 'inner debate' sequence (*ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὄν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν*),⁶ but one might also think that the natural reply to the snake's activity is Akhilleus' continued offensive. Only in [3] is there no response to the action so described, another example of noticeable disjunction in this episode.

- 45 'where? / whither? (I)' [*ποῦ/πῇ*]: 10 examples: [1] 6. 377, [2] 8. 94, [3] 8. 413, [4] 10. 385, [5] 10. 406–7, [6] 13. 307, [7] 13. 770–2, [8] 14. 298, [9] 16. 422 (*πόσσε*), [10] 24. 362.¹

These questions concern the context or personnel of a current or past journey, and imply that the situation or journey itself is unusual: [1] Hektor's demand for Andromakhe's whereabouts is obviously predicated upon a belief that she should be at home. Compare the rather delimited options for her journey he gives (6. 378–80), and his brief refusal to countenance her tactical advice (441; 490–3);² [2] for someone like Diomedes, the idea of retreat under any but the direst circumstances is simply inconceivable, as the poet goes on

may therefore not be coincidental, but part of the poet's strategy to undermine Hektor even in his period of greatest success—consider that, even in 5 above, the noise made by Hektor's helm is qualified by the poet's explicit statements that Zeus is waiting to engineer his death (15. 601–2; 612–14); cf. also 114/20.

⁶ Cf. Fenik (1978b).

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) on 8. 94, 46. There is another type of these questions ('where? / whither? (II)' below), in which the speaker demands present evidence of a past quality or claim; cf. 124. Those questions are essentially similar, in that they connote dissatisfaction with the absence or unusual context of a thing or quality rather than a person, as is generally the case here.

² For other elements in this scene (6. 370–496), cf. 81/2, 3; 89/4; 93/4; 101/2, 3; 119/17; 126/10; 142/4; 169/6; 174/2, 3; 183/5; 217/4.

to exemplify at some length; [3] Iris is openly indignant about the intentions of Here and Athene in their journey;³ [4] night is, as first Nestor (10. 82–3) and then Odysseus (141–2) had commented before the *boule* in terms very similar to the current comment made by the latter to Dolon, an unusual time to be travelling. Subsequent inquiries [5] about the location of Hektor and the Trojan forces resume this theme, connoting that, from a Greek perspective, the Trojans should not be in any position outside the city,⁴ and nocturnal unsuitability is again taken up by Hermes in [10];⁵ [6] the place at which they should rejoin the battle is an extension of the earlier contest between Idomeneus and Meriones over their valour, during which the former particularly had seemed to insinuate a failure on the part of his companion. Meriones thus gets his own back, implying that Idomeneus is not free from a taint of reluctance;⁶ [7] Hektor demands from Paris the location of the other major heroes. Herein he rebukes Paris through the connotation of his worthlessness next to these figures, who have been fighting properly and should still be doing so;⁷ [8] Zeus' question implies that Here's current journey is strange in the absence of her chariot. Given that chariot journeys for gods (as opposed to retreat from the field) are connected with usually successful martial intervention,⁸ and in *Θ* Here had indeed tried to do just this, his question shows that the episode's currents of *stasis* are not solely a product of her actions;⁹ [9] before facing Patroklos, Sarpedon rebukes his men for fleeing.

A response is usually immediately forthcoming (except [2], [9]; cf. below), focusing on the negative connotation of such questions. Indeed, the reply or subsequent narrative often makes little or much less sense without that connotation: [1] the servant-girl's reply directs Hektor to Andromakhe's location, but Andromakhe's own interchange with Hektor asserts an independence which challenges his opinion of her function;¹⁰ [3] Here does not reply directly to Iris, but directs Athene to return, thus responding to the implications of Iris' report; [4] Dolon sets out in detail the information required, as he does again in [5]; [6] Idomeneus' response only directs itself to two of Meriones' alternatives, and he opts for the left hand side. His justification for not joining battle in an area near Hektor is the presence there of sufficient men of sufficient quality to deal with him, and he dilates for quite a while on Aias' worth. It is quite clear that both characters feel keenly

³ Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 182–5. ⁴ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

⁵ For other elements in this scene (24. 349–469), cf. also 51 n. 1; 78/44–6; 79/8; 117/32; 123/4; 140a/3; 147/16; 168/7; 169/38–41; 181/6; 205/17; Appendix A (18). ⁶ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁷ For other elements in this episode (13. 765–94), cf. 117/18; 149/2; 150/4; 169/20.

⁸ Cf. 17.

⁹ Such an intention may also be seen in his catalogue of lovers (14. 315–28); cf. Appendix B.

¹⁰ Cf. Commentary ad loc. and n. 126 for discussion of her role in 8. 186–90; also (10).

the embarrassment of the situation; [7] Paris' answer first of all directs itself to Hektor's rebuke and its previous justification before giving him the information he requires;¹¹ [8] Here's reply is masterfully directed to Zeus' taunt. She begins by stating that she had journeyed with her chariot, which she parked below. This was in itself a courtesy call on her way to the *πείρατα γαίης* (14. 301), just as she and Athene had first journeyed to Zeus in *E*. Given that Zeus had earlier threatened banishment to these *πείρατα* (8. 478–9), she too is able to tease him in a context of *stasis*;¹² [10] in a fascinating exchange, agonistic perhaps in the way that Priam and Hermes constantly try to get the better of one another, the disguised god raises the distinct possibility of harm from such a dangerous journey, and Priam's answer manages to avoid answering Hermes' question at all. Disguise and recognition, and the need to preserve revealing one's identity until one is certain of the interlocutor's good will (and even after), is more constantly an issue in the *Odyssey*, but it may still be found in the *Iliad*.

The exceptions are very interesting, in that they both occur when one warrior rebukes another before facing up to a powerful enemy. There is some doubt as to Odysseus' actions in [2],¹³ but the Lykians are in full flight before a rampaging Patroklos when Sarpedon rebukes them [9]. Of course, in the latter case, the rebuke is not intended to get the people to turn around, for only by facing personally the cause of their flight can Sarpedon succeed, and so the lack of a general response adds tremendously to his individual courage and reminds one powerfully of his famous speech in *M*.¹⁴

- 46 'in the back a spear he fixed' [*μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ*]: 5 examples: [1] 5. 40, [2] 8. 95, [3] 8. 258, [4] 11. 447, [5] 22. 283.

Whether applied to past (as in [1], [3] and [4]) or future time (as in [2] and [5]), the expression is always preceded by a dative participle (*μεταστρεφθέντι* in [1], [3], [4], *φεύγοντι* in [2], [5]) which makes the retreating posture of the victim clear. Those examples occurring in the poet's voice during battle narrative generally coincide with a defensive period for the victim's side: [1] as the battle is turned, Agamemnon's *androktasia* sets up the example of Trojan defensiveness; [3] after the Trojans are briefly set to flight by Zeus' omen and the Greek counterattack, Diomedes' kill also sets up the run of Greek victories; [4] though Odysseus has just been wounded in the aftermath to his *aristeia*, his taunt to Sokos sets the others to flight. Granted that the Trojans are advancing before his *aristeia* begins, it is clear that this series of victories has forced a reversal, however slight, upon their

¹¹ Cf. 149/2; also above, n. 7.

¹² Cf. further Appendix B.

¹³ Cf. Commentary ad loc., n. 55.

¹⁴ Cf. 9/32 n. 14; also 37/5 n. 3.

progress. This is, of course, the pattern of battle on this day generally, where temporary reversals or periods of supremacy will be the best the Greeks can achieve.

This association between the victim and the group as a whole encapsulates nicely the rhetorical strength of the expression as a negative paradigm in [2] and [5], where Diomedes and Hektor strongly deny the desirability of such a death.¹ In the former case Diomedes attempts to impose his own attitude upon Odysseus, while in the latter Hektor acknowledges that this death could have come upon him when he fled. His admission makes the determination to resist eminently sympathetic and all the more admirable.² For each of these speakers, it is the ability to resist the group's defensive attitude which characterizes his heroism.

'between the shoulders | and through the chest he drove' [ῥῶμων μεσσηγύς, | διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσειν]: 6 examples: [1] 5. 41 (46/1), [2] 5. 57 (46b/2), [3] 8. 259 (46/3), [4] 11. 448 (46/4), [5] 16. 807 (ῥῶμων μεσσηγύς only)¹ (46b/5), [6] 22. 284 (διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσειν only) (46/5).² 46a

This expression is particular to the 'in the back a spear he fixed' 46 and 'in the back' strikes 46b, and is never employed during a killing run for one individual. Its presence thus intimates a change of character in the dominant role: [1], [2] fall during an *androktasia* catalogue for the Greek heroes, specifically here Agamemnon and Menelaos, neither of whom play a prominent role in this book; [3] is Diomedes' last kill as the narrative focus moves to Teukros; [4] Odysseus is now wounded and unable to take any further part; [5] Euphorbos is not even able to claim the entire victory, and it is certainly his last;³ [6] Hektor's use of the figure is unique in several respects. Firstly, it is the only example of this expression outside direct narrative in a character's speech. Secondly, it is the only example where διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσειν refers to an honourable death, reversing both the physical direction of the strike and its connotation. This is, therefore, one of the few occasions where Hektor is able to bend the referential significance of an element (though remaining aware of its basic connotation—his own defeat), something often seen with regard to Zeus and Akhilleus.⁴ That this should happen at his greatest moment in the epic is surely not coincidental.

¹ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

² Cf. further 46a/6, 33/16 n. 4.

³ This is presumably because the cast is not immediately fatal, which it is everywhere else a spear gets driven through the chest in this form.

⁴ Cf. Janko (1992) on 16. 807, 414.

⁵ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

⁶ Nor is it the only example in this scene; cf. 55/5, 33/16 n. 4; on Akhilleus' referential bending, cf. 1 n. 3; on Zeus', cf. 5/1 n. 2.

- 46b ‘in the back’ [μετάφρενον]: 7 examples: [1] 2. 265 (and 267), [2] 5. 56, [3] 12. 428, [4] 16. 791, [5] 16. 806, [6] 20. 402, [7] 20. 488.¹

The defensive attitude of the victim in these examples is made clear either by participles (φεύγοντα in [2], [6], στρεφθέντι in [3], and στρέψαντα in [7]), or is otherwise evident: [1] Thersites’ clearly subordinate status is emphasized in Odysseus’ reply and acted out on a formal level by the beating, but is not directly analogous to the battlefield slayings;² [2] Menelaos’ kill occurs in the same run of Greek *androktasiai* as 46/1 *after* the turning of the Trojans; [3] in a passage of general battle description set over the wall, in which no side is able totally to turn the other, the poet expresses the universality of the killing, affecting those in both defensive and offensive stances (12. 429); [4] though Patroklos is *not* on the defensive when he is first struck by Apollo, the poet doubles this example with [5], where the hero is hit by Euphorbos. The former case initiates the alteration in Patroklos’ success (stated explicitly beforehand at 16. 787) and encapsulates the unexpected and immediate nature of Apollo’s intervention, as well as connecting the divine and mortal strikes in a direct causal chain—i.e. the defensiveness required to kill Patroklos is only effected by Apollo’s prior action;³ [6], [7] (similar to 46/1, 46a/2) are located within the same catalogue of *androktasiai* during Akhilleus’ victorious rampage across the field; [17. 502] Automedon orders Alkimedon to keep the horses close to him, for he is worried about Hektor’s coming assault on the chariot (cf. 501–6). In the end, however, Hektor is prevented from closing with them by the arrival of help;⁴ [23. 380] Eumelos is being chased by Diomedes’ horses, and they will eventually overtake him.

- 47 ‘[he] mixed with the front fighters’ [προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη]: 5 examples: [1] 4. 354 (μυγέντα), [2] 5. 134, [3] 8. 99, [4] 13. 642, [5] 15. 457.¹

This expression describes the advance or return of a previously prominent warrior after a temporary withdrawal, who is then assumed to be at the forefront of the fighting, though he may not actually be covered by the narrative focus for very long: [2] Diomedes returns after being wounded by Pandaros and revived by Athene. His *aristeia* will continue for most of the rest of the day’s fighting;² [3] presumably after joining in the general retreat,³

¹ Cf. Lowenstam (1993) 36–7. I exclude the examples from 46 above, but one could include 17. 502 (cf. 40/24 n. 10) and 23. 380, both cases where horse teams press hard on an individual in front of them. ² Cf. 6/1 n. 2. ³ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3. ⁴ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

¹ The *promakhoi* have been the subject of much debate; cf. Albracht (1886–95) 10–12, 26–7, 29 = (2005) 28–30, 52–3, 55–6; Latacz (1977) 129–78; Singor (1991); van Wees (1997) 137; Hellmann (2000) 63–9, 134–5, 157–9; also 22 n. 1. ² Cf. 9/14 n. 7.

³ Kirk (1990) on 8. 99–100, 307, is hasty when he says that 8. 99 is ‘quite inappropriate here, where there are no front fighters, either Achaian or Trojan, for him to mingle with. It seems

Diomedes returns to the front line because he has noticed Nestor's difficulty. The expression here both encourages the audience to summon his prominence on the previous day to mind, and connotes his reluctance to be involved in any withdrawal under any circumstances;⁴ [4] after being involved in a series of reciprocal encounters (13. 581–639), Menelaos returns to the fray (to be attacked, but otherwise to recede in importance) after giving the armour he has taken to his comrades; [5] having just avoided being killed (15. 445–53), Poulydamas returns to the fray after rescuing the chariot of the recently killed Kleitos and giving the horses to Astynooos.⁵ In these cases, the reasons for withdrawal are varied; wounding [2], general retreat [3], spoliation [4], rescue [5].

[1] is individual in that it is the only example employed in character-speech, occurs before battle has even begun, and is used by Odysseus to defend himself against Agamemnon.⁶ His previous prominence, beyond the immediate context, was preventing the Greeks from sailing away, but his deployment of the figure here is very skilful, calling both Agamemnon and the audience even further back, as he speaks of his military excellence on every previous occasion that they have marshalled the army for war.⁷

There is no consistent connotation of success or otherwise for the returned or advancing warrior, with the figure being vitally important and successful in the immediately ensuing battle narrative in [2], [3] but only marginally so in [4], [5], whilst Odysseus after [1] has only a relatively brief period of prominence in *E*.

'[he] stood | before' [σῆ | πρόσθε]: 18 examples: [1] 4. 54, [2] 4. 129, [3] 5. 107–8, [4] 5. 170, [5] 8. 100, [6] 9. 193, [7] 11. 397, [8] 12. 131–2, [9] 12. 446, [10] 14. 297, [11] 16. 255, [12] 16. 321, [13] 18. 172, [14] 21. 601, [15] 22. 35–6, [16] 23. 582, [17] 24. 215–16, [18] 24. 286.¹ 48

The character, item [9], or event [13] may take a stance before an animate or inanimate object. In either case, the relationship is more than just local, for the expression connotes a positive or protective attitude (and usually more active on the part of the agent; though cf. [3]): [1] Here accedes to Zeus'

that 5. 134 ... has been carelessly reused here'; cf. also de Jong (1987) 262 n. 63. Without pointing to the fact that the poet has explicitly remodelled the line (*αὐτός περ ἐών*) in order to fit the expression to this changed circumstance, and so presumably was aware of at least some denotative alteration, one could say that Diomedes mixes with the Trojan *promakhoi*.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁵ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. 10/3 n. 3.

⁷ For examples of his rhetorical abilities, cf. 163/2; 182/10; also 130 n. 1; 188/6 (in the *Odyssey*). For less successful speeches, cf. 182/11; also Austin (1975) 198–9; Martin (1989) 120–30.

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 43, 51–2, 57, 64, 69–70, 86, 89, 92 nn. 36 and 37.

demands by offering her three favourite cities up to his wrath, explicitly refusing to stand before them;² [2] Athene's protection of Menelaos is a continuation of her attitude since the start of the war, and it will not cease until its end, but it is obviously evinced in the immediate context in her deflection of the arrow;³ [3] the wounded Diomedes stands before his chariot and instructs Sthenelos to remove the arrow, which he does;⁴ [4] Aineias takes his stance before Pandaros and proposes a joint attack on Diomedes;⁵ [5] Diomedes takes his stand before Nestor's horses and proposes a joint venture aimed at Hektor. Obviously he is more inclined towards Nestor's protection here, but the horses are an important part of the scene's continuation; [6] Phoinix, Aias, and Odysseus take their stand before Akhilleus as they wait to be admitted before the embassy;⁶ [7] Odysseus stands before the wounded Diomedes in order to protect him; [10] Zeus stands before Here and makes amorous overtures, in which he is not unsuccessful;⁷ [12] Maris is shortly to be killed in the act of protecting his brother's corpse, and will then join him in death (16. 326–7); [16] Menelaos challenges Antilokhos to stand before his horses and swear to Poseidon that he did not use guile to win. The stance in this case represents the connection between charioteer and team in the race, strongly emphasized in the preceding narrative.⁸ This link is strengthened by both touching the horses and swearing to Poseidon, and also the force of the oath itself. Menelaos' claim depends heavily on Antilokhos' desire to preserve that triad;⁹ [17] Hekabe refers to the killing of Hektor as he stood protectively before the Trojans;¹⁰ [18] Hekabe stands before Priam's team and encourages him to ask for divine guarantees for his journey, without which he should not go.¹¹

The breadth of connotation in these cases is extended when the genitive noun is an inanimate but, once again, animates may be implied (as in [1]): [8] Polypoites and Leonteus stand before the gates to protect the camp from Asios' attack (as Hektor before the city gates [15]);¹² [9] the stone which Hektor grasps stood before the gates, and its use to break in those gates powerfully expresses the inversion of the usual order of things represented by

² Cf. 77/8.

³ Cf. 16/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 9/14 n; also 141/2.

⁵ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁶ The literature on the vexed issue of the dual forms here in *I* is enormous; cf. Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 85–7, for an overview and, most recently, Heiden (2002). I partially follow the interpretation of Nagy (1979) 50, 54–5, that the duals group Phoinix and Aias and set Odysseus apart.

⁷ Cf. Appendix B, esp. n. 25. Sexuality in their relationship need not be solely a matter of (more or less latent) antagonism.

⁸ Cf. 100/3, 4.

⁹ Cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 232–3; also 9/45 n. 20.

¹⁰ For other elements in this scene (24. 193–228), cf. 101/18; 124/8; 169/37; 176/26; 182/21.

¹¹ For other elements in this scene (24. 283–321), cf. 105/13; 119/67, 68; 125/21; 126/21; 128/6; 140/10; 148/38; 182/22.

¹² For other elements in this episode (12. 110–74), cf. 34/12; 99/6, 7; 125/13; 164/11; 192/5; 202/4; 211/3; also Lowenstam (1981) 77–83.

the Trojan success in penning the Greeks inside the camp; [11] Akhilleus' stance before his hut connotes his lack of participation, as Patroklos moves out to defend the Greeks.¹³

There are two cases which seem *prima facie* not to exhibit this positivity: [13] it is not immediately evident that the struggle over Patroklos could be said to be in a supportive relationship with the ships (φύλοπις αἰνῇ | ἔσπηκε πρὸ νεῶν 18. 171–2). However, Akhilleus' appearance on the trench (which Iris is hinting at, and will suggest after his suspicious questioning) and his rescue of the situation requires the Trojans to be fighting near the ships, and so the referential association of the expression reflects that coming action—that Akhilleus is the only one able to resolve the difficulty.¹⁴ Consider also the very cautious attitude which Akhilleus evinces in this scene, and the possibility that Iris (like many other speakers) is employing the rhetorical powers of referentiality to persuade him;¹⁵ [14] the image of Agenor stands before Akhilleus.¹⁶ One might object that an image can have no positive intent, that this is a hostile act on Apollo's part designed to protect the Trojans, and that Akhilleus so interprets it (22. 14–20). However, Akhilleus is to die in an attempt on the walls after killing Memnon. Apollo's action here hints at that which the poet has Hektor say openly as he dies in *X*, and so the traditional story, whose overturning the poet pretends momentarily is possible (21. 544–5),¹⁷ is returned to a course safest in the immediate context for Akhilleus himself.¹⁸

Furthermore, the participation of the verb's subject in the following narrative to enact that role is expected, disjunctions therefore being notable: [1] Here of course has just disavowed protective action of any sort, which is reserved for the future in any case; [16] Antilokhos backs away from taking the course of action suggested by Menelaos, and that was the point of the paradigm; [17] Hekabe's positive evaluation of her son's death in these terms underlines powerfully his inability to continue protecting the city; [11] Akhilleus' distance from the battle is the most prominent theme in this passage,¹⁹ and heavily underscored here.

‘winged words [he] spoke’ [ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα]: 60 examples: [1] 1. 201, [2] 2. 7, [3] 3. 155 (ἀγόρευον), [4] 4. 69, [5] 4. 92, [6] 4. 203, [7] 4. 284, [8] 4. 312, [9] {4. 337}, [10] {4. 369}, [11] 5. 123, [12] 5. 242, [13] 5. 713, [14]

¹³ Cf. 9/31 n. 27.

¹⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹⁵ Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

¹⁶ Cf. 40/31 n. 15.

¹⁷ Cf. 40/31.

¹⁸ Again the *Iliad* shows its awareness of the traditional story about Akhilleus' death; cf. 8/3 n. 3. Moreover, this episode provides an ‘exception’ to the connotations of the ‘stood | by’ unit; cf. 141/16.

¹⁹ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

5. 871, [15] 7. 356, [16] 8. 101, [17] 8. 351, [18] 10. 163, [19] {10. 191}, [20] 11. 815, [21] 12. 365, [22] 13. 94, [23] 13. 462, [24] {13. 480}, [25] 13. 750, [26] 14. 2, [27] 14. 138, [28] 14. 356, [29] 15. 35, [30] 15. 48, [31] 15. 89, [32] 15. 145, [33] 15. 157, [34] 16. 6, [35] 16. 537, [36] 16. 829, [37] 17. 74, [38] {17. 219}, [39] 18. 72, [40] 18. 169, [41] 19. 20, [42] 19. 341, [43] 20. 331, [44] 20. 448, [45] {21. 73}, [46] 21. 121 (*ἀγόρευεν*), [47] 21. 368, [48] 21. 409, [49] 21. 419, [50] 21. 427 (*ἀγόρευε*), [51] {22. 81}, [52] 22. 215, [53] 22. 228, [54] 22. 377 (*ἀγόρευεν*), [55] 23. 535 (*ἀγόρευε*), [56] 23. 557, [57] 23. 601, [58] 23. 625, [59] 24. 142 (*ἀγόρευον*), [60] 24. 517.¹

The subject of the verb is named in the previous verse, and the first half of the verse may be filled with the name of the addressee or a participle qualifying the subject.² Obviously the expression will be affected by the previous hemistich, but the introduction is an attitudinal frame focusing the audience's attention on the continuation of the speaker's attitude towards the situation, which may be configured by that previous hemistich itself (as

¹ *προσηύδα* is replaced when either the verb requires a plural subject (as in 3, 59, which is also the only example not used to introduce a speech, substituting for the resumptive transitional verse *ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον*; cf. 113 n. 1) or when the subject of the verb is speaking amongst a group (as in 46, 50, 54, 55). This particular expression has been the subject of a long debate; cf. e.g. Calhoun (1935); M. Parry (1937); Edwards (1970); Vivante (1975); Martin (1989) 3–5; Riggsby (1992); Machacek (1994); Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 201, 180–1; Latacz (2000) on 1. 201, 91; Laspia (2002); D. Beck (2006) 41–3.

² For example, 16 is prefaced by a hemistich (*καί μιν φωνήσας*) only ever used before *ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα* where the prior reaction and the speech occur in the same general location, and both interlocutors have been sufficiently identified in the preceding narrative (cf. e.g. 4, where the first criterion is met but not the second, so the poet identifies the interlocutor in the first hemistich): 1, 2, 7–10, 16, 18, 19, 25, 27, 29, 31, 34, 37, 43, 57, 58, 60. There is no referential significance in this fact, for these expressions are a means of generating the *ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα* element according to specific narrative requirements. When, for instance, the poet wishes to have a figure react first and then journey to the place required (and both interlocutors have been sufficiently identified), he will employ the hemistich *ἀγχου δ' ἰσάμενος*: 5, 6, 11, 23, 28, 35, 40, 52, 53. Thus M. Parry (1937) 59 was correct when, in reply to Calhoun (1935), he asserted that 'the various *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* verses, I believe, are used to bring in speech when the character who is to speak them has been the subject of the last verses, so that the use of his name in the last line would be clumsy.' This is undoubtedly true, but the fact that the poet has chosen to have the subject of the expression introduced in that previous verse must be significant, for it allows him the chance to set up an emotional response or attitude which is then continued into the speech. Consider the exchange between Zeus and Here at the start of *O*, where the poet can include an explicit reference to the character's emotional reaction to the situation, Here's fear in 29, and Zeus' smiling in 30, as a frame to the following speech. It was certainly open to him to have Zeus' reaction introduced in a single verse, e.g. *ἦν δ' ἐπμειδίσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς* (= 8. 38). As a more general point, in line with my treatment of other speech introduction expressions (cf. 78, 107, 111, 148, 169, B; also Appendix A), I do not place definitive weight on the idea of structural or syntagmatic economy, and readily admit that these units do not determine every element in the following speech. There is, indeed, a degree of interchangeability between these expressions, and I proceed on the basis that the poet's choice is determined by the type of emphasis he wishes to lay on the speech and its character, i.e. he works '*artis causa*, not *metri causa*' (Foley 1999, 7).

καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος in [14], [20]; τοὺς ὃ γ' ἐποτρύνων in [22], [24], [38]) and / or a previous verse(s) (as in [7]–[10]), prior speeches / exchanges (as in [43]), or other actions in a number of different contexts. There may even, though rarely, be no such information before the speech, as e.g. [13], [26]. In such cases, the situation itself is emphasized as the source of the character's reaction. The expression is only rarely used as a reply to a preceding speech from the addressee (only in [11],³ [15], [18], [25], [29], [30], [56]–[58]), thus betraying its active—almost initiative—function.

Speech actions so prefaced include commands, requests for information, post-combat vaunts, statements of intention, and even acquiescence. Behind this variety is the common imposition of that character's continued attitude upon the addressee and the situation: [1] Akhilleus has already determined to kill Agamemnon, and his following speech to Athene on her arrival still expresses that determination (1. 204–5);⁴ [4] Zeus' instruction to Athene represents his 'assent' to the eventual destruction of Troy as signalled by his reaction to Here's instruction (4. 68).⁵ This speech nicely encapsulates his continuing contest with Here over the destruction of Troy (and in general), for he induces from her a promise of compensation to fulfil an event on which he himself had already determined; ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα reminds the audience of that fact;⁶ [5] Athene's persuasion of Pandaros is related back not only to the instructions Zeus has just given her, but also her and Here's anger over Zeus' playful tone at the start of Δ; [7]–[10] Agamemnon's attitude during the *Epipoleis* is made clear by his reactions preceding each occasion, and the following speeches express that reaction as a means of exhortation;⁷ [13] Here's attitude towards the situation is clear, less from the immediate pretext than from her very nature in the poem as a pro-Greek deity. Her view of Ares' and Hektor's victorious course over the field may be readily inferred (cf. also 5. 832–3), and her following speech and activity enact that attitude; [15] Paris' reaction to Antenor's speech in an *assembly* already described by the poet as *περηχυνία* (7. 346) may be inferred from the nature of the earlier man's speech, which made no reference at all to Paris in the surrender of Helen or her possessions.⁸ This seems to be one in a long series of episodes in which Paris' unpopularity is made rather unpleasantly clear to him, and his

³ Cf. 9/14 n. 7.

⁴ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 54/5.

⁶ For the contest between these two, cf. Appendix B.

⁷ Cf. 87/3 n. 2; 50/2 n. 2; 10/3 n. 3.

⁸ Compare the fraught nature of gift-giving and authority in the encounter between Menelaos and Antilokhos in Ψ (cf. 9/45 n. 20), or indeed in the Games in general, where the right to dispose of the gift is at least as important as its award. The amount of conflict within Troy over these issues—which must have been constant—is rarely appreciated by critics; cf. 18/2, 7 nn. 3 and 9; 42/3 n. 5; 210/3 n. 4.

following speech represents the nature of the impasse in Troy—only solved, and disastrously, by Priam's further intervention;⁹ [20] Patroklos' pity for the wounded Eurypylos (whose intervention had allowed Aias to return to the Greek lines)¹⁰ is expressed by the poet before his speech, and further prepared for by the piteous description of the hero staggering back to his tent (11. 809–13). Patroklos is detained while treating him until the middle of *O*;¹¹ [23] Deiphobos' appeal to Aineias for aid is prefaced by a '*he pondered in twain*' unit which has made his motivation clear.¹² Fighting for a kinsman (particularly one responsible for his upbringing '*when a little child*')¹³ is an important duty, and not disregarded by Aineias. Indeed, the choice of that figure as the object of his request is made partially clear in the information provided by the poet about the figure of Alkathoos (γαμβρός . . . Ἀγχίσαο 13. 427–8), but the complete picture is reconstructed only by his reference to the man's role in Aineias' rearing;¹⁴ [26] the poet returns the audience to Nestor and Makhaon drinking in his tent (from 11. 618–41), and so resumes the defensive circumstance in which Nestor had removed the wounded doctor from the field. Noting the increased volume of the battle cries (an action which itself hints at a reaction), Nestor's speech assigns Makhaon to the care of his servant Hekamede, who had earlier mixed the beverage which Nestor is still enjoying at the start of *O*, before expressing his own determination to resume participation; [28] Hypnos' exhortation of Poseidon continues an attitude which had earlier been laboriously prepared by the poet in his exchange with Here; [29] Here's fearful reaction to Zeus' threat prefates her excuse and denial of blame in the situation;¹⁵ [31] Themis receives Here's frightened entry, on which she then comments in a manner typical for *transitional assemblies*.¹⁶ As the representation of order and what is right, Themis' concern for divine *stasis* is particularly appropriate;¹⁷ [34] on seeing the tearful Patroklos, Akhilleus feels a pity which is expressed in a complex way in his first speech, and leads him to grant Patroklos' request. There is a real difficulty in this situation, an implication that the Greeks require his sympathy and aid, which necessarily undermines the absolute validity of Akhilleus' continued withdrawal. His decision to allow Patroklos to fight is a further concession;¹⁸ [39] Thetis' request for information from her son is obviously to be connected with her knowledge of his impending death, evinced in the scene before their meeting,

⁹ Cf. B/5, 6; also 2/5 n. 5.

¹⁰ Cf. 36/4 n. 4.

¹¹ Cf. 20/4 n. 5.

¹² Cf. 91/5.

¹³ Cf. 144/4; also next note.

¹⁴ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

¹⁵ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

¹⁶ Cf. 3/11.

¹⁷ Cf. Janko (1992) on 15. 87–8, 237–8.

¹⁸ Cf. 83/4; also 9/30 n. 13. Compare his gradual concessions to the Greeks in the embassy, moving from a determination to leave (9. 356–63), to a decision as to whether he will leave (618–19), to a statement that Hektor's rampage will get no further than his own ships (650–5); cf. 148/14–16; 182/11; cf. Whitman (1958) 190–1; Taplin (1992) 150–1.

where she had expressed her distress at being unable to help her son either return home or assuage his grief. Her role in bringing about his wish in *A* represents with particular sharpness the unbearable paradox of her situation, and the gap between divine and mortal, for the honouring which she reminds him he had wished for has had ramifications which, as a man, he was simply unable to see at the time;¹⁹ [42] the grief which causes Zeus' pity²⁰ is related in his speech to Akhilleus' need for food, but this in itself represents the mortality whose ramifications and miseries Akhilleus had just bemoaned in his lamentation (19. 314–37). His position right on the edge of the divine–mortal divide is strongly emphasized here, on the one hand belonging with the other Greeks in their mortal lamentation, and on the other being the recipient of specifically divine food as Athene instils nectar and ambrosia in obedience to her father's instructions. One is reminded of Zeus' sorrowful comment over Akhilleus' horses (17. 441–9); [45] Lykaon's supplication is clear from the way he avoids fighting and grabs at Akhilleus' knees (21. 64–72);²¹ [48] Athene's triumphal vaunt over Ares (and Aphrodite in [50]) is contextualized by the joy she feels at his overthrow (21. 408), but reminds one of earlier confrontations as well.²² Such expressions of superiority are a commonplace in vaunts (as in [36], [44] etc.); [53] already present on the battlefield and determined to bring about Hektor's end, Athene now engineers her fatal plan. Notice also how Apollo's departure immediately before her words (22. 213)²³ becomes a source of immense satisfaction in the speech itself (220–1); [56] Akhilleus' joyful reaction to Antilokhos' words, bearing more than a passing resemblance to his own outburst at Agamemnon in *A* (compare esp. 1. 302–3), is related by the poet specifically to their friendship (23. 556), and his following acquiescence to the younger man's wishes is in a very real sense a confirmation or re-enactment of his earlier behaviour;²⁴ [57] Menelaos softens towards Antilokhos because of the latter's exemplary behaviour in the quarrel, and his speech then concerns his determination not to seem overbearing in such a situation; [60] Akhilleus' reception of Priam is at this point a matter primarily of his pity (24. 516), a result of Priam's initial supplication and reminiscence of Peleus which had led into mutual lamentation.²⁵

The continued conviction need not concern the entire speech or even be its dominant theme, but is an attitudinal frame, allowing the audience to use that information as the background of their understanding: [41] Akhilleus' marvelling and evident joy at Hephaistos' arms precedes his speech, and he

¹⁹ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

²⁰ Cf. 168/6.

²¹ Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

²² Cf. Ares' speech before their duel (21. 391–9), Zeus' comment on their respective strengths and relationship (5. 764–6), and her control over his anger at the death of Askalaphos (15. 123–42); also 7/5 n. 6.

²³ Cf. 28/4.

²⁴ Cf. 7/8 n. 8; also 9/45 n. 20.

²⁵ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

opens with an expression of their excellence (19. 21–2) before an intention to arm (23). Then the bulk of the speech (23–7) concerns the protection of Patroklos' corpse from putrefaction. Thus the link between the fact or imminence of revenge and its motivation, not to mention Akhilleus' treatment of Hektor's corpse, is made clearer.

Speeches so introduced are overwhelmingly persuasive, where such an intention is evident, and compliance is very often simply enacted without further comment. In fact, only in [1], [3], [9], [10], [12], [14], [34], [36], [45], [51] does the speaker fail to persuade the addressee about the truth of the statement or command, whilst [40] has an initial disagreement, which Iris manages immediately to overcome.²⁶ In all these cases, the conviction of the unsuccessful character resonates with the audience's awareness of extra-contextual considerations which make that conviction impossible to implement or agree upon anyway: [1] Akhilleus simply cannot kill Agamemnon, as he intends; [3] the wish of the old men that Helen leave Troy cannot be fulfilled, as Priam acknowledges in his following speech; [9] Agamemnon's lack of success initially in exhorting Odysseus is a signal of his rhetorical inadequacies, which Odysseus goes on to prove on the field in *E*. He also, however, forces a retraction from Agamemnon,²⁷ which Diomedes in [10] does not. This is an important interchange of scenes, for the crucial issue in this first half of the poem is the way in which Diomedes is employed as a doublet for Akhilleus, not simply in the fighting but also in his dealings with Agamemnon. Diomedes here does not reply, but intends to let his actions speak.²⁸ That Sthenelos chooses to reply in a fairly violent manner thus prepares the audience for the failure of his suggestion in [12];²⁹ [14] Ares' complaint is to fail because Zeus has already granted his removal from battle (5. 764–6); [34] notwithstanding his reluctance to relent to Patroklos' request, Akhilleus' pity will lead him to it, and so he must fail to deflect his weeping friend's intention; [36] Hektor's vaunt, though continuing the victory he has just enjoyed, is unpersuasive because it is untrue. His pre-eminence in the victory has been severely qualified by the poet, and his delusion comes to the fore again in this important scene;³⁰ [45] Lykaon's appeal focuses upon his previous commensality and the fact that he is not of the same womb as Hektor. Akhilleus' praeternatural wrath has little to do with these matters, as he immediately makes clear in his speech (esp. 21. 100–2); [51] Hekabe's appeal, prefaced by revealing her breast and crying, must be unsuccessful. Hektor must face Akhilleus, and must do so by choice.

²⁶ Cf. 40/26; also 12/3 n. 3.

²⁷ Cf. 47/1; also 10/3 n. 3.

²⁸ Cf. 11a/1 n. 3.

²⁹ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³⁰ Cf. 10/11 n. 7; also 4/1 n. 2.

‘old age [oppresses]’ [*γῆρας δπάζει*]: 6 examples: [1] 1. 29 (*ἔπεισιν*), [2] 4. 315 (*τείρει*), [3] 4. 321 (*ικάνει*), [4] 8. 103 (*δπάζει*), [5] 18. 515 (*ἔχχε*), [6] 23. 623 (*ἐπείγει*).¹ 50

Usually limited to character speech (except [5]), these expressions focus upon the general incapacity of the person, particularly for the action being proposed, but they tend to occur whenever that suggestion is in the process of qualification, whether with regard to past or future activity: [1] Agamemnon refuses to give Khryseis up, describing his control over her in terms of retention until she reaches an age where no one will want to claim or reclaim her. He is of course forced to give her up very soon, but his use of the figure attempts to remove Khryseis from any commercial province; [2] is to be coupled with [3] in that Agamemnon compliments the old man on his eagerness, contrasting that in an impossible wish with the current incapacity imposed by old age.² Nestor’s reply [3] attempts to assert at least some operative worth for his current capabilities (as he does again after [6]); [4] Diomedes lists the reasons for Nestor’s difficulty, focusing on the inadequacy both of the charioteer and the team. Nonetheless, Nestor will be enough of a warrior to guide Diomedes’ chariot during the coming encounter;³ [5] in the only example outside character speech, the old men are coupled with the women and children in terms of their uselessness for the military venture being conducted. They are, nonetheless, able to participate in the defence of the city whilst the army are setting their ambush; [6] Akhilleus explains his gift of the cup to Nestor as a compensatory mnemonic of Patroklos which the old man cannot win because he is unable to compete. Nestor’s reply details his own athletic achievement, admitting both the truth of Akhilleus’ current assertion as well as some room for the operation of his own past prowess.⁴

Reactivated chariot attack: 6 examples: [1] 5. 166–310 (192, 221), [2] 5. 793–909 (829), [3] 8. 91–171 (105), [4] 11. 521–43 (527), [5] 16. 712–43 (724), [6] 17. 466–542 (479).¹ 51

¹ Cf. Dickson (1995) 14–16; Latacz (2000) on 1. 29, 37.

² For other elements in this exchange (4. 293–326), cf. 34/3; 49/8; 77/9; 78/8; 140/4; 213/4. The question of Nestor’s age, and his worth in spite of that disability, will be often visited by the *Iliad* poet; cf. 2–4, 6 and n. 4; 78/8; 79/4 with nn. 3–4; also 213/4, 5, 7, 9; also Commentary on 8. 138–44, n. 87. ³ Cf. 51/3.

⁴ For other elements in this scene (23. 616–52), cf. 49/58; 79/7; 213/13.

¹ These sequences may show many elements of ordinary chariot journeys (cf. 17) and their constituent elements (cf. 19). The citations begin where the characters are introduced and make some sort of movement towards intervention, though it need not be clear until fairly late in the passage that the action to be undertaken will be chariot-borne. The citation in brackets denotes the first indication that a chariot will be involved. One might also consider, in the non-combat sections of the narrative, the episode in which Hermes joins Priam’s journey over the plain in Ω.

In this sequence, a chariot-borne attack is started in the middle of the fighting, usually after a setback or period of retreat. It is preceded by an exchange in which one speaker focuses upon a source of dissatisfaction and suggests a renewed offensive on his or the addressee's chariot. This exchange may consist of one speech (as in [3]–[5]) or several ([1] is preceded by four, [2] by three, [6] by two): [1] Pandaros and Aineias exchange words about the depressing situation and Pandaros' failure to kill Diomedes, before Aineias suggests attacking on his chariot;² [2] after an initial (and somewhat playful) rebuke directed against Diomedes, he and Athene attack and remove the previously dominant Ares from the fighting; [3] Diomedes comments on Nestor's difficulties before suggesting that they mount his chariot and continue on the offensive; [4] Kebriones proposes an attack on Aias because of his success on the other side of the field, though he does not actually face Aias himself; [5] Hektor is rebuked by Apollo in disguise, and then attacks Patroklos.³ He loses his charioteer in the ensuing combat and *Leichenkampf* before killing him; [6] Alkimedon rebukes Automedon for driving about in his current heedless manner.⁴ In reply, Automedon suggests they join forces to counterattack. In this case, there is no specific aim, but the poet now has Hektor and Aineias determine to face the new combination, thus choosing to focus on the Trojan perspective to this typical event.⁵

In each case the prior exchange expresses or implies a rebuke of some sort: [1] Pandaros laments his previous failure and the absence of his team; [2] Athene focuses on a rather unflattering comparison between Diomedes and his father;⁶ [3] Diomedes criticizes Nestor's horses and the qualities of his charioteer; [4] Kebriones compares Hektor's victorious activity with the difficulties of the Trojans elsewhere on the field; [5] Apollo rebukes Hektor for keeping his horses out of the battle; [6] Alkimedon makes slighting reference to Automedon's *νηκερδέα βουλήν* (17. 469).

The common idea—once the chariot-borne nature of the endeavour is made clear—is of an imminent confrontation with the dominant figure on the enemy side: Diomedes [1], Ares [2], Hektor [3], Aias [4], Patroklos [5], Automedon and Alkimedon [6]. As with the *battlefield assistance* sequence (to which both [3] and [6] also belong),⁷ success in the ensuing confrontation

The dissatisfaction or rebuke conveyed in the prior exchanges is now related by Hermes (who speaks first) to the time of the journey and the age both of the King and his attendant (24. 368–9), and the journey is of course aimed at a confrontation with Akhilleus.

² Cf. 124/2; also 9/15 n. 8.

³ For other elements in this episode between Apollo and Hektor (16. 712–26), cf. 91/9; 77/17; 213/9; also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Fenik (1968) 160–1.

⁵ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. 11a/1 n. 3.

⁷ Cf. 43/2, 7.

with that figure generally resides with the reactivated team, as in [2]–[6] (eventually). The exception of [1] should therefore be read in that light, as the poet manipulates the audience's expectations of victory so as to intimate a reversal for Diomedes which fails to ensue. One should also acknowledge the complexities of [4] and [5]: in the former case, the audience will expect Aias' retreat or defeat at the hands of the reactivated Hektor and Kebriones, but it is Zeus' intervention—not Hektor's activity—which removes Aias from the battle (11. 544). Thus the referential outcome of the action is preserved, but configured so as to leave the audience in no doubt about the relative strengths of the main Trojan and Greek warriors.⁸ The same factor is at work in [5], for the audience knows that Patroklos is to die at Hektor's hands. Patroklos' ability to postpone that until the next round of exchanges is contextualized by the audience's excitement and uncertainty.⁹

'mount [my] chariot' [ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσας]: 3 examples: [1] 5. 221 (51/1), 52
[2] 8. 105 (43/2) (51/3), [3] 11. 512 (σῶν) (17/8) (160/8).

This expression occurs only in character speech whenever the speaker is concerned to use the chariot to respond to a danger, whether in attack or retreat.¹ Further, it is noticeable that an unsuccessful arrow shot is the pretext for the situation: [1] after noting Diomedes' victorious rampage across the field and going to fetch Pandaros, Aineias suggests to him that they attack Diomedes together on his chariot.² The immediate pretext of his violent coursing was Pandaros' failure with his own arrow shot, to which the Lykian makes disparaging reference in his conversation with Aineias (5. 188–91; 206–16); [2] in response to Hektor's advance and the stranding of Nestor because of the killing of his horse by Paris' arrow shot, Diomedes' expresses his intention, with the old man's aid, to face down the Trojan; [3] Idomeneus, upon wounding of Makhaon, which is primarily important in order to get Nestor back into the camp and noticed by Akhilleus at the end of the book, instructs Nestor to remove the Asklepiad (carried out at 11. 517). This is the only case where one of the passengers has been wounded, and the only case where this verse is used in a *Rescue*, as opposed to an offensive action.³ Though one might consider also that Aineias' speech in [1] raises, somewhat unheroically, the ability of the horses when forced to retreat, there are simply too few examples to press the expression any further.

⁸ Regardless of the authenticity of 11. 540–3; cf. M. L. West (2001a) 213.

⁹ Cf. 26a | 27a /4 n. 3.

¹ Of various sorts: 2, 3 are examples of the *battlefield assistance* and *rescue* units respectively (cf. 43/2, 160/8), whilst 1, 2 occur within *reactivated chariot attacks* (cf. 51/1, 3).

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 160/8; also 17/8 n. 16.

- 53 ‘deviser[s] of rout’ [μήστωρε φόβοιο]: 6 examples: [1] 5. 272, [2] 6. 97, [3] 6. 278, [4] 8. 108, [5] 12. 39, [6] 23. 16.¹

This expression, usually in character speech (except [5], [6]), denotes another character or thing who or which will be prominent in the immediately ensuing narrative. The subject of the expression is focalized from the perspective of another character or group of characters, with whose point of view the audience is encouraged to identify: [2], [3] both concern Diomedes, mentioned by Helenos and then by Hektor, firstly as the former persuades the latter to go into Troy to set the supplication of Athene in motion, secondly as the latter tells his mother to do so. On each occasion, the ensuing action is explicitly directed against Diomedes, and the audience is put into the position of the Trojans; [1], [4] denote Aineias’ horses, in the first case Diomedes reminding Sthenelos to look out for a chance to steal them,² while in the second expressing his confidence in them as an index of his martial valour.³ It is unusual that these horses then turn out to be relatively unstressed in what follows (though cf. 8. 134–6), but their point is to foreshadow the *reactivated chariot attack* and remind the audience of Diomedes’ overriding concern in this passage of fighting; [5] this time accompanies Hektor, focalized as the object of the Greeks’ fear, as a simile then describes his progress across the battlefield (12. 40–50); [6] describes Patroklos, as focalized by the Myrmidons’ grief for him, and introduces the lamentation on his behalf conducted by Akhilleus (23. 17–23).

- 54 ‘[he] did not disobey’ [οὐδ’ ἀπίθῃσεν]: 30 examples: [1] 1. 220, [2] 2. 166, [3] 2. 441, [4] 3. 120, [5] 4. 68, [6] 4. 198, [7] 5. 719, [8] 5. 767, [9] 6. 102, [10] 7. 43, [11] 8. 112, [12] 8. 319, [13] 8. 381, [14] 10. 129, [15] 11. 195, [16] 11. 516, [17] 12. 329, [18] 12. 351, [19] 12. 364, [20] 14. 277, [21] 15. 78, [22] 15. 168, [23] 16. 458, [24] 17. 246, [25] 17. 491, [26] 17. 656, [27] 23. 895, [28] 24. 120, [29] 24. 300, [30] 24. 339.¹

This reaction denotes acceptance of a command or suggestion (usually from a previous speech), connoting that its substance is then played out in the course of the narrative in the manner foreseen by the character giving the command. The action proposed is usually successful, both in its immediate fulfilment and its longer term ramifications: [1] Akhilleus’ acceptance of Athene’s advice is succeeded by the abusive encounter and his great honouring by the Akhaioi;² [3] Nestor’s suggestion of marshalling is taken up immediately by Agamemnon, and so the poet introduces the catalogue. There is an intimation of criticism here in the old man’s instructions,³

¹ Cf. (6). ² Cf. 9/15 n. 8. ³ Cf. Kelly (2006) 8–9; also 51/3.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 166, 58. ² Cf. 9/2 n. 2. ³ Cf. 210/1.

perhaps related to the almost disastrous outcome of the *Diapēira*; [4] Talthybios obeys Agamemnon's (summarized) order to fetch a lamb for the sacrifice; [5] Zeus does as Here asks, engineering the oath-breaking;⁴ [6] Talthybios fetches Makhaon to tend Menelaos as Agamemnon had requested; [7] as in a similar circumstance in [13] (where the action is directed explicitly against Hektor; cf. below), Here suggests to Athene an intervention specifically to stop Ares; [10] Athene acquiesces to Apollo's suggestion of a duel, and there is indeed a sense of 'wonder' (*ἀγασσάμενοι* 7. 41) in the Greeks' reaction to Hektor's challenge;⁵ [12] Kebriones obeys Hektor's instruction to drive his chariot, and in the following combat Teukros is indeed wounded and removed from the fight, though Hektor is not of course on his chariot at the time; [14] Nestor approves Agamemnon's report of his brother's behaviour as guarantee that he will be able to command both approval and assent;⁶ [15] as Zeus foretells, Hektor is drawn away until Agamemnon retreats and thereafter begins his run of success; [17] in reply to Sarpedon's famous speech about the need for the *ἄριστοι* constantly to justify their status through their actions, Glaukos joins him in his attack on the wall, being soon wounded by Teukros in the ensuing fight.⁷ Though Sarpedon had not wanted that to happen, of course, his speech was concerned with precisely the risks inherent in being an *ἄριστος* (cf. esp. 12. 326–8); [19] the request of Menestheus, conveyed by Thootes [18], is answered, and the Lykians are indeed repulsed;⁸ [20] Here swears to the promise she made to Hypnos;⁹ [21] after Zeus' threats, little wonder that Here accedes;¹⁰ [22] Iris does succeed in removing Poseidon from the battle;¹¹ [23] in a preparatory episode for Zeus' momentary deliberation on whether or not to save Hektor in X, he is persuaded by Here not to do so for Sarpedon but allow him the honours which mortals receive;¹² [24] Aias' worries about his continued health necessitate the enlisting of other heroes and thus widening the *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos.¹³ Menelaos carries out the instruction (as he does again in [26], this time to

⁴ Cf. 49/4.

⁵ Cf. 11/2, 11a, 11b/1. The poet could well be playing with the audience's expectations here, intimating a 'marvelling at his word' reaction (11a), which may indicate rejection or acceptance. In the event, however, the 'and they were silent to silence' unit (11/2) after Hektor's proposal involves no such reaction, though the Greeks are indeed reluctant to accept the challenge.

⁶ Cf. 9/25 n. 26.

⁷ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

⁹ Cf. 40/18 n. 7. For Pasithee and the argument that Hypnos is modelled on Hephaistos, cf. Braswell (1971) 21–22, 22 n. 1; also Janko (1992) on 14. 256–61, 192; on 14. 267–70, 192–3; on 14. 276, 195. Whether Homer is inventing here or not is immaterial, for he clearly intends the audience to understand that the marriage did eventuate.

¹⁰ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

¹¹ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

¹² For other features in this exchange (16. 431–61), cf. 78/32; 91/7; 112/6; 168/4; 182/18; cf. also 9/32 n. 14.

¹³ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

find Antilokhos and get the news of Patroklos' death to Akhilleus),¹⁴ support arrives and the battle continues to eventual Greek success;¹⁵ [27] in their final contest in the poem, Agamemnon accepts the prize offered by Akhilleus, and so confirms the younger man's authority in the Funeral Games;¹⁶ [29] Priam tells Hekabe that he will not disobey her advice, and Zeus does indeed send the eagle as a symbol of his support, as Hekabe had desired (cf. 24. 290–8); [30] Zeus' instructions to Hermes are fully carried out, and the old man arrives at the camp and returns to Troy in safety.

Where the action is not successful in precisely the way envisaged by the speaker, particularly with regard to its longer-term ramifications, the poet uses that disjunction for a particular effect: [9] as Helenos advises, Hektor rallies the army, goes into Troy and arranges the supplication. The prayer itself, which is impossible, is another sign that the Trojans are not aware of their role in the *Dios boule*;¹⁷ [13] Athene's obedience to Here's instructions adds to the many other intimations in this scene of actual conflict between the goddesses and Zeus,¹⁸ and his intervention will indeed be the crucial matter in the episode; [17] the attack of Sarpedon and Glaukos is a doublet of Hektor's successful breaking of the camp gates, and is only thwarted by the particular intervention of Aias and Teukros (earlier requested); [25] Hektor and Aineias' attack on Automedon is prevented by the (again, requested) arrival of the Aiantes.¹⁹ In each case, the poet makes a great deal out of the preventive action—yet another way in which deliberate associative conflict is used in the poem.

- 55 'straight eager' [*ἰθὺς μεμαῶτος*]: 5 examples: [1] 8. 118, [2] 11. 95, [3] 20. 386, [4] 22. 243, [5] 22. 284.¹

This expression accompanies the onset of a character about to be defeated: Oileus in [2], Iphition in [3], Hektor in [1], [4], [5]. The combination employed in [1] is unique in that this is the only occasion on which *ἰθὺς μεμαῶτος* is employed in the genitive case, that case demanded by this sense of *ἀκόντισεν* (cf. 56 below). Usually falling in the third-person narrative, the phrase is used twice in character speech in a very significant manner: [4] Athene *qua* Deiphobos uses the expression when she persuades Hektor to stand and fight, describing their action in these terms. She is correct *in propria persona* about their chances of success, and the referential import of defeat is another index of her deceit in this episode; [5] this time Hektor exhorts Akhilleus

¹⁴ For other elements in this scene (17. 626–72), cf. 95/4; 108/18; 125/17; 126/19; 164/21; 192/10.

¹⁵ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

¹⁶ Cf. 7/8 n. 8.

¹⁷ Cf. 126/9. ¹⁸ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹⁹ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) on 8. 118, 48.

ἀλλ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶπι διὰ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσον. The poet thus prepares his audience for his magnificent realization speech (20. 296–305),² as well as indicating that Hektor is well aware of his chances of success.³

'he cast' [ἀκόντισεν]: 12 examples: [1] 4. 490, [2] 8. 118, [3] 13. 183, [4] 13. 403, [5] 13. 502, [6] 13. 516, [7] 14. 402, [8] 14. 461, [9] 15. 429, [10] 17. 304, [11] 17. 525, [12] 17. 608.¹ 56

These casts either miss everyone entirely (as in [5], [11]), hit without wounding [7], or (more usually) kill another figure.² In the latter case, there are several options open to the poet: [1], [2], [6], [9], [12] are followed by a 'he missed' unit;³ [3], [4], [8], [10] are followed by evasive action. In any case, the intended target is always safe: [1] Leukos is hit in place of Aias; [2] Eniopeus is hit instead of Hektor; [3] Amphimakhos is hit for Teukros; [4] Deiphobos hits Hypsenor for Idomeneus; [5] Aineias' cast at Idomeneus misses completely (as Hektor's at Automedon in [11]);⁴ [6] Deiphobos hits Askalaphos for Idomeneus; [8] Aias hits Arkhelokhos for Poulydamas; [9] Hektor's cast again at Aias strikes Lykophron; [10] Hektor hits Skhedios for Aias; [12] Hektor's cast at Idomeneus hits Koiranos.⁵

[7] is unusual in that Hektor's cast at Aias hits but fails to penetrate his δῶν τελαμῶνε (14. 404). This episode combines the associations of 'he cast', by which the cast misses its intended target, with that of the negative ἀμαρτάνω strike,⁶ whereby the cast hits but fails to kill, being repelled by a piece of equipment.

'he missed' [ἀφάμαρτεν]: 15 examples: [1] 4. 491 (56/1), [2] 8. 119 (56/2), [3] 8. 302, [4] 8. 311, [5] 10. 372, [6] 11. 233, [7] 13. 518 (56/6), [8] 13. 605, [9] 15. 430 (56/9), [10] 15. 521 (ἀπήμβροτεν), [11] 16. 466 (ἀπήμβροτε), [12] 16. 477 (ἀπήμβροτε), [13] 17. 609 (56/12), [14] 21. 171, [15] 23. 865.¹ 57

² Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

³ Cf. 46a/6; 4/1 n. 2.

¹ Here I include only those examples where the cast is made by an individual at a specific target. One could also consider 16. 335–6 (Πηνέλεως δὲ Λύκων τε συνέδραμον' ἔγχεσι μὲν γάρ | ἤμβροτον ἀλλήλων, μέλεον δ' ἠκόντισαν ἄμφω), where each of the two figures enjoys a 'he missed' unit 57, and a 'he cast' unit in *hysteron proteron*, and which seems to be a compressed sequence of the multiple misses in the exchange between Patroklos and Sarpedon in *II*.

² Cf. 57 n. 1 for this eventuality, known generally as *alienum vulnus*.

³ Cf. 57.

⁴ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

⁵ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

⁶ Cf. 57 n. 1.

¹ On *alienum vulnus* in general, cf. Fenik (1968) 126–8; Tsagarakis (1982) 111–13; Bannert (1988) 29–40; Lossau (1991); Conti Jiménez (1999). I include in this group only those examples in which a form of ἀφάμαρτάνω is employed directly after the cast to denote the miss of the intended target. It should be noted that this verb is not confined to this circumstance, also being used with οὐδέ to denote a successful strike which usually fails to kill (11. 350, 13. 160, 14. 403,

The victim in these cases is usually killed immediately (or eventually, as [5], [6], [8]), and this fact provides the narrative with its continuation, motivation, and context for the coming action, but in no fixed form: [1] the slaying of Odysseus' companion Leukos motivates Odysseus' own attack (4. 494–504), which in turn causes the withdrawal of the Trojans (505–7), divine exhortation to either side (507–16), and a new round of *androktasiai* (517); [3] the first *alienum vulnus* is a doublet for [4], after which Hektor finds another new charioteer and then attacks Teukros; [5] Diomedes deliberately misses Dolon, yet the verb still manages to predict not only that Dolon is to be the centrepiece of the coming narrative but also that he will not survive it;² [6] (= [8]) the Atreid cast fails but he still manages to be the victor in the next sequence of blows, whilst the victim's brother in [6] then wounds Agamemnon and forces his retreat, and in [8] Menelaos follows up his victory with an extended vaunt on the justice of his cause;³ [7] the death of Askalaphos foreshadows (13. 521–5) Ares' frustrated intervention (which almost eventuates only in *O*), but also to introduce the *Leichenkampf* over his body, the context for a series of reciprocal *androktasiai* until the change of scene (13. 673); [9] the death of Lykophron introduces Aias' reaction and forms the central theme in his exhortation of Teukros (15. 436–41), whose efforts dominate the battle narrative until reactivation (515);⁴ [10] Meges' miss on Poulydamas nevertheless kills Kroisos; in trying to claim this corpse there are a further series of encounters until the Greeks claim the bodies (15. 544); [11], [12] denote the two unsuccessful strikes by Sarpedon, the first hitting the trace-horse, the second being evaded by Patroklos. The latter example is intriguing, because only here does the attacker lose the ensuing combat. The poet seems to be deploying the associations of this verb in order to suggest momentarily that Patroklos or Automedon might be struck and killed;⁵ [13] Koiranos' death forces Meriones to retrieve the reins and advise Idomeneus to flee, as he does (17. 620–5).⁶ Then the poet switches to Aias' retreat and his suggestion of retreat to Menelaos;⁷ [14] Asteropaios is slain as he struggles to remove Akhilleus' spear from the $\delta\chi\theta\eta$ into which it had been mistakenly cast, as he had already thrown both his spears (21. 162–8). The Paionian's attempt to use

21. 591, 22. 290; cf. also 24. 68; *contra* 16. 322). Finally, killing of a subordinate in place of the major warrior at whom the cast was presumably aimed need not be denoted by a form of this verb; cf. e.g. 58/3, 4, 6 below.

² Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

³ Cf. also Janko (1992) ad loc., 120–1, on the broader significance of this episode.

⁴ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

⁵ For a similar case with regard to the combat between Aineias and Akhilleus, cf. Introduction, p. 4, and 157/14 (also 9/39 n. 18). Of course the audience knows that Sarpedon cannot defeat Patroklos—just as they know that Aineias could not possibly defeat Akhilleus—but the poet manipulates that expectation to cause an uncertainty which he then immediately counters; also 9/32 n. 14.

⁶ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

⁷ Cf. 69/10.

his foe's chief weapon is in any case significant (cf. 16. 140–4, 19. 387–91), and Akhilleus' vaunt leads into the spoliation of Asteropaios in the river, at which Skamandros becomes enraged;⁸ [15] Teukros' shot misses the bird and hits the cord holding it, thus setting it free—making Meriones' successful shot (23. 870–81) all the more remarkable and pious (cf. 863–5 and 872–3).

'he missed (charioteer)': 7 examples: [1] 8. 119–21 (57/2), [2] 8. 311–13 (57/4), [3] 15. 445–7, [4] 16. 463–5, [5] 16. 466–9 (57/11), [6] 16. 736–7, [7] 17. 608–11 (57/13).¹ 58

In these examples, a failure to hit the intended target receives the compensation of killing the charioteer. In every case, the absence of that figure necessitates some sort of reaction, not necessarily aggressive, on the part of the surviving member, and so usually a delay before the combat is resumed or taken to the next action: [1] Hektor goes in search of another driver, as he does again in [2] before his counterattack; [3] Poulydamas claims the team and then returns to the fray, but Teukros' further activity is stopped by Zeus;² [4] Sarpedon simply replies with an immediate counterstrike, leading into [5], where Patroklos' team requires righting, and then the combat enters another exchange;³ [6] Hektor leaps down to cover Kebriones as a *Leichenkampf* develops over his body, in which the Greeks are successful, before Patroklos is killed;⁴ [7] Meriones takes the reins, gives them to Idomeneus and advises him to flee.⁵ There is no consistent connotation of success in that next combat for either side.

⁸ Cf. 33 n. 7; also 23/7 n. 7 for Skamandros' actions.

¹ I include the death of the trace-horse in Sarpedon's combat with Patroklos 5 because Automedon cannot be killed; cf. 39/3. This group includes both expressed and unexpressed examples (i.e. where I assume the hero was aiming at the more prominent figure) of *alienum vulnus*: 1, 2, 5, 7 belong to the former group, 3, 4, 6 to the latter. Hektor is a particularly dangerous man to drive around, as noted by Willcock (1978) ad loc., 263, but he is not the poet's principal concern with this unit, as is asserted by Bannert (1988) 30–9. Bannert proposes a 'Geschehenslinie' concerning Hektor around the theme of 'Wagenlenkertod' / 'Wagenlenkerersatztod', reaching its climax in the death of Kebriones, and anticlimax in the death of Meriones' charioteer (17. 608–11). Though attractive, there are problems with the theory; cf. Smith (1991). Perhaps the safest conclusion is that Hektor is often associated with this action because he is the most prominent Trojan warrior, though there are other features associated with Hektor more than any other character; cf. 4/1 n. 2; 81 (and 86 n. 2 for a similar association with Diomedes); also Fenik (1968) 59–60; Lossau (1991); Hellmann (2000) 147–8.

² Cf. 47/5; also 40/20 n. 8.

³ Cf. 9/32 n. 14.

⁴ Cf. 24/25 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

- 59 'he struck the chest beside the nipple' [βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν]: 4 examples: [1] 4. 480, [2] 8. 121 (57/2) (58/1), [3] 8. 313 (57/4) (58/2), [4] 15. 577.¹

These episodes are usually linked with a 'he cast' unit and a following 'he missed', though in no fixed manner. The connotation of such a victory is immediate opposition which prevents the victor from pressing home his advantage: [1] as he strips Simoeisios, Aias is attacked by Antiphos, whose 'he cast' and 'he missed' strike then kills Leukos;² [2] Diomedes does not get a chance to strike Hektor because of Zeus' intervention; [3] Teukros is unable to have another shot at Hektor because the latter now counterattacks immediately. These two episodes are obvious doublets, with many verbal and thematic parallels;³ [4] Antilokhos' victory is thwarted by Hektor's counterattack (15. 583–91); [12. 204] the snake is simply dropped into the middle of the Trojans after chopping at the eagle carrying it. This could well intimate the failure of the omen to warn the Trojans from attacking the camp;⁴ [17. 606] after Idomeneus has failed to wound Hektor with his cast, Hektor then delivers a targeted strike at Idomeneus and kills Koiranos.⁵

- 60 'he fell from chariot' [ῥιπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων]: 9 examples: [1] 5. 47, [2] 5. 294, [3] 8. 122, [4] 8. 260, [5] 8. 314, [6] 15. 452, [7] 16. 344, [8] 17. 619, [9] 20. 487.¹

The usual association of this fall is that the victor is then removed from the forefront of the narrative, whether because the focus shifts to another character on his side (as in [1], [4], [7], [9]) or the opposing team (as in [5], [8]), or by the actions of a deity (as in [2], [3], [6]): [1] Idomeneus' victory is then followed by Menelaos', in a catalogue of *androktasiai* for the Greeks (as it is again, this time for Meriones, in [7]); [2] Diomedes beats Aineias in the following combat,² but is prevented from killing him by Aphrodite and then Apollo;³ [3] Diomedes is faced with opposition from Zeus and forced to retreat; [4] Diomedes simply retreats from prominence as Teukros begins his *aristeia*; [5] Teukros is immediately wounded by Hektor; [6] Teukros would indeed have hit Hektor had it not been for Zeus' intervention;⁴ [8] Hektor's

¹ Cf. (13) and n. 88; also (14) on 13. 186 (151/3), which would correspond well with the current definition. One could also consider 17. 606 (βεβλήκει θώρηκα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ μαζόν) and 12. 204 (κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρῆν), the only cases where the strike is not fatal. There is obviously some interaction here with the metrically equivalent κατὰ στήθος βάλε δουρί unit, whose outcomes are relatively undetermined when compared to the current cases; cf. 151 (and of course βάλε is not appropriate at 12. 204). The use of κατὰ στήθος would seem to be the vital element in these two examples, colouring the certainty of death usual for the βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν strike. ² Cf. 56/1; 57/1.

³ 8. 121 ~ 313; 122–5 = 314–17; cf. Commentary on 8. 302–3, 311–13 and nn. 199, 211.

⁴ Cf. 128/4; also 26/17 n. 2. ⁵ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

¹ Cf. Morrison (1999).

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

success, though it continues, is now described from the Greek perspective as Aias and Menelaos initiate a plan to inform Akhilleus of Patroklos' death and remove the body from the field.⁵ The only exception is [9], where the victorious warrior is—unsurprisingly—Akhilleus, who simply continues on his victorious rampage.⁶ Again his extraordinary quality is brought out by his referential atypicality.

'and the horses [recoiled]' [ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι]: 4 examples: [1] 5. 295 (παρέτρεσαν) (60/2), [2] 8. 122 (60/3), [3] 8. 314 (60/5), [4] 15. 452 (60/6).¹ 60a

This reaction is employed after 'fell from the chariot' units ([2]–[4] follow ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων in the same verse, [1] in the next) to connote further conflict over or concern with the chariot itself (or the victim), and immediate opposition to the victor of the directly preceding combat: [1] Aineias attempts to protect the chariot and Pandaros' corpse, though the ensuing fight proves uncondusive to his health.² Diomedes' success is continued into his encounter with Aphrodite, but this allows the poet to shift focus to Olympos before returning briefly to Diomedes' pursuit of Aineias under Apollo's protection (5. 432–44), which signals the end of this part of the Greek's *aristeia*;³ [2] Hektor simply replaces his charioteer before Zeus intervenes to remove Diomedes from the battle; [3] after replacing his charioteer again, Hektor actually gets to counterattack immediately and successfully; [4] Poulydamas reclaims the chariot after Kleitos' death before returning to the front line, and Teukros' bow is then broken by Zeus.⁴

'swift; and there his soul was left and his strength' [ὠκύποδες τοῦ δ' αἶθι λύθη ψυχὴ τεμένος τε]: 3 examples: [1] 5. 296, [2] {8. 123}, [3] {8. 315}.¹ 60b

This verse is deployed after 'he fell from the chariot' and 'and the horses recoiled' to connote that the charioteer's fall will be followed by replacement

⁵ Cf. 54/26 n. 14; also 17/11 n. 5.

⁶ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 31; Tsagarakis (1982) 20–1. The choice of verbs would seem to have some metrical motivation (cf. Kirk (1990) on 5. 295–6, 90), for ὑπερώησαν extends from the penthemimeres, παρέτρεσαν the trochaic caesura. The use of the latter in 60/2 | 60a/1 is necessitated by the fact that the poet decides to use the ἀράβησε δέ πύχ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ unit (cf. 133/3) directly after ἦριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων in 5. 294, in order to predict a concern with the victim's armour.

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 138 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

¹ Cf. (7); Tsagarakis (1982) 20–1 attempts to show the 'meaningful' qualities of the epithet ὠκύποδες and its possession of an extra-formulaic quality, in order to counter charges of the 'meaningless runover adjective'. One could also include 17. 298 (τοῦ δ' αἶθι λύθη μένος) which is a modification of the usual situation, in which one member of a Trojan chariot team is killed, his fall being narrated with the 'he fell from the chariot' and 'and the horses recoiled' units. Perhaps the name of the victim (Hippochoos), combined with Hektor's presence, eased the associative transfer. To this add the concern with the ramifications of the charioteer's fall, and the need either to get another charioteer (as in 2, 3) or defend the corpse (as in 1): Hippochoos here drops his grip on Patroklos' foot, and Hektor spends the rest of the book attempting to gain this prize; cf. also 66/3.

and / or counterattack from the other member of the team, Aineias [1]² or Hektor (in [2], [3], [17. 298]). The counterattack may [3] or may not [1] be successful (and in [17. 298] Hektor kills a Greek in revenge³ but the Trojans are put on the defensive [319–20]), while it is not carried out at all in [2].⁴

- 61 ‘dread grief closed Hektor’s mind’ [‘*Ἑκτορα δ’ αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας*]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 124, [2] 8. 316, [3] 17. 83.¹

This verse is employed whenever Hektor observes something requiring a counteraction on his part: [1], [2] the death of his charioteer, and in [3] the death of Euphorbos (about which he has been told by Apollo). His following actions are always aggressive and, in [2], [3], successful. He is not allowed to act in [1], though at least some implication of the contrafactual (8. 130–2) is that he would fail in his aim, because Zeus intervenes.² This is another example of associative conflict, but the divine action does in fact render the same result as if Hektor had defeated Diomedes in the combat, because the Greek does eventually retreat from the field.

- 62 ‘[he] left | to lie’ [*εἴασε | κείσθαι*]: 6 examples: [1] 5. 684–5, [2] 5. 847–8, [3] 8. 125–6, [4] 15. 472–3, [5] 19. 8–9, [6] 24. 522–3.¹

This expression denotes transition, when the person or action abandoned is otherwise seen to be extremely attractive or simply usual in the circumstances:² [2] Ares would have completed his somewhat unusually personalized stripping of his victim had it not been etc.; [4] were it not for the rather unsporting intervention of Zeus, Teukros would indeed have kept on fighting as an archer;³ [5] Thetis acknowledges the need to mourn for Patroklos, were it not for the need to fight the Trojans. [1] Sarpedon varies the usual construction by begging Hektor *not* to leave him; instead of implying that Hektor should have gone on to do what he does, Sarpedon underlines the fact that Hektor should have stopped. The unit itself, however, connotes that Hektor will move on to a new action (as he does), and so here Sarpedon manipulates rhetorical language without success, his choice of words

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 56/10.

⁴ Cf. 61/1.

¹ This is obviously a unit associated only with Hektor, a fact which must be significant given that the verse could accommodate any accusative name forming a dactyl or spondee; cf. 86 for a similar unit associated only with Diomedes, and 143 for one limited to the Greeks. The loss of his charioteer seems to be a traditional feature of Hektor’s character, perhaps explaining why Andromakhe plays such a prominent role in his exhortation at 8. 184–90; cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 58 n. 1; 100/1 n. 4, (10) n. 68.

² Cf. 40/11.

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 37–9; Higbie (1990) 159–60, 191 n. 23.

² Hence it is found in conjunction with the ‘*pained though he was*’ unit 64 in 3, 5.

³ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

ironically predicting what Hektor goes on to do.⁴ The other examples all show this directional shift: [2] leaving his victim there without completing the process of stripping him, Ares moves eagerly into a new combat against Diomedes; [3] Hektor seeks a new charioteer; [4] Teukros does go on to rearm in a different way; [5] Akhilleus rejoins the fray and postpones his further mourning for Patroklos; [6] Akhilleus does not deny the attractions or inevitability of grief, and his speech obviously imparts the lesson that men always have cause for more (cf. 24. 524–51).⁵

Furthermore, the abandoned action is not cancelled, merely postponed for future resumption: [1] Sarpedon's companions rescue him; [2] Ares will continue to serve as the god of war, and other mortals will perish during the fighting; [3] claiming of the corpses is a typical feature of combat, but also of post-combat activities;⁶ [4] Teukros does not cease to be an archer, as he appears again in the Funeral Games; [5] Akhilleus will eventually resume the process of mourning, but only after his maniacal rampage; [6] Priam will of course not cease from his grief, for the resumption of the mourning is simply postponed until they return to Troy, whilst Akhilleus will feel the loss of a comrade once more when Antilokhos dies.⁷

‘[him] he left’ [τὸν μὲν εἴασεν]: 7 examples: [1] 5. 148 (εἴασ'), [2] 8. 125 (62/ 3), [3] 8. 317, [4] 11. 148, [5] 11. 323, [6] 11. 426, [7] 20. 456.¹ 63

This action denotes leaving a corpse where it is on the battlefield, the majority where the subject of εἴω has killed the character(s) denoted by the demonstrative: Diomedes [1], Agamemnon [4], Odysseus [5] (though with Diomedes) and [6], and Akhilleus [7]. When the character leaves the corpses and moves on to other fighting, he foregoes stripping or claiming their corpses, and continues on his merry slaughtering way. Hektor does not of course kill his charioteers in [2] and [3]. The point of the expression would therefore seem to be that he is to be considered responsible for their deaths, whilst he continues in his previous aggression.²

⁴ Cf. 200/3. The combination of these units underlines the irony of Sarpedon's rhetoric; in some sense, Hektor has no choice but to remain silent now that his decision to leave his ally is actually presented to him as a reprehensible thing to do.

⁵ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

⁶ Cf. 176.

⁷ This is not to subscribe entirely to the Neoanalyst position on this question, simply to acknowledge that the *Iliad* explicitly refers to the death of Akhilleus and other stories from later in the Trojan cycle; cf. esp. Burgess (1997); also id. (2001) 47, 64, 221 n. 111.

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 37–9. This verb is used in several different situations, but the structural similarity between the members of this group, coupled with the idea of leaving a corpse on the battlefield, argues well for the group's coherence. Every example but 7 occurs at the start of the verse.

² Couple this with the intimation of success perhaps associated with 61/1, and the potential associative conflict before 8. 130–2 (40/11) becomes even greater; cf. Commentary ad loc.

- 64 'pained though [he] was' [*ἀχνύμενός περ*]: 15 examples: [1] 1. 241, [2] 1. 588, [3] 2. 270, [4] 8. 125, [5] 8. 317, [6] 12. 178, [7] 13. 419, [8] 15. 133, [9] 15. 651, [10] 17. 459, [11] 18. 112, [12] 19. 8, [13] 19. 65, [14] 22. 424, [15] 24. 523.¹

The accompanied action is depicted as necessarily undertaken in spite of the emotional turmoil involved, with the preferred action usually left unstated, but easily understood: [1] Akhilleus predicts that, for all his pain, Agamemnon will be unable to make good the loss of his assistance. That Agamemnon would want to prevent this state of affairs is of course natural; [2] Hephaistos uses his helplessness to persuade Here to assent to Zeus' will; [3] the Greeks laugh at Thersites' treatment despite their perturbation in the situation, the poet again perhaps suggesting their desire to leave;² [4] highlights Hektor's decision to continue his attack and not care for his charioteer's corpse, as suggested already by the 'left to lie' unit (8. 125–6);³ [6] the Greeks defend their ships out of necessity, in which case the poet seems to be intimating that their desire is to give in to despair and flee; [7] Deiphobos' vaunt stirs Antilokhos, but rather than making an immediate cast he protects Hypsenor's corpse;⁴ [9] the companions of Periphetes are unable to help him, for they are afraid of Hektor; [10] Automedon's continued activity despite his grief for Patroklos suggests not just his continuation of combat minus this figure but also his inability to protect the corpse;⁵ [12] Thetis urges Akhilleus to leave the corpse of Patroklos and get ready to fight, the implication being that mourning could continue;⁶ [15] Akhilleus suggests that mortals need to eat for all their grief, leading into his famous 'jars of Zeus' allegory.⁷

The preferred alternative may also be stated more explicitly: [12] Thetis contrasts the desirability of continuing to mourn for Patroklos with the necessity to rejoin the fight; [14] Priam magnifies his grief over Hektor by saying that his loss causes him more pain than the others'—though he still grieves for them.⁸

- 65 **Lamb similes:** 4 examples: [1] 8. 131, [2] 16. 352–5, [3] 22. 262–4, [4] 22. 308–10.¹

¹ Cf. Higbie (1990) 159–60, 191 nn. 22–3; Latacz (2000) on 1. 103, 65; also Cook (2003); Latacz (2003) on 2. 270, 85–6. ² Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 62, 63.

⁴ Cf. (15).

⁵ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. 62/5; also 23. 154–5, 24. 713–15; also 15 below.

⁷ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

⁸ Cf. 183/19.

¹ Bibliography on the Homeric simile is vast, as is the range of opinions about its relationship to the narrative; cf. e.g. Fränkel (1921); Coffey (1957); Lee (1964); Krischer (1971) 36–75; Porter (1972); Scott (1974); Moulton (1977); Tsagarakis (1982) 134–46; Nimis (1987); Edwards

These similes, all extended except [1], usually contain a comparison with another much more powerful animal, and the action involved tends not to be beneficial for the party so described: [2] the Greek leaders, in the process of an *androktasia* catalogue, are likened to wolves taking their pick of the lambs; [3] Akhilleus' simile speaks of the bargains between groups eternally hostile, lions and men, wolves and lambs; [4] in Akhilleus' final swoop the poet likens him to an eagle and Hektor to a lamb or cowering hare; [1] is the only example of a simple simile on this theme, but the connotation of Trojan weakness before Diomedes' onset is obvious.

'[he] sent to the ground' [ἦκε χαμάζε]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 134, [2] 12. 205, [3] 17. 299. 66

This expression is used of both voluntary [1] and involuntary acts [2], [3], but in every case the object's presence on the ground is a signal of great danger for those observing: [1] Zeus directs his thunderbolt straight at Diomedes, which is surely a cause for concern even for the most foolhardy;¹ [2] the eagle drops the snake on the ground, where it is called a *τέρας*, and is clearly an omen of nasty things about to happen for the Trojans. They seem in fact to recognize this, and it is only Hektor's violent attack on Poulydamas which restores their spirits;² [3] the *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos now continues and claims many lives in the process. His corpse assumes a talismanic status in the narrative, but the poet is not hereby implying that it is a warning sign of danger which could then have been avoided.³

Dropping reins: 8 examples: [1] 5. 582–3, [2] 8. 137, [3] 11. 128, [4] 16. 403–4, [5] 16. 470–1, [6] 17. 619, [7] 23. 384 (whip), [8] 23. 465.¹ 67

In every case, whether the charioteer survives or not, the action on which they had been engaged is forced to a halt and, in those cases where it is restored, requires the intervention of another character or action: [1] after Antilokhos strikes Medon, he runs up and through him with a sword; [2] Nestor takes a while to convince Diomedes to flee, but they eventually do; [3] Peisandros and Hippolokhos drop the reins to supplicate Agamemnon—unsuccessfully; [4] Pronoos drops the reins out of fear before being killed; [5] Automedon has to leap down and cut the trace-horses free;² [6] Koiranos is killed seeking to support Idomeneus. Meriones then picks up the reins and

(1987*a*) 102–10; Lonsdale (1990); Edwards (1991) 247–41; Clarke (1995); Martin (1997); Minchin (2001*b*). Referential analysis asks slightly different questions of the Homeric simile, principally the audience's understanding of the situations in which the image tends to be applied. For other similes to be found in *Θ*, cf. 114, 137, 152–4, 164, 217, 218.

¹ Cf. also 29/4.

² Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

³ Cf. 60*b* n. 1.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 61–2, 83.

² Cf. 9/32 n. 14.

exhorts Idomeneus to flee;³ [7] Apollo casts the whip from Diomedes' hands, whereon it is restored by Athene; [8] Idomeneus speculates that Admetos has dropped his reins,⁴ perhaps the only thing which from Idomeneus' perspective could account for his poor showing in the race.

- 68 '[he] feared | in the *thumos*' [δείσε | θυμῶι]: 6 examples: [1] 8. 138, [2] 13. 163, [3] 13. 623–4 (ἐδδείσατε), [4] 15. 299 (δείσεσθαι), [5] 24. 672 (δείσει'), [6] 24. 778–9 (δείσητ').¹

The unit is employed to connote the fact that actions consequent upon this emotion are the right or natural ones to take, hence its use for persuasive purposes in various ways in [4]–[6]: [1] Nestor's reaction is expected after such a clear sign of Zeus' disfavour, as earlier in Θ 'pale fear' had gripped the others after another such indication;² [2] Deiphobos should fear the ἔγχος of Meriones, who is awarded a compensatory prize in the spear-contest in the Funeral Games, so his tactic of holding the shield out in front is a good one;³ [3] Menelaos rebukes the Trojans for failing to fear the wrath of Zeus Xenios; had they done so, he implies, it would have prevented the now inevitable destruction of their city; [4] Thoas attempts to persuade the Greeks of his plan, which is that they should stand against Hektor whilst the πλῆθὺς retreat to the ships, by predicting that Hektor will fear to enter the throng;⁴ [5] Akhilleus, in persuading Priam that he should not be afraid to sleep under his protection and so complete the hospitality ritual, grasps the old man's hand. An earlier attempt at hastening or foreshortening the ritual had brought the pair close to disaster, and Priam's safety in the middle of the Greek camp is not secure;⁵ [6] Priam orders the Trojans to collect wood and not to fear an ambush, which was a constant danger during the course of the war.⁶ In both the last two cases, the counteraction of what would otherwise be a natural reaction underlines the special quality of the situation.

- 69 **Suggestion of retreat:** 11 examples: [1] 2. 109–41, [2] 2. 224–42, [3] 5. 241–50, [4] 5. 590–606, [5] 8. 138–44, [6] 9. 16–29, [7] 12. 208–29, [8] 14. 64–81, [9] 15. 281–300, [10] 17. 621–3, [11] 18. 249–83.¹

In these speeches one character suggests to another the necessity for a general withdrawal, and they may be split into two groups, depending upon the presence or absence of divine disfavour compelling the retreat envisaged.

³ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 136/16; also 9/44 n. 29.

¹ Cf. Higbie (1990) 204.

² Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 31/2.

³ Cf. Fenik (1968) 125.

⁴ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

⁶ Cf. 7. 370–1; 6. 423–4; 20. 91–3.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 164. One might also compare the speeches of Priam and Hekabe trying to persuade Hektor back into the city (22. 37–76, 79–92).

The first group ([4], [5], [7], [9]–[11]) are preceded by divine intervention which motivates or at the very least contextualizes the suggestion: [4] Ares' presence, [5] lightning flash, [7] an omen sent by Zeus,² [9] Hektor's re-emergence due to Apollo's action, [10] the flashing of Zeus and his shaking of the aegis (followed by an *alienum vulnus* victory for Hektor),³ [11] Akhil-leus' appearance at the trench.⁴ On only two occasions is the suggestion not followed ([7], [11]; cf. further below). The suggesting character need not make any reference to the intervention [10],⁵ nor even be directly and explicitly aware of it [9] (though cf. 15. 290–4).⁶

The other five examples ([1]–[3], [6], [8]) are not preceded by this direct intervention, and none is persuasive: [1] opens the deceptive *Diapaira*, which is unmentioned in the Dream's speech and so not really motivated by that action. Agamemnon does, however, connect it with his belief in Zeus' (dis)-favour so as to persuade the group (as again with equal failure in [6], [8]). The influence of the divine in these cases, though no less real, is of a more indirect kind; [2] is clearly intended by the poet to fail as an exhortation,⁷ and in response to [3] Diomedes makes the telling point that Athene's support, *inter alia*, does not allow him to retreat.

Recognition of the divine will (and so automatic compliance therewith) is the common feature to all the successful suggestions, whilst refusals are characterized by a recognition that such a motive is absent or argues for the opposite conclusion. Indeed, subsequent refutations often refer to the gods and previous omens which vitiate the suggestion (cf. e.g. 5. 255–6 [3]; 9. 49 [6]). The two justified but rejected suggestions of Poulydamas ([7], [11]) add to the already clear implication that Hektor's failure to recognize the operation of the divine will signals his error. Tellingly, both of his refusals (12. 230–51 and 18. 284–310) contain substantial references to the gods, in the first case a somewhat daring denial of ornithomancy, in the second an insistence on Zeus' favour to him (18. 293–4)⁸ and an irrelevant reliance on chance in Ares' awards of victory (306–9). As if that were not enough, the poet then says explicitly that Trojans as they approve his speech are *νήπιον· ἐκ γάρ σφρων φρένας εἴλετο* etc. (311).⁹

Diomedes' reply in [5] is significant in that, when replies are given to these suggestions, they seek to refute their basis: [1] 2. 283–332, [2] 2. 243–64, [3] 5. 251–74, [6] 9. 31–49, [7] 12. 230–51, [8] 14. 82–102, [11] 18. 284–310. The audience need not infer that Diomedes will refuse the suggestion, simply that he is very reluctant to comply.

² Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

³ Cf. 29/13; also 17/11 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 17/11 n. 5.

⁶ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

⁷ Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

⁸ Cf. 98/9 on his error in making this claim; also 4/1 n. 2.

⁹ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

- 70 'do not?' [*ἦ οὐ*]; 13 examples: [1] 5. 349, [2] 8. 140, [3] 9. 339, [4] 15. 18, [5] 15. 506, [6] 17. 450, [7] 18. 287, [8] 19. 343 (*οὐκέτι*), [9] 20. 188, [10] 21. 396, [11] 22. 11, [12] 23. 670.¹

Characters ask these questions as part of an attempt to convince someone that his or her actions or opinions are mistaken. By reminding the addressee of something which from the speaker's perspective can only be persuasive to that end, this unit represents the speaker's attempt to control the interlocutor's cognizance:² [1] Diomedes' taunting of Aphrodite focuses on her insalubrious actions within the female province, to which he implies she should be restricted;³ [2] Nestor draws the appropriate conclusion from Zeus' actions (8. 132), and wonders why Diomedes has not recognized his will; [3] Akhilleus asks Odysseus whether the whole mission was not aimed at the recovery of Helen, and then whether the Atreidai alone love their *ἄλοχοι*, seeking to draw a (somewhat dubious) analogy between Briseis and Helen; [4] Zeus asks whether Here does not remember his reaction the last time she made life difficult (similar reminders also in [9], [10]);⁴ [5] Aias seeks to stiffen the resolve of the Greeks by reminding them of Hektor's exhortations to his men; [6] Zeus seems to categorize Hektor's further enthusiasm as unjustified by asking whether it was not enough for him to claim the armour and boast *αὖτως*. He is not trying to persuade him to act in a different way, but commenting ruefully on Hektor's delusion;⁵ [7] Hektor answers Poulydamas by asking whether he is not sick of being cooped up inside the walls;⁶ [8] Zeus persuades Athene to sustain Akhilleus by asking whether she still cares for him at all, as she obviously does; [11] Apollo seeks to dissuade Akhilleus from chasing him by reference to the fleeing Trojans, at whom Akhilleus should now be directing his anger; [12] Epeios claims his excellence in boxing as a natural compensation to his relative weakness in battle, for he is trying to back up his preceding claim to the first prize (23. 667–9).⁷

To underline their rhetorical effectiveness, these questions or their persuasive processes are usually successful: [1] Aphrodite is forced to yield, and Zeus confirms the substance of Diomedes' taunt (5. 427–9); [2] Nestor does eventually persuade Diomedes to retreat; [4] Here is suitably frightened and concedes; [5] the Greeks react positively to Aias' exhortation; [6] Zeus expresses his dissatisfaction at the lengths to which Hektor's self-confidence have taken him. His question is another referential nail in the Trojan's coffin, for these units are always elsewhere directed towards a persuasion which is

¹ Cf. Chantraine (1953) §13, 10–11.

² Cf. 9 for a somewhat similar rhetorical phenomenon.

³ Cf. 88; also 20/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

⁵ Cf. also 6/4 n. 4; also 40/24 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

⁷ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

here impossible, as Zeus himself was responsible for leading Hektor into his situation (though not the precise actions about which he complains); [7] the people do follow Hektor's plan of action; [8] Athene sustains Akhilleus; [9] Aineias had already remembered the episode, to precisely the effect Akhilleus employs it, when Apollo tried to persuade him to attack Akhilleus (20. 79–102). The persuasion and intervention of the god overbears Aineias' natural caution (a fact which is highlighted by the audience's knowledge of this type of question), and it takes the intervention of another god to restore the hero to his senses—an excellent illustration of how the divine to and fro always seems to function within the predetermined frame as understood by the human characters themselves;⁸ [11] after sending some choice words the god's way, Akhilleus returns to his attack on the city; [12] Epeios' actions in fact justify his claims, as does the crowd's reaction.⁹

There are two exceptions:¹⁰ [3] Akhilleus impresses upon Odysseus the sincerity of his refusal to rejoin the battle and the reciprocity being offered. One could contend that this is a successful question, but he hardly persuades any of the other heroes to abandon the Atreidai (cf. e.g. 9. 315–16), certainly not Odysseus at whom the speech is directed. Nor does he convince that Briseis is analogous to Helen. Akhilleus once again bends language to his own needs, but in this case he is disingenuous and unsuccessful;¹¹ [10] Ares is determined to avenge his previous dishonour, but he reminds Athene and the audience of an action which was guaranteed by Zeus (5. 888–98). His failure adequately to understand that lesson makes his coming failure in combat all the clearer.¹² The connotation of success allows the audience to see these characters' delusions all the more clearly.

‘no | *alke*’ [οὐ | ἀλκή]: 6 examples: [1] 3. 45, [2] 4. 245, [3] 5. 532, [4] 8. 140, 71 [5] 15. 564, [6] 21. 528.¹

This expression is most commonly used in exhortations where the speaker attempts to persuade the addressee to act differently because of the absence of *alke*, and it is overwhelmingly successful: [1] Hektor abuses Paris by imagining Greek scorn for a people whose best men have beauty but no *alke*.² Paris is

⁸ Cf. 9/39 n. 18. ⁹ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

¹⁰ 6 is not an exception in the same sense, as Zeus is in fact correct about the unjustified nature of Hektor's self-confidence, and is not trying to stop him from behaving in this way.

¹¹ Cf., however, Hainsworth (1993) on 9. 335–43, 106, but also on 336 (ἀλοχον), 106–7. Akhilleus is generally characterized as a brilliant speaker, but he is not infallible. For other occasions on which he manipulates the referential curve of epic language, cf. 1 n. 3.

¹² Cf. 7/5 n. 6.

¹ Cf. Trümper (1950) 214, 216, 220; D. Collins (1998) ch. 2; also 15. 490 (ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτος Διὸς ἀνδράσι γίνεται ἀλκή) and the actions or qualities which come ἐκ Διὸς 72.

² For other elements in this scene (3. 15–75), cf. 35 n. 1; 119/10; 123a/2; 164/1; 169/2; 194/1.

stung into agreement and accepts the duel; [2] before the individual encounters in the *Epipoleis*,³ Agamemnon compares his men to fawns who of course have none of this quality (and all of his individual rebukes in the following scene have an effect). On this first day's play, the Greeks have much the better of the fighting; [3] Agamemnon contrasts men who have *aĩdŏs* with those who flee and lack *alke*, as Aias does in [5].⁴ On both occasions a Greek rally is followed by a victory. In all these cases, the speaker bemoans the lack of the quality, whilst in [4] Nestor tries to persuade Diomedes that he should not even try to show evidence of it. This is the only example which links *alke* with Zeus, or in this case not.⁵ The special circumstance of this phase of the battle and its increased divine control is thus underlined by the phrase's adaptation, for everywhere else the source of the exhortation is that the addressee should show evidence of *alke*. Diomedes is not yet persuaded, but he soon will be.

The only example to come outside character speech is [6], because of which it doubly emphasizes the helplessness of the Trojans, for whom reproach or exhortation is useless. Against Akhilleus there is simply no hope, and Priam responds in the only way possible.⁶

- 72 'from Zeus' [ἐκ Διός]: 11 examples: [1] 1. 63, [2] 2. 33 (= 2. 70), [3] 2. 197, [4] 2. 669, [5] 8. 140, [6] 8. 251, [7] 14. 19, [8] 17. 251, [9] 18. 75, [10] 21. 189, [11] 22. 280.¹

Actions so sourced are guaranteed as decisive, and they usually turn the direction of the narrative as if to underline Zeus' power to effect such changes: [4] Zeus' favour assures the success of Tlepolemos' settlement on Rhodes, after and in spite of the kinslaying which forced him to emigrate in the first place; [6] the source of the omen ensures the rightness of the Greek reaction in a moment of unexpected military difficulty;² [7] in a simile describing Nestor's state of mind as he looks on the Greeks' position, his doubt about which course to follow is compared to a wave *πρὶν τινα κεκριμένον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς οὐρον* to resolve the decision.³

When, therefore, an appeal is made to this source (as in [1]–[3], [5], [8]–[11]) it is unsurprisingly effective: [1] Akhilleus suggests a dream interpreter because even dreams come from Zeus. The irony of this comment will not be lost on the audience in [2], but in the current context it simply augments the Greek need for mantic assistance of any sort whatsoever; [2] the Dream deceives Agamemnon into thinking that the Trojans are now

³ Cf. 10/3 n. 3; also 87/3 n. 2; 50/2 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Graziosi and Haubold (2003) on these two cases (as 97 n. 1).

⁵ This accounts for the fact that this example alone is not comprised of a compound negative (*οὐδέ/οὔτε*) and *πς ἀλκή*. ⁶ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. D. Collins (1998) ch. 2.

² Cf. 128/2.

³ Cf. 91/6.

doomed by Zeus' sanction; [3] Odysseus makes as good an absolutist statement as any about the justification of royal authority, and manages to calm the crowd; [5] Nestor realizes that the crucial element here is the influence of Zeus; [8] Menelaos' reminder of the Greeks' favours from Agamemnon, and his equation of those favours with an origin from Zeus, makes his appeal to *kharis* simply unbeatable (if a trifle ambitious);⁴ [9] Thetis reminds her son that things have turned out *ἐκ Διός* just as he had wished;⁵ [10] in his vaunt over Asteropaios, Akhilleus makes the point that Aiakos' descent from Zeus makes his progeny much mightier than that of Akheloos, where the genealogical victory contextualizes the military one;⁶ [11] Hektor uses the associations of certainty with deep irony—much deeper than he realizes—to caricature Akhilleus' conviction in his victory.⁷

'today | another time' [*σήμερον* | *ὔστερον*]: 4 examples: [1] 7. 29–30 | 30–2, 73 [2] 7. 290–1 | 291–2, [3] 8. 141–2 | 142–3; [4] 20. 125–7 | 127–8.¹

The speaker employs this inevitably persuasive contrast by conceding *ὔστερον* the practicality of the addressee's current desire, but its impracticability *σήμερον*. The suggestion itself in its most specific form may come before or after the juxtaposition: [1] Apollo, knowing Athene's hostility to Troy, focuses on the fact that the city can be destroyed *ὔστερον* in order to overcome her reluctance to spare it now; [2] Hektor, fully and rather painfully aware of Aias' prowess, concedes that Aias will have another chance to kill him *ὔστερον*;² [3] Nestor contrasts the gods' future favour for Diomedes (his particular concern) with their current support of Hektor; [4] Here well knows that Poseidon and the other gods are reluctant to fight and suffer for a mortal,³ and she is also aware that divine protection can go too far (cf. 16. 439–57). Her concession to the order of things provides an outer limit on their intervention, and a means to overcome Poseidon's hesitation to fight younger and weaker gods (cf. 20. 134–5, 21. 439–40).⁴ In every case, the unit is persuasive: [1] Athene does acquiesce in Apollo's request; [2] Aias also yields to Hektor's offer; [3] Diomedes eventually yields; [4] Poseidon promises Here his assistance in aiding Akhilleus if the other gods interfere with him.

⁴ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

⁵ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. also 33 n. 7.

⁷ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 7. 290–3, 272–3; Edwards (1991) on 20. 125–8, 306. One might also compare 7. 375–8 ~ 7. 394–7; cf. 2/5 n. 5. Intriguingly, wherever *σήμερον* is used without the qualification *ὔστερον*, the speaker is literally correct about the action so qualified, but not in the way he expects: in 11. 431 Hippasos is right that Odysseus will kill him, but one feels that the other part of the comparison is the emphasized one; in 19. 103 someone born today will indeed rule the people around him, but Zeus is incorrect about just which one it will be; in 20. 211 Aineias is right that words will be insufficient to part them, but the combat will not come to the conclusion he intends or fears.

² Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

³ Cf. 186.

⁴ Cf. 9/38 n. 16.

- 74 'glory | [he] grants' [$\kappa\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ | $\delta\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$]: 8 examples: [1] 7. 205, [2] 8. 141, [3] 12. 255, [4] 14. 358, [5] 15. 327, [6] 16. 730, [7] 17. 566, [8] 21. 570.¹

Whilst $\kappa\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ may be won or apportioned in a number of ways, $\delta\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ is usually confined to Zeus, and used to denote moments of favour which are very hard or even impossible to resist: [1] the Greek onlookers pray, in the case of Zeus' favour for Hektor, that Zeus apportion equal honour to the combatants;² [2] Nestor's persuasion of Diomedes rests on the idea that Zeus is favouring Hektor, in which case there is simply nothing else to be done but retreat; [3] Zeus intervenes directly in the battle to immediate effect; [4] Hypnos tells Poseidon to grant honour to the Greeks now that Zeus has gone to sleep. Poseidon's usurpation of Zeus' activity (for Apollo in [5], [6]³ acts directly on Zeus' orders) connotes his failure adequately to control the narrative against his brother;⁴ [7] Menelaos invokes Zeus' aid for Hektor in these terms as a reason for his invincibility; [8] similarly, Agenor expresses his doubts about the coming encounter with Akhilleus as a counterweight to the realization of the latter's mortality.⁵

- 75 'if | [she] is willing' [$\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\nu/\eta\nu$ | $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\sigma\iota$]: 19 examples: [1] 1. 408, [2] 4. 353 (196/1), [3] 6. 281, [4] 7. 375 (~ 7. 394), [5] 8. 142, [6] 8. 471 (196/2), [7] 9. 255, [8] 9. 359 (196/3), [9] 9. 429 (~ 9. 692), [10] 10. 55 [11] 13. 260, [12] 13. 743, [13] 14. 110, [14] 18. 143, [15] 18. 278, [16] 18. 306, [17] 18. 457 [18] 19. 71, [19] 19. 147.¹

This expression is employed parenthetically in predictions or commands where the speaker admits superficially the clause subject's independence whilst at the same time guaranteeing the fulfilment of that future statement, or at least his own belief in that eventuality: [1] Akhilleus' request to Thetis is prefaced by a reminder of the favour she did to Zeus. His chances of success are high, and indeed the favour is the crucial element in her request;² [2] Odysseus' point is that Agamemnon will have to see him at his best, and he does play a prominent role in the first day's play;³ [3] it is hard to imagine Paris ignoring Hektor's presence or request, and indeed he himself makes reference to Hektor's justified criticisms (6. 333–41);⁴ [4] Priam's request for a truce for the purpose of burying the dead is apparently the normal thing to do after a period of fighting. It is certainly more liable to

¹ Cf. Trümper (1950) 196–200; D. Collins (1998) ch. 2. The identity of this grouping is suggested by the fact that ' $\kappa\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in this position is followed by a variety of (similarly shaped) verbs' (Edwards (1991) on 17. 566, 117); cf. 115 for the expression $\kappa\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ | $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$.

² Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

³ Cf. 24/25 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 17/9 n. 13.

⁵ Cf. 40/31 n. 15.

¹ Cf. also Higbie (1990) 170–3, 191 nn. 49, 50, and 52. In this group I include all subjunctive examples of $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ with the conjunctions $\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\nu/\eta\nu$.

² Cf. Slatkin (1991).

³ Cf. 10/3 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. 9/18 n. 23.

success than Paris' disastrous offer (which, of course, Priam confirms);⁵ [5] given the apparent justice of their cause and previous signs of Zeus' support (cf. 2. 303–30, esp. 350–3), Nestor cannot fail to be convinced that he will indeed show favour to the Greeks hereafter; [6] Zeus asserts his authority by forcing Here to recognize her impotence. She will not willingly watch her favourites being destroyed, but she will be compelled to—and it does happen;⁶ [7] Peleus was indeed right that Athene and Here would provide Akhilleus with support; [8] is similar to [6] (and [2]) in that Odysseus (and Agamemnon) would have seen the departure of Akhilleus' ships as an extension of the speaker's authority;⁷ [9] Akhilleus' speech until this point has been concerned with the duties and affection which Phoinix owes him, neatly pre-empting the persuasive advantage the older man will attempt to gain (9. 434–95). Akhilleus has very good reason to assume that Phoinix will have to come along (cf. 437–8); [10] given Nestor's tireless activity and support of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, as well as the fact that the plan for setting guards was his own and his own son led them (9. 66–8, 81), what chance that the old man would not be willing to accede to Agamemnon's request?;⁸ [11] Meriones is of course willing to fight (though a little sensitive about Idomeneus' implication), and he does indeed rearm for the battle;⁹ [12] Poulydamas clearly thinks further attack is the likely object of a council decision (compare ἐθέλησι and ἐλθοιμεν), unsurprisingly given Hektor's somewhat overconfident nature to which he had just referred (13. 726–9), and this is precisely what happens; [13] under a cloud since the *Epipoleis*, Diomedes has proved his authority and ability to speak by his actions, and he now justifies that status by referring to the very point of negative comparison earlier used by Agamemnon—his father. They listen to his advice and implement it;¹⁰ [14] Thetis can expect that Hephaistos will grant him her request (as he does, and as she repeats in [17]), given her favour to him (cf. 18. 392–409);¹¹ [15] given that Troy has yet to fall despite ten years' worth of siege, Poulydamas' stratagem has a good chance of being right, but he is never given the chance to try it out while Hektor is alive;¹² [16] Hektor's overconfidence reaches its apogee here, as he rashly issues a statement of his conviction in Akhilleus' death, though the expression's connotation is preserved, because Akhilleus is more than willing to fight;¹³ [18] Akhilleus expresses his intention to fight to see whether the Trojans wish to stay in the field by the ships on the coming night. I think he knows the answer; [19] Akhilleus feels that Agamemnon's concern with the gifts (perhaps typical, in his eyes, of a man he labelled φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων 1. 122) is no longer any

⁵ Cf. 2/5 n. 5; also 24. 656–70. The dead are unburied at the end of the second day (10. 199–201) because no truce has been called; cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 4, 18; also 176.

⁶ Cf. 10/6.

⁷ Cf. 196/1–3.

⁸ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; also 9/25 n. 26.

⁹ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹⁰ Cf. 11a/1 n. 3; 86 n. 2.

¹¹ Cf. 16/5 n. 6; also 41/9 n. 2.

¹² Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

¹³ Cf. 4/1 n. 2; also 2/9 n. 6.

concern of his. His carelessness is an index of the other's concern (already evinced in his preceding speech), but Agamemnon does indeed dispose of the gifts as he pleases (cf. also below).¹⁴

One natural result of all this conviction is that it is very rare for the apodosis to be unfulfilled: only in [9], [16], and [18] is the prediction incorrect, for neither does Akhilleus leave for Phthia nor does it go badly for him on the next day, though with regard to the former one notes that the embassy takes him deadly seriously (9. 682–3),¹⁵ and with the latter one might with some justice say that Poulydamas' earlier prediction [15] foreshadows the hero's death *after* the Iliad.¹⁶ Hektor's reply to this speech [16] then employs the same rhetoric in order to undermine it. In fact, his usage of such a device simply underlines his delusion (and is one in a series of such signs in this speech),¹⁷ for the audience are well aware of his fate; [18] Akhilleus is being deliberately ironic in his use of the figure here, for whilst the Trojans were willing to remain in the field on the previous night, he is thoroughly assured that they will not wish to again.¹⁸ This is the difference between the characters and the audience in the interpretation of this structure and knowledge of the future: whereas the former are always convinced, the latter are privileged in being able to match or contrast the prediction with that which they know to be traditionally possible.

Similarly, the addressee is generally persuaded of the speaker's opinion or intentions, so disjunctions are obviously significant: [7] Akhilleus' refusal to be persuaded *inter alia* by this reminder of his father's instructions has disastrous consequences for himself and the army;¹⁹ [19] is a slightly different case, in that Agamemnon is persuaded of his prerogative, but he then exercises it—with Odysseus' aid—immediately against Akhilleus' express desire to commence battle. The agonistic nature of their relationship is again at issue here (as in this scene generally),²⁰ and Agamemnon is able to assert his control during the process whereby Akhilleus submits himself once more to participation in the army. The younger man in fact grants the authority which defeats him, and this would seem one of those cases where his rhetorical use does not match his abilities.²¹

- 76 'mind of Zeus' [$\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ νόος]: 8 examples: [1] 8. 143, [2] 14. 160, [3] 14. 252, [4] 15. 242, [5] 15. 461, [6] 16. 103, [7] 16. 688, [8] 17. 176.¹

¹⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3 for his usual rhetorical abilities; also 2/10 n. 11.

¹⁵ Cf. 182/11.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. 18. 94–6, 18. 97–216, 22. 358–60; Richardson (1993) on 22. 359–60, 143; also 8/3 n. 3.

¹⁷ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

¹⁸ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁰ Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

²¹ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ For similar appeals to and expressions of Zeus' primacy, cf. 72.

This expression invokes the determinative power of Zeus, frequently as a persuasive device in speeches: [1] amongst many such features, Nestor brings forward the consideration that men are unable to overturn the mind of Zeus (like Hektor when talking about the reasons for not fighting Aias in [8],² and the poet himself to explain Patroklos' death in [7]). The expression may also be invoked by the poet simply as a very powerful motivating or preventative force: [4] Hektor is so roused, [5] Teukros' shot at Hektor is so prevented, while [6] Aias is forced into retreat by both the νόος and the Trojans—an unusual qualification. Of course, what mortals may do is not what gods may, and in both [2] and [3] the poet invokes the νόος as first Here and then Hypnos try to overcome it: [2] Here's deception will fail, and necessarily so;³ [3] Hypnos refers to his past actions with a firm belief in its dangerous futility, for he only avoided Zeus' consequent wrath by hiding with Nyx.⁴

Furthermore, every one of these cases is immediately followed by a divine action showing Zeus' will at work: [1] he thunders once again to persuade Diomedes; [2] Here goes to the house of Zeus and her own bedchamber to set in train the *Dios apate*; [3] Hypnos recounts how he put Zeus' mind to sleep, before he woke up and really lost his cool; [4] Apollo approaches Hektor and rouses him into the battle; [5] Zeus breaks Teukros' arrow string to prevent further attempts on Hektor;⁵ [6] after Aias' retreat, the poet calls upon the Muses to recount how fire came to the ships. This event will bring both Patroklos into the battle, and the fulfilment of the *Dios boule* much closer; [7] Patroklos' death is similarly engineered within that plan, but Apollo then personally prevents him from capturing Troy; [8] after his reply to Glaukos and an exhortation to his men,⁶ Hektor leaves the battle to put on the armour, and Zeus reflects further on his fate before granting him this last period of victory.

'[he] is [by far] mightier' [πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι]: 27 examples: [1] 1. 169, [2] 1. 186, [3] 1. 281, [4] 1. 581 (*φέρτατος*), [5] 2. 201, [6] 2. 769 (*φέρτατος*), [7] 3. 431, [8] 4. 56, [9] 4. 307, [10] 6. 158, [11] 7. 105, [12] 7. 289 (*φέρτατος*), [13] 8. 144, [14] 8. 211, [15] 10. 557, [16] 15. 165 (~ 15. 181), [17] 16. 722, [18] 16. 780, [19] 17. 105 (*φέρτατον*), [20] 17. 168, [21] 19. 217, [22] {20. 135}, [23] 20. 368, [24] 21. 264, [25] 21. 488, [26] 22. 40, [27] 23. 461.¹

This consideration is generally accurate, and so most frequently employed to support a persuasive statement of opinion, intention or command: [4]

² For other elements in this exchange (17. 140–82), cf. 77/20; 83/5; 108/17; 123a/8; 141/13; 171/9; 191a n. 1; 202/6.

³ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 96/10; 97/7.

⁵ Cf. Appendix B.

⁶ Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

¹ Cf. Danek (1988) 164–5; Latacz (2000) on 1. 186, 86.

Hephaistos advises Here not to quarrel with Zeus, since he is far mightier (as Here acknowledges in [8]); [5] Odysseus does indeed convince not necessarily Thersites himself but everyone else that the latter's intervention is inappropriate;² [6] the poet qualifies his judgement of Aias as μέγ' ἄριστος with due mention of the fact that Akhilleus was by far the best (and his team better than Eumelos', as well); [8] as part of her reply to Zeus' threat about sacking any city of his choice, Here freely admits his power to achieve whatever he will;³ [9] Nestor's instructions are backed up with an assertion that this method of fighting is better;⁴ [10] Glaukos' story of Bellerophon focuses on his expulsion by Proitos on these terms, and adds Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ ἐδάμασσαν (6. 159);⁵ [11] the poet addresses Menelaos to state his certain death had he continued in his determination to face the far stronger Hektor; [12] in his suggestion that they leave the duel where it is, Hektor flatters Aias with this statement of his martial superiority over the other Greeks;⁶ [13] Nestor informs Diomedes of Zeus' superiority; [14] Poseidon reflects on Zeus' power as a means of refusing Here's suggestion; [15] Odysseus denies Nestor's contention that the horses are the gifts of the gods by asserting that they could easily get their hands on horses far finer than this. Odysseus' reaction reflects the fact that Nestor's alternatives at 10. 545–7 and 551–3 might suggest a failure on his part to complete the mission the old man had proposed;⁷ [16] Zeus calls upon Iris to remind Poseidon of his greater power, which eventually persuades him;⁸ [17] exhorting Hektor to return to the fight, Apollo in disguise (Asios) inverts the usual expression so as to shame Hektor into battle. That he is actually correct in the evaluation is extremely ironic, but Hektor is convinced;⁹ [19] in justifying his retreat, Menelaos opts for the 'best of evils' (to go for help) to persuade himself; [20] Glaukos rebukes Hektor for refusing to face Aias directly. Though he replies disbelievingly, Hektor is roused to the battle;¹⁰ [21] much like Epeios in the Funeral Games,¹¹ Odysseus grants Akhilleus' undoubted martial superiority as a means to gain the rhetorical supremacy for himself. Though Akhilleus may wish for the fight immediately (and does not even reply to this speech), the older man's arguments are invincible;¹² [22] Poseidon puts his hesitation to open the fighting down to the consideration that their side is the

² Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 48/1.

⁴ Cf. 50/2 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

⁶ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

⁷ For other elements in this scene (10. 540–65), cf. 148/20; 212/19. Nestor is not at his conciliatory best during *K*; cf. Appendix A (7). One might also consider that Odysseus is particularly concerned in this episode with observing the measure of praise and blame, as he earlier made clear when enjoining Diomedes μήτ' ἄρ' με μάλ' αὔεε μήτ' ἐπὶ νείκει (10. 249).

⁸ For other elements in this scene (15. 157–219), cf. 54/22; 78/30; 79/5; 93/7; 80/3; 108/13; 111/5; 169/24; 180/6; 181/4; 182/17; Appendix A (12).

⁹ Cf. 213/9; also 51/5 n. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. 76/8 n. 2.

¹¹ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

¹² Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

stronger and should not start the confrontation;¹³ [23] Hektor makes the point that taunts, but not deeds, can be directed against the gods, since they are far mightier. He is not blaspheming, simply pointing out that the fierceness of Akhilleus' words have no necessary link with his actions; [25] in much the same terms as Agamemnon in [2] (cf. below), Here thoroughly rebukes Artemis for daring to face her. Again there is no persuasive purpose, but she exemplifies that superiority in a most embarrassing way for the younger deity.¹⁴

This certainty suits well those occasions where the poet uses the expression in his own voice: [18] claiming Kebriones' body *ὑπὲρ αἶσαν* (16. 780) is truly 'the ultimate accolade for Patroklos and the Greeks',¹⁵ for it suggests that the delay in the fulfilment of that plan here is due to an inherent Greek superiority;¹⁶ [24] for all his speed, Akhilleus is unable to outrun the river because of gods' general superiority to mortals.¹⁷

Sometimes the statement does not eventuate or is not followed by the interlocutor: [1] Akhilleus does not actually go home, of course, but his rage is yet to be deflected by Athene with promises of recompense (1. 206–18); [2] in direct response to the last example, Agamemnon packs his speech with expressions of his certainty and authority, and its judgement of his own superiority is then confirmed by Nestor's following speech (cf. next example). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to say that Agamemnon was trying to persuade Akhilleus rather than simply imposing his view;¹⁸ [3] attempting to reconcile the two men in a speech already marked as correct,¹⁹ Nestor contrasts Akhilleus' physical strength (*καρπερός* 1. 280) with Agamemnon's superiority (*φέρτερος*) because of his *λαός* (281); [7] Helen's rebuke of Paris relies on the disjunction between his previous claim to be better than Menelaos and the outcome of the recent combat; [26] Priam begs Hektor not to fight Akhilleus, because he is far stronger—another sign of the error into which Hektor has been drawn;²⁰ [27] Idomeneus is trying to persuade the other Greeks that his evaluation of the race's progress is correct, and his description of Eumelos' horses as previously *φέρτεραι* but now nowhere to be seen is picked up, ironically and incorrectly, by Aias *minor* in his following insult. In effect, he is responding to the referentiality of the description; i.e. if those horses were superior then, then they should still be now, as he expressly

¹³ Cf. 9/38 n. 16. ¹⁴ Cf. 7/6 n. 7. ¹⁵ Janko (1992) ad loc., 410.

¹⁶ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 and n. 3. ¹⁷ Cf. 23/7 nn. 6, 7.

¹⁸ Cf. 198/1, 2 (note there how, just as with the current unit, Agamemnon also uses another element from Akhilleus' speech); also 9/1; 7/1.

¹⁹ Cf. B/2. For other elements in this speech (1. 247–84), cf. 108/1; 115/1; 140 n. 1.

²⁰ For other elements in this scene (22. 37–78), cf. 171/11; 176/17, 18; 213/11.

states (23. 480–1).²¹ These examples thus draw upon a connotation of conviction and success in order to underline the importance of these episodes in the poem, and the nature of the unpersuaded character's mistake.

- 78 'to [him] then [he] replied' [τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα]: 48 examples: [1] 1. 121, [2] 1. 172, [3] 1. 413, [4] 1. 544, [5] 1. 551, [6] 3. 199, [7] 4. 50, [8] 4. 317, [9] 5. 375, [10] 5. 381, [11] 5. 825, [12] 6. 263, [13] 6. 359, [14] 8. 145, [15] 8. 151, [16] 9. 162, [17] 10. 60, [18] 10. 86, [19] 10. 102, [20] 10. 128, [21] 10. 143, [22] 10. 390, [23] 10. 426, [24] 11. 655, [25] 13. 231, [26] 14. 52, [27] 14. 103, [28] 14. 193, [29] 15. 92, [30] 15. 200, [31] 15. 471, [32] 16. 439, [33] 17. 715, [34] 18. 127, [35] 18. 181, [36] 18. 360, [37] 18. 393, [38] 18. 428, [39] 18. 462, [40] 19. 28, [41] 20. 132, [42] 20. 309, [43] 24. 89, [44] 24. 372, [45] 24. 386, [46] 24. 405, [47] 24. 552, [48] 24. 659.¹

This response formula connotes the emotional perturbation of a respondent resulting from the remembrance of a past injury or action which impinges upon a current intention or activity. The recollection need not actually be expressed by the responding speaker, for it can also be introduced by the prior speaker, nor must it necessarily be something of great antiquity. Indeed, the speaker may actually react to something just said as the source of his perturbation.

Thus the introduction frequently appears several times in the same exchange: [18] Agamemnon identifies himself and pleads the difficulty of his situation for his journey; [19] Nestor then replies and disagrees with his evaluation of their situation and goes on to reprove Menelaos for his absence in such a critical period; [20] after Agamemnon has pointed out that Menelaos has in fact also gone on the same mission, Nestor recants his condemnation.² This exchange casts an interesting light on [17], where Menelaos asks a further, needless, question (10. 61–3) after being given clear instructions by

²¹ Could this be a depiction of a boorish and difficult audience member? Certainly the possibility is worth raising, as the Homeric tradition is very self-aware of its conventions and often uses such internal descriptions to reflect on its own narrative status. In any case, it would help to explain why Aias *minor* reacts as he does, and is perhaps proleptic of Akhilleus' similar response to Eumelos' failure (23. 536–8); cf. further 9/44 n. 29.

¹ Cf. Edwards (1969); Janko (1981); Riggsby (1992); Olson (1994); Machacek (1994); Latacz (2000) on 1. 121; D. Beck (2006) 33–41; also 148 n. 1. It is usually held that the expression is a semantic as well as metrical equivalent for τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169. I argue that τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν is used when the speaker will or wishes to align him- or herself in a co-operative relationship with the interlocutor, which thus replaces metrical economy with semantic significance. The difference between τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα and τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν is very clear in those exchanges where the poet uses both; cf. Appendix A for full discussion of these situations, including 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 17–20, 22, 23, 26–8, 30, 34, 35, 44–6, 48.

² Cf. 9/25 n. 26.

his brother.³ That he sometimes shows a lack of initiative (the subject of Nestor's reproof) is admitted—though distinguished in this case—by Agamemnon (10. 120–3). One feels that Menelaos cannot be unaware of the ambiguities and duties inherent in his position (cf. esp. 3. 97–100; 23. 607–8), and the poet chooses to show the audience this awareness here at the beginning of *K*. In all of these speeches, the respondent has cause to fault an action or opinion of various types, whether his own or that of his interlocutor. Another sequence of these introductions comes from [44]–[46]:⁴ Priam's initial reply [44] to Hermes' question about his origin and purpose (24. 360–71) ignores that question entirely, and is obviously grounded in his fear at being met in the middle of the night (generally an unusual or suspicious time to travel, as Hermes points out),⁵ a desire to establish a safe relationship with his interlocutor, and to reconcile that with the previous intimations of support from Zeus. When Hermes asks for the same information a second time (378–85), and adds the reference to Hektor's death, Priam repeats his request in [45] with greater perturbation now that Hektor has been brought into the discussion; after Hermes replies (389–404) with the requisite information about his identity, Priam presses further about Hektor's corpse [46]. In each exchange, the awareness of his mission and its dangers combine to underline Priam's emotional involvement (cf. also [47]⁶ and [48]).

There is no guarantee that a reply so introduced will disagree with some element within the previous speech, although that is a common eventuality (as in [1], [2], [4], [5], [7], etc.). Instead, what is important is that the issue at hand should be of such a sort as to give rise to the character's emotional perturbation: [3] Thetis' reminder of her pains at giving birth to a mortal doomed to a quick death is a constant element in her involvement in the poem, and she brings up her woes whenever she is required to acquiesce or participate in the furtherance of her son's desire for revenge (as in [34],⁷ [38], [40], [43]). Here is another character similarly favoured with this introduction, though for her the important element is the need that her honour be satisfied by the fulfilment of her anger against Troy in a variety of specific forms and circumstances (as in [5], [7], [29], [32],⁸ [36], [42]); [4] Zeus, seeing yet another example of Here's quarrelsomeness, tries to forestall her interfering questions. Their quarrel is one of long standing;⁹ [6] Helen simply replies by identifying Odysseus for Priam, but she is in an intensely difficult situation which the Trojan elders (and she herself) feel redounds not

³ Cf. Appendix A (6); also Willcock (2002). For other elements in this scene (10. 25–72), cf. 75/10; 117/8; 120/5; 148/17; 169/14; 177/8; 191/3; also 9/25 n. 26; 114 n. 8. For Menelaos' wounding in Δ , cf. 16/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Appendix A (18); also 45/10 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. 45/10.

⁶ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

⁷ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

⁸ Cf. 54/23 n. 12.

⁹ Cf. Appendix B.

to her credit (cf. esp. 3. 172–5, 159–60);¹⁰ [8] in response to one of a series of partially flattering, partially denigrating references to his age, Nestor agrees with Agamemnon's preceding *impossible wish* that the old man had the strength his determination deserved. The tension between his past repute and current inabilities is a constant throughout the poem, as his reputation justifies his status as counsellor, but this speech introduction allows the poet to indicate Nestor's own awareness of his physical shortcomings quite clearly;¹¹ [10] in reply to Aphrodite's complaints of her injury (and aside from concern for her child), Dione relates the troubling tale of Herakles' violence towards the immortals. The lesson she draws is that mortals should not do that kind of thing, of course, but the tension between the rewards of Herakles and the non-specific nature of the threat to Diomedes makes the possibility that he will not be punished a real one;¹² [11] Athene's perturbation is only fully revealed as she details her complaint against Ares, who was of course the reason why Diomedes had retreated (5. 824). Her anger at Ares is conditioned, she tells her favourite, by his bad faith (832–3); [12] bloodied from battle, Hektor refuses for that reason to drink or libate, but his mission in Troy is testament to his and his army's failure on the field, and his anger at Paris in this regard is palpable (cf. esp. 6. 280–5); [13] Hektor's troubles are too obvious to require stating, but Helen's prior speech had focused specifically on her presence in Troy, and the shortcomings of her husband. This is, indeed, the crux of the problem, but Hektor has no choice in the matter, as his reply makes clear;¹³ [14] though he agrees with the logic of Nestor's advice, Diomedes finds the idea of being taunted by Hektor simply too much to take; [16] in response to Nestor's own suggestion of gifts and Agamemnon's lengthy reply, the old man approves the list and proceeds to choose the ambassadors. The speech introduction connotes Nestor's unease over Agamemnon's tone (9. 160–1), for the gifts themselves are as he says *οὐκέτ' ὀνοστά* (164). The real problem will be that the choice of speaker will be crucial for the embassy's success. His following speech is an exercise in diplomacy, and his favouring of Odysseus is almost unavoidable given the rhetorical skill required of the chief speaker conveying Agamemnon's offer;¹⁴ [21] Nestor asks Odysseus not to be angry at being woken up or approached at this time of night (cf. 10. 141–2),¹⁵ given the great difficulties facing the army; [22] Dolon blames Hektor's offer of gifts for his acceptance of the mission, and his awareness that this could prove a disastrous action on his own part is still underlined in his answer to Odysseus' questioning [23];¹⁶

¹⁰ Cf. 87/1 and n. 7.

¹¹ Cf. 50/2 n. 2.

¹² Cf. 33 n. 8; also 86/3.

¹³ Cf. 9/18 n. 23.

¹⁴ Cf. 77/15 n. 7; also B/7 and n. 2; also 182/10.

¹⁵ Cf. 191/4.

¹⁶ Cf. Appendix A (8); also 15/3 n. 4.

[24] on receiving the news from Patroklos that he had been sent by Akhilleus to check on Makhaon, Nestor's speech ruefully and ironically queries his concern for the Greeks, before embarking on a long series of reports and reminiscences; [25] whilst focusing on Idomeneus' mention of slackers (13. 229–30), the passionate retort of Poseidon (in the guise of Thoas) has much to do with Idomeneus' mention of Zeus' will (226–7), and is another hint at the trouble on Olympos between the brothers;¹⁷ [26] Nestor acknowledges the failure of the wall whose construction he had suggested in *H*, but he has no firm plan to offer. Furthermore, Agamemnon's opening speech seemed to suggest that Nestor may be one of those hanging back from the battle out of anger with him (cf. 14. 43, 49–51); [27] after Odysseus' denunciation of his folly, Agamemnon's response unsurprisingly is marked by a certain sheepishness, and he issues a weak tender for more counsel; [28] in response to Here's polite question about the levels and source of the hostility between them (cf. esp. 14. 191–2), Aphrodite's cautious friendliness is still offered in a spirit of dissatisfaction;¹⁸ [30] given her association with Zeus, Iris' knowledge that Poseidon's attitude betokens open confrontation among the gods is tinged with more than simple realization;¹⁹ [31] Aias replies to his brother's suggestion of daimonic interference in breaking his bow, whose use he had earlier suggested (15. 440–1), with another exhortation simply to rejoin the battle in armour;²⁰ [33] Aias has just heard Menelaos' pessimistic evaluation of the chances of Akhilleus' intervention given his lack of armour, an intervention which Aias himself had earlier sent Menelaos to engineer (17. 640–2; 652–5).²¹ Furthermore, Menelaos had just repeated Aias' earlier determination to get Patroklos' body out of battle (compare 713–14 with 635–6), reminding him of the source of his understandable perturbation; [35] more aware than most of divine duplicity in these situations,²² Akhilleus does not trust Iris' instructions to save Patroklos (over which he is already distressed), for his mother had explicitly told him not to rejoin the fighting until she returned (18. 134–7). So he seeks to find Iris' source;²³ [37] Hephaistos reminds himself of his debt to Thetis (whilst her reply [38] focuses initially on her unfortunate marriage), and the consequent necessity of acceding to her request. A painful reminder in itself, the nature of this debt leads him to feel great sympathy with Thetis' pain at the coming death of her son, and to assure her of his readiness to help [39];²⁴ [41] in reply to Here's suggestion that they

¹⁷ Cf. 17/9 n. 13; 77/16 n. 8; also 2/11 n. 12.

¹⁸ For other elements in this scene (14. 187–225), cf. 101/9; 117/21; 142/13; 146 (on 14. 196); 169/22; C/4; also Appendix A (10).

¹⁹ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

²⁰ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

²¹ For the other elements in this scene (17. 707–21), cf. 141/14; 210 n. 1; 212/32.

²² Cf. e.g. 5. 563–4, or Apollo's encouragement of Aineias in *Y*, which requires Poseidon's intervention to save the Trojan.

²³ Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

²⁴ Cf. 16/5 n. 6.

intervene in the battle now, Poseidon is reluctant to begin the fight because of their greater age and power (cf. 21. 439–40).²⁵ Some restraint in the situation seems to be assumed to be desirable, because to fight *needlessly* over mortals is elsewhere depicted in negative terms.²⁶ Akhilleus should be left to fight it out with any mortal foe, and they will intervene only if another god opposes him, which is of course what happens.

Thus the source of the speaker's perturbation may be implicit or explicit, of several types, and evinced in several different ways, but the introduction verse colours the audience's appreciation of that character's motivation or emotional state as he speaks.

- 79 'yes all this | you say according to *moira*' [ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε | κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες]: 8 examples: [1] 1. 286 (287), [2] 8. 146 (147), [3] 9. 59 (60) (κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες), [4] 10. 169 (172), [5] 15. 206 (208) (κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες), [6] 18. 128 (130) (ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε), [7] 23. 626 (646), [8] 24. 379 (380).¹

These expressions introduce a speech of reluctant agreement or qualification because the speaker feels that his status and the issues arising from it are not properly appreciated by his interlocutor. In [4], [6]–[8] the qualification is not immediately provided and the intervening verses are a more detailed agreement with the preceding statement. The most extreme example is, unsurprisingly, spoken by Nestor in the Funeral Games [7] when, after receiving a prize from Akhilleus along with some suitable words about his old age, he agrees at length and recounts a story of his own youthful exploits at an earlier set of games, before instructing Akhilleus to get on with the ceremonies at 23. 646 (cf. below).²

The term 'qualification' may seem inappropriate, particularly where there is little or no obvious quarrel or disagreement between the speakers. In all these cases, however, the presence of the qualification reveals a subtle variance of perspective: [1] Agamemnon agrees with the general tenor of Nestor's speech, but such an equilibrium is impossible for him when dealing with Akhilleus; [2] Diomedes agrees that Zeus is the ultimate arbiter, but still he is reluctant to act on that; [3] Nestor quietly suggests that Diomedes' speech is not as good as his own coming offering, because of the disparity in their age; [4] Nestor takes

²⁵ Cf. 9/38 n. 16.

²⁶ Cf. 186/4; also 9/38 n. 16; 99/21 n. 11. For other such circumstances, cf. Edwards (1991) on 20. 133–43, 306; also Athene's words to Odysseus on the subject (*Od.* 13. 341–2; also 6. 329–31). Poseidon's position is that confrontation over mortals should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

¹ The number in brackets is the verse in which the qualification is introduced; cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 286, 112; also Dickson (1995) 128–31.

² Cf. 50/6 n. 4; also 50/2 n. 2.

the opportunity to agree with Diomedes' weary question about whether there are not sufficient younger men, but feels that needs must when the devil vomits in your kettle. Important situations require the participation of important people, no matter how old—a theme of which Nestor has shown himself keenly aware³—though he then uses the younger man's statement to humorous effect;⁴ [5] Poseidon compliments Iris on her tact, signalling once again however that he is not happy with Zeus' high-handed behaviour;⁵ [6] Thetis has no choice but to acknowledge Akhilleus' rejoining of battle, before demanding that he wait until she provide him with new armour to replace his old suit; [7] Nestor responds to a perceived implication of feebleness by remembering to Akhilleus his youthful exploits. Nestor in fact justifies his present worth by reference to his past exploits, and the only current evidence of this central heroic quality is derived from speeches of this sort; [8] Hermes and Priam have undertaken a dialogic contest, in which each speaker tries to assert his right to gain information from the other,⁶ but in the example itself, Hermes simply acknowledges Priam's compliments and essentially repeats his question.

The substance of these qualifications is always played out during the coming narrative, but the speaker (or the action itself) will usually return to a position of agreement with his interlocutor. The qualification introduced by Agamemnon [1] is that Akhilleus does not wish to subject himself to any authority at all (1. 286–91). Akhilleus' angry reply likewise focuses upon that issue (292–303), which is a long-standing source of conflict between them, and which then dominates the rest of the poem. Agamemnon does, however, soon acknowledge that he was in error (2. 377–8; also 9. 116); [2] the focus on Diomedes' status is of the utmost importance for the rest of *Θ* for, once he leaves the forefront, others have to cope with the same issues he has so far failed to understand. He does, nonetheless, eventually retreat; [3] the nature of the advice required by the Greek army in these circumstances is the issue at stake, and though Diomedes' fiery speech has reasserted the army's confidence, yet there is need of the practical counsel to be offered by Nestor. Unfortunately, he turns out to have been wrong, and it is left to the younger man to close the *boule* in a more appropriate fashion (9. 697–703); [4] Nestor turns the tables on Diomedes by using the younger man's ironic solicitousness for his age; [5] Poseidon does indeed acquiesce in Iris' understanding of Olympian power relationships. In the same way, the fact (pointed out by Thetis) that the Trojans possess Akhilleus' armour [6] dominates the action of *Σ* as the *Leichenkampf* reaches its climax without him (18. 148–64), then he

³ Cf. 50/2 n. 2; also 7 below.

⁴ For the other elements in this scene (10. 156–79), cf. 49/18; 117/10; 169/16; 171/7; 177/10; 199/4; 205/9.

⁵ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

appears on the trench to rescue his friend from afar (165–238), the Trojan reaction to it in their assembly (243–313), and so on, all the way until the fashioning of the armour from 368. Thetis is in fact in the unenviable position of being the only one who can hasten her son's death; [7] Nestor has to admit his feebleness and, though his injunction to Akhilleus to resume the games is then carried out, he plays no further part in the contest;⁷ [8] Hermes ends up acting the subordinate role to Priam's older man routine, giving both information and assistance.

- 80 'but this dread grief on the heart and soul comes' [ἀλλὰ τὸδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει]: 4 examples (1): [1] 2. 171 (ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει), [2] 8. 147 (79/2), [3] 15. 208 (79/5), [4] 16. 52, [5] *Od.* 18. 274.¹

This expression is employed by a respondent when, though he will end up complying with the request or command contained within the prior speech, he wishes to register his reluctance to do so. The situation itself causes the character real perturbation because it demands a retreat from a centrally important opinion or course of behaviour: [2] Diomedes expresses his inhibitions at the idea of being taunted by Hektor. As Akhilleus' double in the first part of the poem, his reputation has been his greatest concern since his abuse by Agamemnon during the *Epipoleis*;² [3] Poseidon acknowledges the necessity of bowing to Zeus' will, but his reluctance to do so is obvious and linked both to his status under the original *dasmos* and his determination that Troy should be sacked;³ [4] though he is about to grant Patroklos' request, Akhilleus nonetheless refuses to participate in the battle personally because of his anger against Agamemnon. His concession here is a climb-down;⁴ [5] Penelope complains of the suitors' awful behaviour, just as she has expressed the inevitability of marrying one of them. She does indeed believe that she will have to do so (cf. 19. 571–81), and so fully intends to comply with her husband's injunctions preceding this exclamation in σ, but in this particular instance she is more concerned to fleece the suitors for more gifts. Of course, as in the last example, the character need not be correct about what is going to happen.

⁷ Cf. 50/6 n. 4.

¹ Cf. Lowenstam (1993) 74–5; Cook (2003); Latacz (2003) on 2. 171, 59. One might also add 19. 307 and 23. 47. In 19. 307 Akhilleus asks that the Greek leaders not suggest that he take sustenance, ἐπεὶ μὲν ἄχος αἰνὸν ἰκάνει, and he will wait until the setting of the sun; Zeus then has to urge Athene to provide him with divine food. In other words, Akhilleus is made to concede the position before he had intended. Similarly, in 23. 46–7 Akhilleus again refuses to bathe until Patroklos is properly buried, since οὐ μὲν ἔτι δεύτερον ὦδε | ἔξειτ' ἄχος κραδίην while he lives. He will once again bathe and complete his return to society, but not yet. In both these cases, Akhilleus is able to postpone compliance in a way possible for no other individual; cf. 1 n. 3.

² Cf. 86 n. 2; also 11a/1 n. 3.

³ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 83/4; also 9/30 n. 13.

The only example not contained in direct speech is [1], where Athene found Odysseus standing, οὐδ' ὃ γε νηὸς ἐυσσέλμοιο μελαίνης | ἄπτετ', ἐπεὶ μιν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵκανε (2. 170–1). My analysis would suggest that Odysseus—with great reluctance—is about to accept the course the Greek army has undertaken, despite his knowledge of the test.⁵ In other words, ἄχος prevents him from joining in the action of grabbing his ship and participating in the retreat. The poet seems to be suggesting here that there was a *very real* threat that the expedition would fail at this point, for one would expect the character feeling this ἄχος reluctantly to comply, and for this compliance to be particularly painful for him. However, just as in [5], the intervention of another figure renders that unpleasant eventuality unnecessary—in this case Athene, in that Odysseus.

Putative third-person speeches: 9 examples: [1] 4. 176–82, [2] 6. 459–63, [3] 6. 479–81, [4] 7. 87–91, [5] 7. 300–3, [6] 8. 148–50, [7] 12. 317–21, [8] 22. 106–10, [9] 23. 575–8.¹ 81

Quotation of these third-person speeches expresses the character's inner-most wishes or fears at emotionally charged moments, focusing upon the imagined statement's ramifications for the (actual) speaker's reputation. This is, again, deeply important for Diomedes in Θ, particularly evident in [6] in that this is the only such quotation in which the speaker names the character whose statement will be a matter of concern, though one might contend that Poulydamas (named at 22. 100) is the imagined speaker in [8]. It has been noted that Hektor is the character who makes most common use of this figure, with five examples ([2]–[5], [8]),² whilst no other character is given any more than one: Agamemnon [1], Diomedes [6], Sarpedon [7], Menelaos [9]. Though these imagined statements are particularly appropriate in the context of a battle in progress, during which period Hektor is generally the most prominent Trojan, his character is particularly associated with the concern for reputation represented by this unit.³

The poet need not have any explicit evaluation of the speech, though he does in [1]–[4], [6], [8], for the ramifications of the statement as generalized motivation are clear. The imagined speaker may be a friend or an enemy, the

⁵ Cf. esp. Cook (2003) for a survey of past opinion on this episode; *contra* Latacz (2003) on 2. 171, 59 also 6/1 n. 2.

¹ de Jong (1987a) 177–8; (2001) on *Od.* 6. 275–85, 166–7. One might also compare the speech which Akhilleus imagines from the Myrmidons (16. 202–7), and Akhilleus' statement imagined by Hektor as he vaunts over Patroklos (16. 838–42), though both of these are expressed as something which happened in the past.

² Cf. Martin (1989) 136–8; Mackie (1996) ch. 3.

³ Cf. 58 n. 1; also 4/1 n. 2.

speech may concern the hero himself or a member of his family, and the statement may reflect well or poorly on the hero, but the moments at which these considerations emerge are all deeply emotional, where the speaker faces a loss of life and / or honour: [1] is spoken by Agamemnon when he fears that Menelaos will die;⁴ [2], [3] by Hektor to members of his family as he leaves the city for what may be the last time;⁵ [4], [5] once again by Hektor in the situation of the duel with Aias;⁶ [7] by Sarpedon to Glaukos as they move in to the fight at the wall, which will be Sarpedon's greatest moment in the poem, and during his justly famous discourse on heroism;⁷ [8] by Hektor before he faces Akhilleus⁸ and [9] by Menelaos in the Funeral Games as his honour seems to have been usurped by Antilokhos.⁹

- 82 'may the earth | gape' [γαῖα | χάνοι]: 4 examples: [1] 4. 182 (χθών) (81/1), [2] 6. 281–2, [3] 8. 150 (81/6), [4] 17. 416–17.¹

This wish is ordinarily applied to the speaker himself (except [2]) as an exhortation to avoid a dispreferred outcome. Furthermore, the character is expected to act in order to prevent or counteract that outcome (except [2]), which then fails to eventuate (except [3]): [1] Agamemnon says he would be unable to face the shame of leaving his brother dead in Troy because of the (Trojan) abuse he would suffer.² The Trojans do not abuse Agamemnon for Menelaos' death, and Agamemnon summons Talthibios to tend to his brother; [4] the Greeks aver that they would rather die than give up Patroklos to the Trojans, and they act with eventual success to prevent it; [2] is unusual in that Hektor applies the wish to Paris, and the dispreferred outcome is left implicit. This is a powerful indication of Trojan hostility to Paris, given that the other examples contrast Greek with Trojan on grounds of explicit enmity. Paris continues to live and cause Troy's difficulties after Hektor's death. Hektor cannot, of course, kill his brother (though cf. 6. 284–5) and so avoid the implied ramifications;³ [3] is also partially exceptional for, although Diomedes would rather die than retreat and be abused by Hektor for it, the dispreferred outcome does in fact take place: Hektor abuses him in something like the terms envisaged (8. 160–6), though not strictly *ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων* (8. 148) because his taunt is directed specifically at Diomedes (one could nonetheless consider the implications of his speech at the end of *Θ* as well; cf. esp. 535–6). This may be a trifle specious, however, and the exception would underline the absolute necessity of retreat as well as Diomedes' natural

⁴ Cf. 16/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

⁷ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. also 199/7.

⁹ Cf. 9/45 n. 20.

¹ Cf. Higbie (1990) 116–17; Edwards (1991) on 17. 415–17, 103. One might also consider 6. 464 (*γαῖα καλύπτει*), where Hektor wishes for his own death sooner than witness his wife's rape.

² Cf. 16/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 18/2 n. 3. For the fractious nature of Trojan politics, cf. also 18/7 n. 9; 42/3 n. 5; also 210/3 n. 4.

inclination not to. In other words, the dispreferred outcome does happen because the character is persuaded not to prevent it.

‘what sort of thing you have said!’ [οἶον ἔειπες]: 6 examples: [1] 7. 455, [2] 8. 152, [3] 14. 95, [4] 16. 49, [5] 17. 173, [6] 22. 178.¹ 83

The rebuke or rebuttal in the speech focuses on the factual error, undesirability, or unlikelihood of the situation envisaged or proposed by the prior speaker: [1] Zeus refutes Poseidon’s gloomy prognosis about human observance of divine ritual;² [2] Nestor refutes Diomedes’ suggestion that Hektor will be able to get away with such an outrageous claim; [3] Odysseus abuses Agamemnon openly for his disastrous and defeatist plan; [4] Patroklos’ preceding appeal produces an initially outraged reply from Akhilleus, but he (uniquely) ends by agreeing with the idea of sending his *therapon* out into the battle; [5] Glaukos’ prediction of an easy capture of Patroklos’ body should they try earnestly to do so, as well as a slighting reference to Hektor’s refusal to face Aias, provokes Hektor’s outraged response and determination to fight;³ [6] Athene reacts strongly to Zeus’ proposal to save Hektor.⁴

Speeches so introduced—or containing this ejaculation (as in [3], [5])—are either accepted without further ado (as in [1], [2], [4], [5]) or then agreed with explicitly by the first speaker (as in [3], [6]). [4] does not seem at first sight to be a rebuttal, as Akhilleus ends up agreeing with Patroklos’ request (16. 20–46). However, the form in which he does this is revealing.⁵ The speech is introduced by *‘at him greatly angered spoke’* (48),⁶ and begins with the current rebuttal trigger (49), thus informing the audience that the opinions or proposals to be made in this speech will be decisive, and intimating that they will be opposed to the prior request. Then the poet gives the audience an explanation of his reluctance (52–9), before Akhilleus abandons this line of reasoning with *‘but this dread grief on the heart and soul comes’* (60)⁷ and allows Patroklos to enter the battle. In other words, the poet constructs an anticipation that Akhilleus is to refuse the request, but at the same time refuses utterly to preclude it, for the reluctance is only expressed from Akhilleus’ perspective as the reasons why *he* cannot intervene. After he has finished delineating his reasons for not doing so, then he allows Patroklos to depart. As one can see, once again, a superficial variation actually relies upon

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 16. 49–50, 322; also 112 and n. 1 (on ποῖον ἔειπες; at 13. 824). One might also consider a vague reflection of the structure at 2. 194 (ἐν βουλῇ δ’ οὐ πάντες ἀκούσαμεν οἶον ἔειπεν), where Odysseus rebukes the crowd apparently for not being privy to the king’s thoughts. Given the qualified criticism Nestor offered of Agamemnon’s suggestion (78–83), this could be another hint that some of the other leaders found it somewhat bizarre.

² Cf. 3/9 n. 7.

³ Cf. 76/8 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 3/12 n. 13.

⁵ Cf. 9/30 n. 13; also 17/10 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. 111/6.

⁷ Cf. 80/4.

referentiality to generate meaning in its context, and Akhilleus is again the distorting figure.⁸

- 84 ‘[he] turned to flight | the horses’ [φύγαδ’ ἔτραπε | ἵππους]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 157, [2] 8. 257, [3] 8. 432 (πάλιν τρέπε), [4] 16. 657.¹

This expression refers to a retreat carried out after a manifestation of Zeus’ will, and designed to avoid the ramifications of that signal: [1] the second lightning strike of Θ was directed at Diomedes’ chariot; [2] the omen from Zeus and its subsequent Greek counterattack is the immediate pretext for Agelaos’ retreat; [3] Iris’ relayed threat from Zeus to Athene and Here causes them radically to rethink their position. The retreat is usually successful, and that it is not in [2] would therefore signify Diomedes’ extraordinary qualities or Agelaos’ slowness in the situation, but also provide the audience with a *frisson* of seeing someone almost get away. In the other cases, the characters are allowed the time and opportunity to avoid the unpleasantness, something not granted Agelaos in [2], who reacts to the Greek counterattack *following* the signal from Zeus, and not the signal itself; [4] Hektor retreats after Zeus puts him to it, and he obeys because he recognizes the πάλιντα Διός.²

- 85 ‘with divine crash’ [ῥῆχῃ θεσπεσίῃ]: 7 examples: [1] 8. 159, [2] 12. 252, [3] 13. 834, [4] 15. 355, [5] 15. 590, [6] 16. 769, [7] 23. 213.¹

These expressions underline the individuality of the character against the background of whose action the usually ascendant or aggressive crowd is depicted: [1] (= [5]) in response to an individual action on the Greek side (retreat / *androktasia* followed by retreat), the Trojans press home their advantage;² [2] after refusing Poulydamas’ interpretation of the omen,³ Hektor advances and is followed by the army (as again in [3]⁴); [4] after Hektor’s exhortation, the army joins him in attack; [6] the noise is applied to the

⁸ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Trümper (1950) 213–14. 3 is included because φύγαδ’ ἔτραπε is impossible after the feminine participle φωνήσασα (cf. φωνήσας in 157), whilst 16. 657 reads in full ἐς δίφρον δ’ ἀναβὰς φύγαδ’ ἔτραπε, κέκλετο δ’ ἄλλους. 1–3 come from Θ , and so there is always the chance that this expression is being used specifically to link the three examples; cf. Commentary on 8. 157, n. 104. One might also consider Nestor’s exhortation at 8. 139 (φόβονδ’ ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους), though other expressions for chariot retreats at 5. 581 (ὑπέστροφε μώνυχας ἵππους), 13. 396 (ἄψ ἵππους στρέψαι), and 20. 488 (ἄψ ἵππους στρέφαντα) do not match the referential description for this unit. ² Cf. 28/2.

¹ Cf. Ford (1992) 184–9, esp. 187; Nordheider (1989); Kaimio (1977) 30–1, 91–2.

² 8. 158–9 [1] = 15. 589–90 [5]. This may be a case of specific referentiality, but the fact that the ῥῆχῃ θεσπεσίῃ unit is rather common, and that the reference is only two verses, suggests the need for caution. ³ Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

⁴ For the other elements in this scene (13. 809–37), cf. 114/18; 128/5; 176/7; 176a/2; 191a/2; 213/8.

Greeks and Trojans in a simile in the *Leichenkampf* over Kebriones, where attention had been given to the individual actions of Hektor and Patroklos (each holding one end of the corpse) both in the narrative before the simile (and indeed in the entire passage leading up until Kebriones' death [16. 712]) and at its beginning (765). Though the Greeks will eventually claim the body, the unique application of the expression to both sides emphasizes the even nature of the struggle, whilst keeping the contest of Patroklos and Hektor specifically ever in the forefront of the audience's attention;⁵ [7] the winds arise after Iris' request and departure.

'at him greatly [he] cried' [τῶι δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὔσε]: 4 examples: [1] 5. 101, 86
[2] 5. 283, [3] 5. 347, [4] 8. 160.¹

This particular introduction is used after a combat encounter in which the addressed person has in fact been struck, and the speaker's confidence turns out to be mistaken. Diomedes is involved in every case as either speaker or addressee, making it tempting to see this as a sign of the constant underestimation which seems to bedevil Diomedes, and a traditional facet of his character.² On every occasion, the speaker is subsequently shown to be mistaken: [1] Pandaros wounds Diomedes in the shoulder, claiming imminent death for him (as in [2]);³ [3] where the positions are reversed, Diomedes is in fact right to assert Aphrodite's unsuitability for war (cf. Zeus' comments at 5. 426–30), but as Dione goes on to intimate, such activity is not designed to lead to a happy old age. The taunting of gods is hardly to be tolerated, and Diomedes will (or could well) pay for it, though Herakles'

⁵ Cf. 24/25 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1908a) on 5. 101, 49; Schmidt (1978) 1692; also Kaimio (1977) 27–8, 238–9: 'μακρὸν is linked mainly with victorious, self-confident shouts'. One might also compare 3. 81 (αὐτὰρ δ' μακρὸν αὔσεν), where Agamemnon tells the Greeks to hold fire because Hektor, having just seated the Trojans, seems to be about to speak with them. Considering the delusion affecting Hektor's following speech and Menelaos' acceptance of the duel (cf. 4/2, 3), and combining that with the mistaken qualities of other speech acts introduced by μακρὸν αὔσε/αύσας (cf. 96 and n. 8), I would suggest that the poet employs this expression here (unusually) to foreshadow the error underlying the character's motivation in this scene, i.e. that a human determination could have any real bearing on the outcome of the war. Given also the immediate context, in which Paris has leapt out to issue a challenge before disappearing back into the ranks, as well as the fact that such duels would be a natural corollary of halting the battle (as again in *H*), and I think the poet depicts Agamemnon here as both anticipating the combat, and feeling (mistakenly) rather confident about it. Hence his rueful statement at 4. 155–7.

² Andersen (1978) 116–17 traces a line through this episode back to Agamemnon's abuse of Diomedes in *Δ* and forward to his later exertions in *I–Α* and (122 n. 5) notes that the word ἀναλκις is used 7 out of its 15 times in connection with Diomedes. He is frequently compared unfavourably with his father; cf. in general 11a/1 n. 3; 144/1; and his answer 75/13; Alden (2000) 112–52.

³ Cf. 9/14 n. 7 for the earlier scene, 9/15 n. 8 for the later; also Kirk (1990) ad loc., 65.

paradigmatic force would seem to augur well for him;⁴ [4] Hektor's failure to act (or interpret the actions of Zeus) with due caution becomes his dominant character trait in Θ , and indeed for the rest of the poem.

Furthermore, these taunts seem to predict an aggressive response: [1] Diomedes explicitly asks Athene for the power to avenge himself on Pandaros, who simply compounds his error with [2]; [4] Diomedes seriously ponders turning back to face Hektor, and it is only another sign from Zeus which finally persuades him. This connotation would make [3] slightly more sinister, the poet employing referential technique in order to refer outside the poem to his hero's future difficulties in the arena of Aphrodite.⁵

- 87 **Hospitality reminder:** 21 examples: [1] 3. 232–3, [2] 3. 351–4, [3] 4. 257–63, [4] 4. 343–6, [5] 4. 376–7, [6] 6. 173–4, [7] 6. 215–20, [8] 8. 161–3, [9] 8. 186–9, [10] 8. 229–32, [11] 9. 69–73, [12] 9. 225–6, [13] 9. 486–91, [14] 11. 771–9, [15] 12. 310–14, [16] 13. 623–7, [17] 17. 150, [18] 17. 225–6, [19] 17. 248–51, [20] 21. 76–7, [21] 23. 411–13.¹

These reminders call persuasively upon an obligation arising from the relationship between speaker and addressee. The speaker may be the provider or receiver of the hospitality, in which case the obligation is of a fairly direct nature: [3] Agamemnon reminds Idomeneus of the favour he has received as an inducement to fight well,² something he does again in [4] to Odysseus and Menestheus in abusive terms (and perhaps also in [10], where the implication is that the boasts delivered by the Greeks were oiled by his wine);³ [11] Nestor places the hospitality duties firmly on Agamemnon's shoulders, vitally re-establishing the latter's authority as leader of the army after his desperate plea at the start of the assembly; [13] Phoinix uses his commensal relationship with Akhilleus to bolster their relationship and so his authority, but without success (as Lykaon does to similar effect in [20]⁴); [16] Menelaos complains to the Trojans of their temerity in compounding their transgressions of hospitality by continuing to resist; [18] Hektor reminds his allies of the Trojans' commensal expenditure on their behalf so that they protect Troy;⁵ [19] Menelaos reminds the Greeks of their obligations to himself and Agamemnon to exhort them to protect Patroklos' body.⁶

⁴ Cf. 78/10; 33 n. 8; 20/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. also 212/11. The story that Diomedes had to leave Argos in part because of his wife's unfaithfulness is nowhere spelt out in Homer, though the poet could be here referring obliquely to later difficulties; cf. Σ bT ad loc.; Gantz (1993) 699–703; Alden (2000) 151–2.

¹ Cf. van Wees (1992), (1995); Reece (1993).

² For other elements in this scene (4. 251–72), cf. 101/1; 102/4; 107/2; 140/2.

³ Cf. 10/3 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

⁵ Cf. 42/3 and n. 5.

⁶ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

It is also used of a third person, in which case the speaker's strategy is more complex: [1] during the *teikhoskopia*, Helen recalls Idomeneus' visits to Sparta. Presumably this guarantees the identification she gives, though Priam had actually asked only about Telamonian Aias;⁷ [2] in a prayer to Zeus, Menelaos recalls Paris' transgressions so as to persuade Zeus to support him; [5] Agamemnon (again) tells Diomedes of Tydeus' guest status at Mykenai as a means not only of reinforcing their obligations (though he requires an excuse as to why Atreus did not aid him then),⁸ but also to compare him unfavourably;⁹ [7] Diomedes reminds Glaukos of the hospitality between Oineus and Bellerophon which makes them guest-friends, leading him to suggest that they should avoid fighting one another. Glaukos had earlier [6] called upon the hospitality afforded by the king of Lykia to his grandfather Bellerophon to suggest his impressiveness and worthiness to face Diomedes;¹⁰ [8] abusing Diomedes, Hektor contrasts the previous provision from the Greeks with their future dishonouring of him because he has proven himself unworthy of it; [9] Hektor reminds his horse-team of the obligation they are under to him because of the tendance given them by his wife (so too Antilokhos with a trifle more vehemence in [21]);¹¹ [14] Nestor reminds Patroklos of the time they came to Peleus' house and shared hospitality, as part of the process whereby he prevails on the younger man to influence Akhilleus; [15] Sarpedon famously reminds Glaukos of the duties imposed on them by the Lykians' provisions.¹²

Persuasiveness is a common factor, and relatively few addressees deny the force of the reminder. Even in [8], where the audience may question Hektor's perspective, his abusive force is so powerful that Diomedes ponders whether to turn back to fight him. Disagreement may of course accept the obligation but deny that the reminder is required, as Idomeneus in [3], Odysseus in [4] (and Sthenelos in [5], though Diomedes himself is quiet for the moment) and Hektor in [17]. As usual, however, the most extraordinary figure in this regard is Akhilleus, who flatly rejects the efficacy of these reminders at [12], [13], [20]. He sets himself above the other characters even in this regard.¹³

⁷ This is an intriguing example, given the position of Idomeneus as the first individual episode in the *Epipoleis*, where Agamemnon makes reference to their hospitality relationship (3 above). The *Kypria* (arg. 14–16 Bernabé) tells how Paris snatched Helen from Sparta while Menelaos was in Krete. This would of course add tremendous bite to the persuasive appeal of 3, but 1 would then be a hint at the Trojans' responsibility for the current situation and Helen, if conscious of that, would be getting her own back in a situation fraught with social difficulty for her; cf. also 78/6.

⁸ Cf. 94/3.

⁹ Cf. 86 n. 2; also 11a/1 n. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

¹¹ Cf. 100/1, 3.

¹² Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

¹³ Cf. 1 n. 3.

- 88 **Femininity reproach:** 7 examples: [1] 2. 235, [2] 2. 289–90, [3] 7. 96, [4] 7. 235–6, [5] 8. 163, [6] 11. 389, [7] 20. 251–5.¹

The rebuker need not be correct in his estimation of his opponent, but these taunts express a belief in the addressee's utter worthlessness to participate in the current context: [1] Thersites rebukes the Greeks as *Ἀχαιῖδες* for their willingness to pay court to such an unworthy ruler as Agamemnon;² [2] Odysseus so rebukes the army for its foolishness given the clear intimations of divine favour which he proceeds to recount;³ [3] ashamed of the silence greeting Hektor's challenge, Menelaos determines to risk his life in order to avoid the charge of being one of those who sit *ἀκλεῆς αὖτως* (7. 100); [4] Hektor imputes to Aias this opinion of himself, and denies it vociferously before opening the encounter (compare Aineias in [7]);⁴ [5] it is particularly ironic that Diomedes is the object of Hektor's abuse on these terms, given that he had earlier taunted Aphrodite in a similar vein;⁵ [6] though wounded by Paris and about to depart from the field because of it, Diomedes denies (a trifle disingenuously) any heroic credit for the Trojan;⁶ [7] the reproach nominally covers both Aineias (the speaker) and Akhilleus, who deliver relatively lengthy speeches before the combat (20. 177–98, 199–258).⁷ The taunt is hardly persuasive, given Aineias' considerably longer speech, his deep hesitation when encouraged by Apollo before this fight, not to mention his earlier hanging back from battle in *N*.⁸

The implication of femininity is a powerful source of response motivation: [1] Odysseus immediately stands up and beats Thersites down; [2] the army roars appreciatively, with renewed vigour, at Odysseus' speech; [3] Menelaos proceeds to take up Hektor's challenge; [4] Hektor seeks to disprove the charge by making a cast directly after his speech, as Aineias in [7]; [5] Diomedes considers turning around. That Diomedes in [6] can offer no immediate reaction other than retreat renders his taunt rather hollow.

- 89 **'begone!'** [ἔρρε]: 6 examples: [1] 8. 164, [2] 9. 377, [3] 20. 349, [4] 22. 498, [5] 23. 440, [6] 24. 239.¹

These dismissals *in malam crucem* are predicated upon the speaker's belief in his superiority, and the failure of the addressee to measure up to the

¹ Female unsuitability for war or the serious business of life is a recurrent theme in the *Iliad* (cf. e.g. 5. 348–51, 6. 441, 6. 490–3, 21. 483, 22. 125), and so naturally employed as a trope of reproach in martial contexts; cf. L. Collins (1988) 36–9; Latacz (2003) on 2. 235, 77–8; Felson and Slatkin (2004). For similar intimations in contexts of reproach or ambiguity, cf. 123, 123a/2, 7, 8.

² Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 128/1; also 9/8 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. 70/1.

⁶ Cf. 198/6.

⁷ Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

⁸ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

¹ Cf. Führer (1987b); Macleod (1982) on 24. 239, 109; Kirk (1990) on 8. 238–9, 319; also 9/39 nn. 17, 18.

required standard: [2] Akhilleus abrogates Agamemnon's apparent authority to himself throughout this speech, and his usage of the figure here reflects both a faith in the rectitude of his position and a refusal to accept the reality of Agamemnon's power; [3] Akhilleus acknowledges Aineias' rescue by the gods but damns the Trojan's unwillingness to face him in battle (20. 349–50);² [4] Andromakhe predicts the scorn which Astyanax will receive now that his father is dead, as he is banished by the remaining members of the mess;³ [5] Menelaos calls out furiously at Antilokhos, denying that his reputation of cleverness is deserved. The confrontation between them at the end of the race thoroughly explores the issue of Antilokhos' inferior status, the dynamics of reciprocity between two individuals in such a position, and the only avenue towards reconciliation possible in such a society;⁴ [6] Priam rebukes his sons for their worthlessness compared with Hektor.⁵

One may also suspect that the speaker is far from being as justified as he thinks: [1] Hektor's confidence, as again in the assembly at the end of play, is hardly consonant with his chances (even against Diomedes); [2] Akhilleus' complete and continued denial of Agamemnon's authority is the source of his error; [3] Aineias will outlive Akhilleus and go on to rule the Trojans (which Akhilleus had denied earlier), and his reluctance to fight had nonetheless been overcome by Apollo, and then guaranteed as sensible by Poseidon (20. 331–9); [4] Astyanax remained sufficiently important in Troy for him to be singled out after the sack;⁶ [5] though Menelaos may be in the right in this circumstance, Antilokhos shows considerable prudence and understanding in resolving the quarrel and ending up with the prize; [6] Priam's grief has clouded his judgement about the worth of his sons—after all, the Greeks still do not manage to sack the city without using the trick of the horse.

'before' [πάρος/πρίν]: 6 examples: [1] 1. 29, [2] 5. 218, [3] {8. 166}, [4] 90 16. 629, [5] 18. 283, [6] 24. 728.¹

These predictions are employed by a character to deny a previously expressed (future) event: [1] Agamemnon so contrasts the impossibility of returning Khryseis with her fate as a slave in his household; [2] Aineias enjoins Pandaros to stop talking about destroying his bow (at 5. 212–16); πάρος that event, they will attack Diomedes and determine the issue right

² Cf. 11. 362–6 (= 20. 449–53); also 9/39 n. 18.

³ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 9/45 n. 20.

⁵ Cf. also 134/18.

⁶ Cf. *Iliou persis* arg. 20 Bernabé; *Ilias parva* F 21. 3–5 Bernabé.

¹ Cf. van der Mije (2000) 988. (8). I include examples of adverbial πάρος or πρίν with a future indicative, but without a dependent πρίν infinitive clause (for which cf. 193). 2 (=193/6) is included here, however, as it is the only case where an independent πάρος prediction is combined with a 'not before | before' element.

now;² [3] Hektor denies Diomedes' participation in the sacking of Troy whilst Hektor is alive, as *πάρος* he will kill him; [4] Patroklos tells Meriones off for indulging in flyting, for the Trojans will not leave the prize corpse in that way, since *πάρος* that event someone will be killed (i.e. the object will only be achieved by fighting); [5] Poulydamas predicts that Akhilleus will die (*κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔδονται*) before he sacks Troy;³ [6] Andromakhe sets the impossibility of Astyanax's growth next to the prior destruction of the city.⁴

There is a powerful sense of irony to these predictions, given that the character's knowledge of the future is essentially correct, but usually not exactly in the way in which he intends. To increase the irony, the statement concerns the death of the speaker or someone very close to the speaker (as in [2], [6], but also on one level in [1]):⁵ [1] Agamemnon is of course forced to give up Khryseis, but he does take home another girl whose presence in the household is at least part of the motivation for his own destruction;⁶ [2] though aware of Diomedes' power, Aineias can hardly be expecting that they would both be defeated—and one of them killed—in the ensuing encounter (cf. esp. 5. 224–5), and that his horses would be removed; [3] it is indeed true that Diomedes does not participate in the sacking of Troy *εἰζάντος* (*ἔκτορος*). The Trojan is long dead before that happens; [4] Patroklos is indeed right that the battle will claim lives (consider also that he indulges *ὀνειδίους ἐπέεσσιν* [16. 628] at 744–50), but he is not thinking of his own imminent death, after the claiming of another prized corpse (Kebriones); [5] Poulydamas is correct in general—that Akhilleus will be dead before he takes Troy—but the dogs will not eat him;⁷ [6] Andromakhe is (uniquely) completely correct that Troy's destruction will spell the end of Astyanax, but she begins by explaining it as due to Hektor's protective absence. As she soon acknowledges, however, the father's martial brilliance will be the very quality to doom the son, but the killer in early epic is either Odysseus or Neoptolemos,⁸ neither of whom fits the categories (or perhaps even the motivation) of those she imagines as responsible for the deed (father, son, or brother of someone Hektor kills).

² Cf. 193/6; also 9/15 n. 8. Leaf (1900–2) on 5. 218, 209 translates *οὐκ ἔσσειται ἄλλως* 'no change will be made, nothing will be effected', which I take to refer to the future activity of which Pandaros was just speaking.

³ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

⁴ For other elements in her lamentation (24. 723–46), cf. 119/71; 212/43.

⁵ Where Agamemnon speaks of *γῆρας* (and presumably death) coming to the girl; cf. 50/1.

⁶ For Khryseis here as doublet of Cassandra, cf. Latacz (2000) ad loc., 68; Kullmann (1960) 356–7. I should be surprised if Homer did not think of sexual jealousy as one of Klytaimnestra's motives, for she kills Cassandra herself (*Od.* 11. 422), and the wisdom of not bringing another partner into the house is illustrated negatively in Phoinix' story (9. 449–57), and positively in Laertes' relationship with Eurykleia (*Od.* 1. 430–3). Agamemnon does not exhibit the same wisdom as Laertes (cf. esp. 1. 31), even comparing Khryseis favourably to his wife (1. 111–15) in front of the army.

⁷ Cf. 176/15.

⁸ Odysseus: *Iliou persis* arg. 20 Bernabé; Neoptolemos: *Ilias parva* F 21. 3–5 Bernabé.

'he pondered in twain' [*διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν*]: 9 examples: [1] 1. 189 (190–2), [2] 5. 671 (672–3), [3] 8. 167 (168), [4] 10. 503 (504–6), [5] 13. 455 (456–7), [6] 14. 20–1 (*ᾠρμαινε/διχθάδι*) (21–2), [7] 16. 435 (*διχθὰ ὀρμαίνοντι*) (436–8), [8] 16. 646–7 (648–51), [9] 16. 713 (*δίῳ*) (713–14).¹

This expression is employed where a character ponders a range of alternative actions, though in [3] there is no alternative stated (for it is simply understood to be what Diomedes is already doing).² It is not true that 'Gewöhnlich ist es die zweite Möglichkeit, für die der Überlegende sich entscheidet',³ for the first alternative is chosen in [5], [9] (after Apollo intervenes), is in the process of being chosen in [1] before Athene intervenes, and none of the alternatives stated in [4] are taken up.

These patterns are noticeably continuative, carrying through an action which has already been initiated or heavily foreshadowed, and their decisions are always successful (with the exception of [1]; cf. below). Where resolution is achieved by the character's unaided decision, it is denoted by the formula *ὦδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσασα κέρδιον εἶναι* (13. 458 [5], 14. 23 [6], 16. 652 [8]). Divine intervention is involved in [1]–[4], [7], [9], and may take the form of a persuasive speech (as in [1], [4], [7], [9]) or simply direct impulsions (as in [2], [3]).

The essentially continuative nature of the course adopted does not preclude a sense of novelty in the actions so introduced, but no example fundamentally alters the established direction of the narrative: [1] upon being deflected by Athene from his intention to kill Agamemnon, Akhilleus' (eventual) decision continues the angry exchange between them and moves towards the schism at the end of the assembly;⁴ [2] as the poet goes on to state, it was not *μῶρσιμον* for Odysseus to kill Sarpedon (whose death is reserved for *Π*), so the poet returns the narrative to a generally reciprocal series of combats (and combat periods) in which important warriors are not killed, as before the preceding

¹ The citation in brackets denotes the stated alternatives; cf. esp. Arend (1933) 106–15; Fenik (1978*b*); Latacz (2000) on 1. 886–94, 87; de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 4. 117–20, 96; Lawrence (2002). This is the second of Arend's two types of *μερμηρίζειν* scene, the poet also using the verb when the character is debating how to achieve a certain purpose (2. 1–6, 14. 159–65, 24. 680; cf. also 10. 3–20). On the hints given to the audience about the character's likely decision in 1–3, cf. 93/1, 3, 5, and the discussion of 93 more generally.

² Kirk (1990) ad loc., 310–11, is not entirely happy with the deployment of this idiom here, given that *διάνδιχα* (8. 167) should 'logically' be followed by a statement of alternatives. Obviously to compensate for this impression, Σ *A* ad loc. mentions another verse (*ἦ μήτε στρέψαι μήτε ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι*) which is universally and probably rightly condemned, for the current scene is the only example in which the pondering hero is actually engaged upon an activity (cf. 8. 157–8) rather than being on the verge of doing so. In this unusual situation, it is obvious that the second choice is naturally to continue the retreat, and so it is easily omitted; cf. Willcock (1978) ad loc., 264; also Pelliccia (1995) 128, 228 n. 215.

³ Arend (1933) 108 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

duel (5. 519–626); [3] Nestor has already turned the horses before Hektor's taunt (8. 157–8), and Zeus' thundering simply confirms his progress; [4] Athene's persuasion of Diomedes to return to the camp continues the similarly purposed action of Odysseus at 10. 498–502; [5] Deiphobos recruits some extra help to negate the effect which Idomeneus is having on the battle, and the fighting quickly devolves into a series of reciprocal *androktasiai* in the *Leichenkampf* over Alkathoos (13. 496), whose death had motivated the taunt (427–54) which leads Deiphobos to this debate;⁵ [6] Nestor's decision to look for Agamemnon leads into the *boule* and its determinations, which, though they have little practical effect on the battle, serve to prepare for a reactivation from 14. 354 (cf. also 379–84). It continues the Greek renaissance with Poseidon's assistance begun at the start of *N*, which will reach its apogee in the wounding and withdrawal of Hektor achieved in that period of reactivated combat (14. 402–32);⁶ [7] Zeus' momentary debate about saving Sarpedon is a small intrusion into the process of the combat begun at 16. 419 as he noticed Patroklos' victorious progress, and Here's reply confirms the outcome of that combat (439–57);⁷ [8] Zeus' meditation upon the precise moment of Patroklos' death, engineered for much of the poem, delays it only for a few hundred verses; [9] Hektor is impelled by Apollo to that end, after the god has personally rebuffed Patroklos from the walls (16. 705–11), though the decisive combat does not itself begin until after the death of Kebriones.⁸

- 92 'thrice | thrice' [τρίς μὲν | τρίς δέ]: 12 examples: [1] 5. 436–9, [2] 8. 169–71, [3] 11. 462–4, [4] 13. 20 (τρίς μὲν), [5] 16. 702–3, [6] 16. 784–7, [7] 18. 155–8, [8] 18. 228–9, [9] 20. 445–8, [10] 21. 176–9, [11] 22. 165–212 (πὺ τρίς), [12] 23. 817.¹

This pattern denotes repeated actions of significant individuals responding to a dangerous stalemate, usually expressed by pairs of tripled actions, which may both be performed by the same individual (as in [6], [8]–[10]), both by each figure (as in [12]) or the second by another figure (as in [1]–[3], [5], [7]). The poet may also choose not to generate a balancing *τρίς δέ* action (as in [4], [11]), in which case the *τρίς* (μὲν) action may be performed by one

⁵ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

⁶ Cf. 72/7.

⁷ Cf. 54/23 n. 12.

⁸ Cf. 51/5 n. 3; also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) esp. 46–8; Janko (1992) on 16. 702–3, 400; Bannert (1988) 43–57 constructs a 'Geschehenslinie' around this structure, connecting Diomedes, Patroklos, and Akhilleus. There are far too many examples which have nothing to do with these figures to support his argument, and he neglects entirely the notion of typicality, though there is an explicit and deliberate case of specific referentiality between those three heroes in 1, 5, 6, 9. The number three is used outside this pattern (6. 435, 23. 13, 24. 16, 24. 273), but these are insufficiently descriptive of the stalemate situation to be included here.

character [4] or both [11] (very similar to [12]). The resolving action may be the work of one of the characters involved in the tripled action(s) (as in [1], [4], [6], [9]–[12]) or by someone else (as in [2], [3], [5], [7], [8]). There is no link between this fact and the choice of resolution, of which there are two types.

The first is the '*fourth attempt*', which itself occurs in two forms: (a) the poet constructs another attempt with ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον (5. 438 [1] = 16. 705 [5] = 16. 786 [6] = 20. 447 [9]; 22. 208 [11]) after which a further action represents closure. The first four of these examples concern Apollo's confrontations with Greek heroes (Diomedes [1],² Patroklos [5], [6], and Akhilleus [9]), where the fourth action is another attack after which the god either addresses the hero or kills him, except in [9] where Akhilleus is the subject of both tripled actions, and the fourth attack is only followed by his own speech in which he recognizes his inability to kill Hektor whilst he is under the god's protection, and so goes after the other Trojans. Again he is the exceptional figure (cf. further below);³ (b) the resolution may also be the fourth action itself with τὸ δὲ τέταρτον (13. 20 [4], 21. 177 [10]). In both categories, the resolving figure is generally a deity—Apollo in [1], [5], [6], Poseidon in [4], and Zeus in [11]. [9] and [10] seem initially an exception, but the figure is the rule-provingly exceptional Akhilleus: [9] he determines on his own not to continue his attack after the fourth attempt, himself making a decision for which other heroes require an explicit divine warning (as in [1], [5]).⁴ His level of understanding in this regard has already been shown to be exceptional in [7] and [8] (cf. below), and the poet explicitly contrasts him with both Patroklos and Diomedes. This is why his speech and decision replaces an active role for Apollo in this episode, who is reduced for the time being to a passive and mute figure; [10] the tripled action with which Asteropaios is concerned here is the struggle over the famous ash spear, which only Akhilleus can wield and which was both made and given to Peleus by Kheiron (16. 140–4; 19. 387–91),⁵ and this combat (encouraged by Skamandros) will be the spur for the river to attack Akhilleus. In other words, in both these cases, there is already a strong contextual element of the preternatural to Akhilleus' behaviour, which is confirmed by his position within the '*fourth attempt*' resolution.

² Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 1 n. 3. It is also noteworthy, if unsurprising, that he is involved in far more of these moments than any other character (in 7–11), no other mortal having more than two (Diomedes in 1, 2, Patroklos in 5, 6) and, of the gods, only Apollo more than that (in 1, 5, 6, 9—though cf. above).

⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁵ For the divine role in the prehistory of this famous weapon, cf. *Kypria* F 3 Bernabé; Janko (1992) on 16. 141–4, 335–6; Edwards (1991) on 19. 387–91, 279–80.

The second type of resolution lacks a fourth action (as in [2], [3], [7], [8], [12]), and mortals tend to predominate in the process in general, but particularly in solving the problem: [3] Menelaos hears Odysseus' call for aid, and his arrival with Aias ends the danger to Odysseus; [8] though enabled to do so by Akhilleus' cry (*τῷ μὲν*) and the Trojans' subsequent confusion (*τῷ δέ*), the Greeks drag the body out, and [12] stop the fight between Diomedes and Aias. Again there are apparent exceptions: [2] Zeus' action in thundering (*τῷ δέ*) is the basis for Diomedes' persuasion, but the poet chooses to place the deity within the tripled pair and switch immediately to Hektor's reaction to the situation.⁶ This downplaying of the divine has several benefits, most notably a powerful emphasis on the Trojan's reliance on Zeus for his success, for Hektor has not played the usual resolutionary role in the circumstance, but is still taking credit for it;⁷ [7] after a contrafactual which (uniquely) represents the climax of this tripled pattern, Iris comes to Akhilleus to rouse him to act. This introduces the conversation between them in which he shows a deservedly cynical attitude to divine intervention,⁸ before another tripled action pattern [8] is required, in which his shout (magnified by the aigis and Athene's cries as well) causes the threefold confusion before Patroklos' body is recovered.⁹ These two patterns are intimately connected as a natural doublet, and that Akhilleus (again) bestrides and confuses the divide between mortal and divine is hardly a strong counterargument to the current scheme. In both [2] and [7], then, the poet uses a variation on a usually and specifically mortal method of resolution to make an important point in the context.

Beyond the structural vicissitudes of these tripled actions, it is notable that they concern crucial actions or decisions in the character's life,¹⁰ either his imminent death (as in [6], [10], [11]) or rescue from it (as in [1]–[3], [5], [7]–[9], [12]). The former are tremendously significant for the poem's action, including the death of Patroklos [6],¹¹ Asteropaios [10] (for this

⁶ One could argue that this is because the hero is already on the defensive, and so the usual range of 'fourth attempt' expressions (which generally refer to aggressive mortal action) are unavailable. However, the case of 22. 165 (*ὥς τὸ τῷ Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρι δινηθήτην*) shows that the poet was well able to adapt these expressions to a new situation, where one party is, and one is not, aggressive. One should not assume that he could not have done so in 2.

⁷ Thus this example can be distinguished from 8 because, despite the fact that the removal of the body is only enabled by Akhilleus' cries and the Trojans' confusion, the Greeks still have to act to bring the corpse to camp. In this sense, the resolution prepares the audience for the other indications of Hektor's delusion in this passage; cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁸ Cf. 78/35; also 12/3 n. 3.

⁹ For the other elements in Akhilleus' intervention (18. 203–38), cf. 177/20; 180/7; 206/2.

¹⁰ Thus the current pattern may be differentiated from the *ᾠφρα* | *πόφρα* unit (cf. 26), which may be applied to group behaviour and is not generally employed at such significant moments.

¹¹ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

introduces Skamandros' attack on Akhilleus, which in turn leads into the *Theomakhia*,¹² and Hektor [11]. Though [4] is unusual in that no one of any great moment is killed during either Poseidon's journey or indeed his period of prominence, it may be linked to the other examples in signifying to the audience that Poseidon is coming to a crucial confrontation with the order of things.¹³

Indeed, this connotation of coming danger is often focused on the *τρίς μὲν* character (as in [1]–[3], [5], [6], [10]), though trouble may not be limited to him (as in [7], [12]), and it may not apparently concern him at all (as in [8], [11]) or indeed any subject in the pattern (as in [4], [9]). Nonetheless, I suggest that the audience are accustomed to identify the *τρίς μὲν* figure as the character in danger or, at the very least, to reflect on that issue: [4] as the only agent in the pattern, Poseidon's journey (as just suggested) is depicted as not just futile but also dangerous, the poet thus hinting at a confrontation with Zeus; [7] Hektor's participation in the battle over the man he killed represents the fact that he killed him, which will in turn spell his doom. Akhilleus' intervention is but a taste of what is to come; [8] though the Trojans are most obviously in danger here, Akhilleus' activity betokens his return to the battle, after and because of which he is fated soon to die.¹⁴ The same general connotation would work in [9] as well, though with much more emphasis as Akhilleus is facing the very divine enemy who kills him (and whose resolutionary function Akhilleus usurps in an almost impertinent way), and in [11], where once more the audience are encouraged to think of the danger this combat represents for Akhilleus. Here the poet seems to suggest such a connotation by joining the two characters in a single *τρίς* action, thus refusing to differentiate Akhilleus from the man he is about to kill (who will shortly prophesy his enemy's own death);¹⁵ [12] similarly, the audience do not know who is in danger (though they may have inferred it from Aias' poor showing in the games until this point),¹⁶ which would add considerable excitement to the course of the encounter. Thus I would, with a little hesitation, conclude that the *τρίς μὲν* figure is generally assumed to be at risk.

¹² Cf. 33 n. 7; also 23/7 n. 7.

¹³ Indeed, this pattern is also exceptional in lacking a *τρίς δέ* action, and Poseidon's journey can hardly be said to be responding to a stalemate. The (unique) application of this pattern to a non-combat situation confers on the journey a battle connotation, which is certainly his intention, but the relatively minor action so denoted suggests a limit to his effectiveness; cf. 17/9 n. 13. In terms of the seriousness of his intentions or the ramifications of his actions from *N–O*, Poseidon's behaviour is analogous to that of Here and Athene in *Θ* (Appendix B). The poet's purpose here is once more to hint at a confrontation which never comes.

¹⁵ Cf. 3/12 n. 13.

¹⁶ Cf. 97/5 n. 5.

¹⁴ Cf. 8/3 n. 3.

- 93 'in *phren* and in *thumos*' [κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν]: 10 examples: [1] 1. 193 (91/1), [2] 4. 163, [3] 5. 671 (91/2), [4] 6. 447, [5] 8. 169 (91/3), [6] 11. 411, [7] 15. 163, [8] 17. 106, [9] 18. 15, [10] 20. 264.¹

This description of the heroic thought *locus* occurs in contexts dominated by the threat or intention of death, and specifically where the hero keenly feels the need to act aggressively, usually then doing so. It is notable that the expression is used in only some of the 'he pondered in twain' structures (in 91/1–3), for decisions of this sort lacking this phrase are much less aggressive: 91/4 Athene calls Diomedes to retreat; 91/6 Nestor decides to go for a council (similarly Deiphobos summons aid in 91/5); 91/7 (and 91/8) Zeus is not aggressive in these examples, first suggesting saving Sarpedon and then pondering the extension of Patroklos' killing run; 91/9 Hektor is already at the gates and debating whether to bring the army back in to the city when he is shamed into action by Apollo.² His hitherto defensive attitude is represented above all by his position at the city gates. It is not that the lack of κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν signals directly that his attitude is more defensive than Diomedes' in 91/3, but the presence of the expression in the latter example reveals more clearly the hero's desire not to retreat—yet another such indication in that passage. Therefore, the presence of this expression can give the audience a clue as to the hero's decision: 91/1 faced with a choice between killing Agamemnon and holding himself back, Akhilleus is clearly inclined to the former, as Diomedes in 91/3 to returning to the fray, but there is no necessary clue in 91/2 because both of Odysseus' alternatives involve aggressive action.

Turning back to the current pool, the expression may be used either in character speech (as [2], [4], [7]) or in the poet's voice to summarize the thinking process: [1] Akhilleus obviously wishes to kill Agamemnon and is drawing his sword from his scabbard when Athene intervenes;³ [2] Agamemnon is convinced of Troy's eventual sack, which he would pursue with or without Menelaos, though he would feel grief at his death.⁴ He now takes actions to have his brother's wound tended. Not in itself aggressive, the connotation refers to his determination to continue the siege notwithstanding (cf. esp. 4. 161–2, directly preceding the expression here); [3] Odysseus is directed by Athene to attack the crowd of Lykians rather than Sarpedon himself; [4] though as certain as Agamemnon of Troy's destruction, Hektor has no option but to fight to the utmost of his ability (cf. esp. 6. 441–6);⁵ [5] having just been threatened with death, Diomedes has already shown that his

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 193, 88 (referring to the whole verse 1. 193 = 11. 411, 17. 106, 18. 15 as a 'Summary-Formelvers'): 'kündigt indirekt einen Szenenwechsel bzw. neuen Auftritt an.'

² Cf. 213/9.

³ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 16/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

attitude and desires in this passage are overwhelmingly aggressive. It is only with the greatest difficulty that Nestor persuades him to retreat, and he will be the first to counterattack; [6] Odysseus determines to stand and face the oncoming Trojans whatever the outcome; [7] Zeus tells Iris that Poseidon should ponder his brother's greater strength, adding powerfully to his already obvious threat of serious conflict;⁶ [8] as Odysseus in [6], Menelaos is faced by an attack and, unusually, decides on retreat. His decision or determination is to summon the Aiantes to fight for the corpse, and so the expression underlines his somewhat dubious martial authority in the *Iliad*;⁷ [9] Akhilleus has realized that Patroklos has ignored his instructions and is dead, fulfilling his mother's prophecy. The expression relates his late realization of what Patroklos has done with a foretaste of his reaction from *T*–*X*; [10] even the mighty are mistaken, for Akhilleus does not realize that he is invulnerable in the suit of armour given him by Hephaistos. This is the only negated example of this expression, underlining Akhilleus' error in thinking defensively.⁸

‘sema’ portent [σῆμα]: 7 examples: [1] 2. 308, [2] 2. 353 (29/1), [3] 4. 381, [4] 8. 171 (29/5), [5] 9. 236 (29/6), [6] 13. 244 (29/9), [7] 22. 30.¹ 94

A σῆμα portent from Zeus is always clearly directed, his association being explicit in every case but the last, where Akhilleus is likened to the Dog Star.² The clear direction of the σῆμα may be observed from its regular employment in persuasive contexts (as in [1]–[3], [5]) where it draws upon the ineluctability of such signs of divine intent: [1] Odysseus recalls the favourable omen sent by Zeus at Aulis as a means of persuading the Greeks to endure until they take Troy;³ [2] Nestor recalls a lightning omen when they arrived in Troy;⁴ [3] during his rebuke of Diomedes, Agamemnon recalls his memories of Tydeus coming to Mykenai to enlist aid, which was only refused because of the clear portent Zeus showed them;⁵ [5] Odysseus points out that Hektor's victory is aided by Zeus, who thunders in clear favour to the Trojan. Akhilleus, of course, has some intimation of the true course of the *Dios boule*, and refuses to be persuaded. In this latter example there is perhaps a sense of excuse, as Odysseus must deflect some criticism of Greek fighting qualities by reference to Zeus' will, just as in [3] Agamemnon could not invoke Tydeus without explaining why Atreus refused to assist him.

⁶ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

⁷ Cf. Fenik (1978*b*); also 78/17 n. 3; also 16/1 n. 2; 9/25 n. 26.

⁸ In other words, the sense of 20. 264–6 is that Akhilleus was a ‘fool (cf. 99/16) for he did not think aggressively (and so realize) that divine gifts cannot easily be broken by men’; cf. 1 n. 3. Answering Dihle (1970) 71, Edwards (1991) 322–3 interprets differently; cf. 9/39 n. 18.

¹ Cf. Stockinger (1959) 135–42; Nagy (1990) 202–22; Foley (1999) 25–33; also Scodel (2002). I include only those usages of the word which point to a direct indication of the divine will.

² Cf. 1 n. 3.

³ Cf. 9/8 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 29/1.

⁵ Cf. 87/5.

The point of these portents is to be a persuasive indication of Zeus' will but, even when the figure is deployed outside character speech, the direction is clear: [4] Zeus has already indicated his will twice, and Diomedes is at a crucial moment in terms of his safety;⁶ [6] Idomeneus is compared to the lightning of Zeus sent to mortal men, in this case with a clearly threatening tone;⁷ [7] Akhilleus' appearance is likewise, and even more so, an expression of the danger he represents.

- 95 'of battle] other-strength victory' [μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκη]: 4 examples (1): [1] 7. 26, [2] 8. 171, [3] 16. 362, [4] 17. 627 (*sine* μάχης); [5] *Od.* 22. 236 (*sine* μάχης).¹

The expression is confined to those moments in the battle where inclination is viewed as the result of divine intervention, and so is the decisive moment in the course of that combat: [1] Apollo inquires as to whether Athene is on her way to grant the Greeks the victory. His suggestion of a duel, it is thus implied, is the only thing which keeps battle honours even; [2] Zeus indicates his favour for Trojan victory as the turning point in the day's play; [3] Hektor recognizes that the battle has turned as a result of Patroklos' advent, which has obviously been engineered by Zeus;² [4] Aias and Menelaos recognize that battle has been turned by Zeus, who shook the aegis in order to begin the rout (17. 593–6; also 626–7);³ [5] spurred on by the suitors' threats to her *sub Mentor's persona*, Athene rebukes Odysseus in order to urge him to greater efforts, but does not yet grant the inclination of the battle so as to make trial of his and his son's strength (22. 237–8).

- 96 'he ordered greatly shouting' [ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὖσας]: 12 examples: [1] 4. 508 (*sine* μακρὸν), [2] 6. 66, [3] 6. 110, [4] 8. 172, [5] 11. 285, [6] 15. 346, [7] 15. 424, [8] 15. 485, [9] 16. 268, [10] 17. 183, [11] 21. 307 (*sine* μακρὸν), [12] 22. 294 (ἐκάλει).¹

⁶ Cf. 92/2.

⁷ Which contrasts informatively with the intimations of ineffectiveness in this *aristeia*; cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Albracht (1886–95) 22 ~ (2005) 46, 91 n. 10 (though the interpretation given there is not his, and hardly fits with 8. 171); Ameis–Hentze (1907) on 7. 26, 3; Leaf (1900–2) on 7. 26, 300, and on 8. 171, 344; Trümper (1950) 273–4 n. 555; van Bennekom (1987b); Kirk (1990) on 7. 26–7, 234; Janko (1992) on 16. 358–63, 362.

² As Hektor realizes explicitly later in the battle (16. 658); cf. 28/2.

³ Cf. 54/26 n. 14.

¹ Cf. Schmidt (1978); Edwards (1991) on 17. 183–7, 80; Latacz (1977) 214, 248–50 (nos. 8, 13, 14, 16, 18, 32, 33, 44, 51; 21. 307 and 22. 294 are not included); Hellmann (2000) 85–6 n. 68; Kaimio (1977) 238–9; also 97. I exclude 13. 489 (*Αἰνείας δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐκέκλετο οἷς ἐπάροις*) and 15. 501 (*Αἴας δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν οἷς ἐπάροις*) because the poet was able to retain *μακρὸν αὖσας* had he wished in those *loci*, as one can see from 16. 268 [9] (*Πάτροκλος δ' ἐπάροις ἐκέκλετο*

Such exhortations either make a defensive group (except [11], [12], addressed to individuals) stiffen its resistance and / or reverse the tide of battle, or urge an offensive group to further achievements. They are always persuasive and effective, being followed by a period in which the exhorted party takes the upper hand or at least responds positively.

The speaker is usually a mortal, except for Apollo in [1] and Skamandros in [11] (also the only examples to omit *μακρὸν*): [1] Apollo's exhortations allow the Trojans to return to a situation of reciprocal *androktasiai* after their earlier rout (4. 505–7); [2] after Nestor's encouragements, the Greek offensive continues, but is matched by an exhortation on the Trojan side (6. 73–105) to stabilize the battle before Hektor leaves for Troy. Before his final departure, he delivers [3] in order to achieve that stability; [4] the Trojans respond to Hektor's call until the poet leaves them penning the Greeks in the camp (8. 213–16); [5] the Trojans respond and Hektor enjoys an *aristeia*;² [6] Trojans continue to advance upon the ships, as Apollo kicks down the wall; [7] after the momentary setback represented by the death of Kaletor, Hektor bids the Trojans to reply and save his body, initiating a series of reciprocal *androktasiai* and then an abortive *aristeia* for Teukros; [8] as a result of Zeus' disarming of Teukros at the end of the last sequence,³ Hektor repeats his exhortation; [9] the Myrmidons burst forth; [10] Hektor retreats in order to re-arm in the captured armour, and is sent back into battle strengthened by Zeus (17. 209);⁴ [11] Skamandros exhorts Simoeis to join his pursuit of Akhilleus, continuing an aggressive move, shortly before he is forced to retire. Skamandros invokes the Trojans' generally defensive posture in the face of Akhilleus' attacks.⁵

The exhorted group / individual fails only once to dominate the battle or even to respond positively: [12] Hektor requests another spear from Athene *qua* Deiphobos, the poet thus indicating his delusion, for he still thinks that he can win the encounter, and it is only after he receives no reply that he finally comes to understand his situation.⁶ At this ultimate moment, he progresses from his usual confident ignorance to a state of knowledge on a par with that of the poet and his audience. Thus the juxtaposition of Hektor's confidence in his appeal and the final realization is extremely powerful—once again, best or most vividly appreciated through referential associations.⁷

μακρὸν αὖσας): i.e. *Αἰνείας δ' ἐπάρουσι ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὖσας* or *Αἴας δ' αὖθ' ἐπάρουσι ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὖσας*. Furthermore, I do not include 18. 343 (*ὥς εἰπὼν ἐπάρουσι ἐκέκλετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς*) because (like 13. 489) it is not followed by a speech, but simply a summary of the action so encouraged.

² For other elements in this scene (11. 284–309), cf. 97/3; 114/10; 138/4; 138a/3; 164/6.

³ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 6/4 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. 23/7 n. 7.

⁶ Cf. esp. 190/4; also 33/16 n. 4.

⁷ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

In fact, delusion is fairly constant in these exhortations, but very general and variable, and there is no universal indication about which aspect of the exhortation is to be doubted.⁸ Instead, the broad direction afforded by the appeal in these situations seems to be undermined: [1] Apollo's favour towards the Trojans, though they have more of a chance now that Akhilleus has withdrawn, is directed ultimately towards no good end. In fact, their coming overconfidence is a direct result of Akhilleus' absence, on which Apollo focuses in his coming speech (4. 512–13), and which will in turn draw Akhilleus back into the fighting—with disastrous consequences for them; [3] Hektor expresses his desire to go into the city to prepare the supplication of Athene, which will fail; [4] Hektor is not far wrong in his estimation of Zeus' favour, but it is a case of overstatement and confidence—the wall is not easily overturned, and all the ships will not be burned;⁹ [10] the act of putting on the armour is a useful poetic device making necessary the provision of new armour for Akhilleus but, as Zeus says, the claiming of the armour is οὐ κατὰ κόσμον (17. 205) for it denotes an unfounded confidence in his victory;¹⁰ [11] Skamandros is mistaken in his attempt to prevent Akhilleus from slaughtering the Trojans, and he will not be permitted to stand in his way. His intervention, in fact, brings about the *theomakhia*; [12] Hektor has of course been tricked into believing that Deiphobos is near him. In this connection, it is worth noting that this exhortation is most often allotted to Hektor (in [3]–[8], [10], [12]).¹¹

- 97 'be men, friends, and mindful of furious strength' [ἄνδρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνησασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς]: 7 examples: [1] 6. 112 (96/3), [2] 8. 174 (96/4), [3] 11. 287 (96/5), [4] 15. 487 (96/8), [5] 15. 734, [6] 16. 270 (96/9), [7] 17. 185 (96/10).¹

⁸ To support the contention that delusion is within the referential orbit of these speeches, one could adduce firstly πῶι δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὔσε 86, and then the circumstances where μακρὸν αὔσας is employed as part of the vaunting formula ἔκπαγλον ἐπηύξατο μακρὸν αὔσας (13. 413, 13. 445, 14. 453, 14. 478); cf. Kaimio (1977) 27. The vaunt so denoted expresses a confidence in the hero's position or victory which is then immediately challenged *because* of that vaunt, with 13. 413, 14. 453 and 14. 478 being followed by ὡς ἔφατ' Ἀργείοισι δ' ἄχος γένετ' εὐξαμένοιο (13. 417, 13. 458, 14. 486) and a subsequent reaction from the Greek side, resulting in an *androktasia*. Moreover, 13. 445, the only one of these vaunts to be expressed by a Greek (Idomeneus), leads Deiphobos to summon Aineias to his aid, whose arrival at 13. 469, whilst it does not directly end Idomeneus' *aristeia*, does lead him to confess δειδία αἰνῶς (13. 481) on the grounds of his age, and also to the augmentation of the battle in which Idomeneus recedes from importance—once again, with the poet stressing the impediments of his age (512–15); cf. 9/27 n. 11 for other such ambiguous qualities to his activity in this portion of the poem.

⁹ Cf. 98/2, 3–7 (and 9); also 4/1 n. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. 6/4 n. 4.

¹¹ Cf. 58 n. 1; also 4/1 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 170; Latacz (1977) 248–50 (nos. 14, 16, 18, 36, 42, 44, 51); Mackie (1996) 91–2; D. Collins (1998) ch. 3, esp. 103–4; Graziosi and Haubold (2003) 68–9; D. Beck (2006)

This appeal to the group occurs in exhortations where the speaker enumerates his reasons for exhorting the group, beyond e.g. a simple purpose clause, and in which his own intentions or determination play a prominent role: [1] Hektor's appeal is designed so that he can return to Troy and initiate the rituals suggested by Helenos; [2] Hektor focuses on Greek delusion and Zeus' favour to him (as again in [3], [4])² as reason for renewed or continued attack; [6] Patroklos encourages the Myrmidons to prove to Agamemnon the slight to Akhilleus' honour, in yet another example of his surrogacy for Akhilleus;³ [7] Hektor encourages his men so that, as he says, he can put on Patroklos' armour.⁴ Only [5], which is also the only example to lack the usual speech introduction, seems contrary, for Aias does not relate the activity to himself but appeals to the broader exigencies of survival for the Greeks. This is another indication of the poet's somewhat ambiguous configuration of Aias.⁵ The audience would expect some expression of his involvement in the battle or a statement of his determination; that they get none underlines Aias' typical success and function—always qualified, always defensive.

The exhortations without this appeal but which could have used it (i.e. 96/2, 96/6, 96/7), show a less personalized or detailed set of reasons, only giving immediate instructions: 96/2 Nestor simply wants the Greeks as a whole not to stop to strip the corpses of the slain; 96/6 Hektor threatens laggards with death; 96/7 Hektor urges his men to rescue Kaletor's corpse. This is not, however, to argue for some blanket difference between those '*ordered greatly shouting*' exhortations with this appeal and those without, for they are connected in a '*Geschehenslinie*': Nestor's exhortation at 96/2 is then matched by Hektor's at 96/3 | 97/1; 96/6, 96/7 are resumed by 96/8 | 97/4 (all Hektor), which in turn is then matched at the end of the Trojan advance by Aias' appeal to the Greeks 97/5. Thus the audience would read these speech-groups together to

152–3. Contextual requirements need to be kept in mind, for several of the exhortations in 96 simply could not use *ἀνέρες ἔσπε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*: 96/1, 11 are spoken by undisguised gods, for whom the men are not comrades in arms, and 11 is in any case directed by Skamandros to Simoeis, whilst 12 is directed by Hektor to Deiphobos; cf. (9) for 1.

² Cf. 98/2, 3, 6 for his claims.

³ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

⁴ Cf. 6/4 n. 4.

⁵ This ambiguity is reflected in the comparison between the poet's statement at 2. 768–9 (*ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, | ὅφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μῆνιεν*) and his success in the duel with Hektor in *H* on the one hand, and on the other his constant failure in the Funeral Games. Of course, Aias is the major opponent of Hektor on the third day of battle (cf. esp. Schadewaldt (1966) 69–70), but this, his only real period of dominance, occurs after the wounding of the other major and hitherto dominant Greek heroes; cf. van der Valk (1952); Whitman (1958) 169–70; Kullmann (1960) 79–85; Reichel (1994) 231–2; Gantz (1993) 629–35. For other such intimations, cf. 104/2; 125/10; 134/8; 140/5; 163/5 n. 8. His characterization of course reflects a more general traditional function for Aias (cf. esp. Kullmann), of which the poet shows himself aware with referential hints; cf. 141 n. 1; 163/5 n. 8; also 210 n. 1 for a possible case of antagonistic comment on, or disagreement with, these stories.

give a complete picture of the motivations being employed by the speaker (and his opponent).

It is also notable that the character giving the appeal is either explicitly or implicitly dominant in the ensuing narrative, but there is nonetheless a cloud over his effectiveness: [1] Hektor's trip into Troy dominates the rest of the book, but only *after* the meeting between Glaukos and Diomedes; [2] Hektor is in the ascendant until the reversal engineered at 8. 217; [3] this is the beginning of Hektor's dominance over the Greeks on the third day's play, but it suffers many interruptions;⁶ [4] Hektor is again in the ascendant, forcing his attack on the ships but, as [5] shows, Aias counterbalances Hektor, as he has for much of the defensive battle; [6] Patroklos is of course the *aristeia* hero for the narrative of *II*, but not an eventually successful one;⁷ [7] Hektor once again is the driving force behind the Trojan attacks during the battle for Patroklos' body, but the Greeks still manage to claim it in the end.

- 98 **Claim of Zeus' favour:** 9 examples: [1] 2. 68–70 (= 31–3), [2] 8. 175–6, [3] 11. 288–9, [4] 12. 235–6, [5] 13. 153–4, [6] 15. 488–93, [7] 15. 719–20 (and 724–5), [8] 17. 331–2 (338–9), [9] 18. 293–4.¹

Characters express a belief in Zeus' current support for a specific venture when trying to persuade others, successfully, to follow their lead. They are usually correct that there has been some intimation of Zeus' support, but not to the extent believed: [1] Agamemnon's communication of the dream is clearly predicated on the belief expressed by Akhilleus (1. 63) that the *ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔσπιν* and the substance of the dream itself. In this he is right, but wrong to believe in the dream's message that he will take Troy today; [2] Hektor exhorts his men on the basis of Zeus' favour (as he does again in [3]–[7], [9]).² Hektor does of course have some warrant for his belief, especially in the signals of Zeus' favour (8. 75–6, 133–5) before [2], and the messages sent to him by Zeus in the form of Iris (11. 197–210) before [3] and Apollo (15. 239–61) before [6], [7], but these signals combine in his mind to produce a dangerous overconfidence: [4] refuting Poulydamas' interpretation of the omen, Hektor's language is violent and hubristic in denying the significance of omens;³ [5] unprecedented by any direct intimation of favour (apart from the message before [3], and success itself, of course), Hektor claims Zeus' favour

⁶ Cf. 96/5 n. 2.

⁷ Cf. 17/10 n. 10 for this quality *inter alia*.

¹ Zeus is invoked in many ways; a character may express a belief in his previous support (e.g. 2. 197, 11. 753, 20. 92–3) or a hope that he will provide such support (e.g. 4. 166–8), or in his support for the enemy (e.g. 8. 141, 9. 236, 9. 419), not to mention the many cases where characters blame Zeus for their misfortunes. I exclude cases like 2. 198 and 205–6, in which Odysseus speaks of Zeus' support for kings in general.

² Cf. 4/1 n. 2; also 58 n. 1.

³ Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

at a moment when the audience know that his attention has been diverted (13. 1–9), and the Greeks are beginning a renaissance;⁴ [8] Apollo in disguise persuades Aineias into believing in Zeus' favour for the fight over Patroklos' body, whereon Aineias recognizes the deity and communicates that fact along with the exhortation to Hektor, who responds immediately; [9] Hektor rejects Poulydamas' suggestion of retreat with his certainty that Zeus has granted him now final victory.⁵

Aineias certainly shows more caution than Hektor, as indeed does Agamemnon in [1], for in both cases a deity in person has told them something within or according to which they have then acted. Hektor, however, usually takes the signals of favour further than the deity's words or actions allow (and in [4] denies one of the most important types of such signal):⁶ [2] signals of Zeus' intention, without any explicit instruction at all, lead Hektor into his initial overconfidence when he expresses his belief that he will burn the ships and kill the Greeks alongside; [3] Hektor simply claims the *εὖχος* in accordance with Iris' instructions; [5] in a context of Zeus' lack of attention, Hektor's claim is ominous; [6] he initially claims that the destruction of Teukros' arms must have come from Zeus (which it did),⁷ though he then goes on to suggest that the Greeks might be driven out of Troy (15. 498–9). However, in [7], [9] he goes well beyond Apollo's instructions or promises of aid, claiming that Zeus has granted him *νῆας ἐλεῖν* (15. 720) and *κύδος ἀρέσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θαλάσσῃ τ' ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοῦς* (18. 294). Zeus has given no such promise. Agamemnon's claim in [1] was simply the repetition of the words of the dream, whilst in [8] the extent of Aineias' reformulation of Apollo's words is extremely cautious.

'fool[s]!' [*νήπιοι*]: 26 examples: [1] 2. 38, [2] 2. 873, [3] 5. 406, [4] 8. 177, [5] 9. 440, [6] 12. 113, [7] 12. 127, [8] 15. 104, [9] 16. 46, [10] 16. 686, [11] 16. 833, [12] 17. 236, [13] 17. 497, [14] 18. 295, [15] 18. 311, [16] 20. 264, [17] 20. 296, [18] 20. 466, [19] 21. 99, [20] 21. 410 (*νηπύτι*'), [21] 21. 441 (*νηπύτι*'), [22] 21. 474 (*νηπύτιε*), [23] 21. 585 (*νηπύτι*'), [24] 22. 333, [25] 22. 445, [26] 23. 88.¹

These judgements describe the disjunction between the intention or understanding of the character so labelled and the actuality of any situation, with an

⁴ Cf. 185/6.

⁵ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

⁶ Cf. 4/1 n. 2; also 58 n. 1.

⁷ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

¹ Cf. de Jong (1987) 86–7, 136–7; also Edmunds (1990), who emphasizes “mental and social disconnections” (60); Janko (1992) on 16. 46, 320–1; Führer (1997); Ingalls (1998) esp. 32–4; Latacz (2003) on 2. 38, 21–2. I include here those examples where an adult is labelled with this term because of a perceived error or deficiency in their understanding, but not those where the term is used in a simile (2. 338, 13. 292, 16. 8, 20. 200, 20. 244, 20. 431) or a *gnome* (17. 32, 17. 629, 20. 198).

obvious proleptic utility subject to the speaker's level of knowledge. The poet and divine speakers are of course generally omniscient with regard to future events, but mortal characters are a different question. It is noticeable that the majority of these expressions occur in the latter half of the poem, presumably because the need for definitive direction, or the indication of mortal limitation, grows as the narrative progresses.

The narrator has by far the greatest number of examples: [1], [2], [6], [7], [9], [10], [12], [13], [15], [16], [18], [25]. These judgements are particularly useful for the audience, as the poet will often relate the character's knowledge to long-term themes and events: [1] Agamemnon is so labelled for thinking that this current offensive would take Troy; [2] the poet condemns the foolishness of Nastes for his armour (cf. esp. 2. 872), which would not save him from the all-conquering hands of Akhilleus (874–5); [6] Asios makes an individual attack apart from the central Trojan advance and, even though he is not to be killed in this first fight around the wall, the poet foreshadows his death at the hands of Idomeneus, realized in the Greek counterattack in *N*; ² [7] Asios' men are then also so labelled for thinking that they could break into the camp, when Polypoites and Leonteus were on the job; [9] Patroklos is so termed as he begs Akhilleus for the chance to intervene, and the poet details precisely why it was folly (16. 46–7); ³ [10] Patroklos' doom is confirmed at the moment he charges into the Trojan ranks; ⁴ [12] the Trojans are collectively labelled as they advance to the *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos, given that many are going to be killed by Aias (17. 236); [13] the Trojan attack on Automedon and Alkimedon is so labelled for thinking that the death of Automedon or the capture of the horses was possible; ⁵ [15] the Trojans' approval of Hektor's decision to remain out on the plain is condemned by the poet *ἐκ γὰρ σφεων φρένας εἴλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη* (18. 311); ⁶ [16] Akhilleus is a fool for thinking that Aineias' spear could penetrate his divinely wrought shield; ⁷ [18] Tros is labelled for thinking that he could supplicate Akhilleus (20. 466–8), though the reasons are not articulated with regard to the notion of supplication itself until the Lykaon episode [19], where Akhilleus himself labels the Trojan a fool for this action (cf. below); [25] in the process of Hektor's bath, the poet calls Andromakhe a fool because she did not know that he was already dead. In all these cases, the narrator channels the thoughts and opinions of his audience by drawing an immediate disjunction between the character's knowledge and their own.

² Cf. 48/8 n. 12. Asios' mistake is underlined several times in this passage, e.g. 99/7; 125/13; 192/5; 202/4.

³ Cf. 17/10 n. 10; also 9/30 n. 13.

⁴ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

⁷ Cf. 93/10; also 9/39 n. 18.

Divine speakers are graced with a similarly privileged knowledge and understanding: [3] Dione castigates Diomedes' attack on Aphrodite and relates it to possible consequences on his domestic difficulties;⁸ [8] Here finally acknowledges, after the failure of the *Dios apate*, the uselessness of opposing Zeus; [17] Poseidon condemns Aineias' attack on Akhilleus because of its obvious consequences, and the fact that he is supposed to survive the sack of Troy.⁹ Gods may even use the term with one another: [20] Athene abuses the vanquished Ares for opposing her, given her success in the past;¹⁰ [21] before their aborted combat, Poseidon rebukes Apollo for defending the Trojans despite the poor treatment Laomedon had meted out;¹¹ [22] Here soundly thrashes Artemis for thinking that her power over women entitled her to fight against Here herself.¹²

Mortals are considerably less well informed about the future, and so usually much more cautious about deploying the device. Akhilleus, for example, makes judgements over situations which he has the power immediately to effect: [19] he calls Lykaon *νήπιε* for his attempts at supplication, because the usual notions of capture and ransom are completely inappropriate now;¹³ [24] he does the same for Hektor, because he killed Patroklos without regard for the revenge coming from Akhilleus. Patroklos *e Manibus* is even more circumspect [26], damning his own slaying of a kinsman over dice, whilst Phoinix uses the expression to refer to Akhilleus himself when Peleus sent him to Troy [5] as part of his attempt to bolster his authority. Therefore poet and divine characters generally reflect upon the future, mortals upon the past or immediate future over which they have direct personal control. Interestingly, the flyting of Agenor [23] is literally correct in all its predictions apart from the idea that Akhilleus was intending to capture Troy on that day. He is nonetheless misinformed about his chances in the coming combat, from which he is saved only by Apollo's intervention.¹⁴

Hektor, by contrast, is again the most egregiously erroneous speaker of this particular figure, confident (or rash) enough to use the device with regard to actions which lie well beyond his immediate personal control: [4] the wall will not easily be broken down, nor will he be able to destroy the ships and the Greeks beside them; [11] Hektor condemns Patroklos' martial activity by apportioning to Akhilleus the intention that Patroklos should sack Troy and kill Hektor;¹⁵ [14] his rejection of Poulydamas' advice to retreat is preceded

⁸ Cf. 86/3 and n. 5 for these intimations; also 33 n. 8.

⁹ Cf. 40/29 n. 14.

¹⁰ Cf. 7/5 n. 6.

¹¹ For other elements in this episode (21. 435–69), cf. 153/10; 169/32; 173/5; 186/4; 191a n. 1; 200/6; also 212/35.

¹² Cf. 7/6 n. 7.

¹³ Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

¹⁴ Cf. 160/14; also 40/31 n. 15.

¹⁵ Cf. 10/11 n. 7.

here by a statement of Zeus' favour *κῦδος ἀρέσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θαλάσσῃ τ' ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς* (18. 294).¹⁶ Whilst other characters are subject to partial delusion in various ways when using this figure (for instance, Akhilleus in [24] predicts the dishonouring of Hektor's corpse, though he could hardly be expected to know something over which even the gods themselves were split),¹⁷ the complete and constant nature of Hektor's delusion marks him out.¹⁸

- 100 'his horses he ordered' [*ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο*]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 184, [2] 19. 399, [3] 23. 402, [4] 23. 442.¹

These exhortations occur only when the driver is being aggressive, and contain a prominent element of rebuke: [2] Akhilleus' curt reminder about Patroklos' demise, [3] Antilokhos' threats, [4] Menelaos' evocation of his horses' youth as the reason why they should not be beaten by Antilokhos' team—all these are predicated upon the team's current failure to perform as expected. The reaction of the team often furthers this impression, with Antilokhos' and Menelaos' horses *ὑποδδείσαντες* (23. 417 = 446) as a result of the speech, and one of Akhilleus' team so put out as to reply and deny the implications of the prior speech (19. 407–17). Similarly, in [1] Hektor implies that the team is not performing to deserve the favour shown them in the past. Interestingly, both Antilokhos and Hektor remind the team at length of this tendance, thus throwing great emphasis on the person responsible (Nestor and Andromakhe),² whilst Akhilleus explicitly mentions Patroklos. This allows the audience to compare Antilokhos' next action with Nestor's advice,³ to view Akhilleus in terms of his desire to revenge himself for Patroklos, and Hektor as the husband of Andromakhe.⁴ Menelaos does not make any such claim, but this is significant in that one of his horses is Agamemnon's (23. 295), and so another indication of his subordination to his brother.⁵

In every case, the team reacts as the speaker seems to expect: [1] Hektor's advance continues and he does wheel the Greeks into the camp; [2] Akhilleus' advance is the poem's most spectacular and successful; [3], [4] Antilokhos and Menelaos cancel out one another's exhortations, and by generating two examples so close together the poet creates considerable uncertainty about who will win, as well as casting tremendous emphasis on how the race is to be run from now on.⁶

¹⁶ Cf. 98/9; also 2/9 n. 6.

¹⁷ Cf., however, 176/20, 22.

¹⁸ Cf. 4/1 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Edwards (1991) on 19. 399–403, 282.

² Cf. 87/9, 21.

³ Cf. Kelly (2006) 16 n. 78, against Nagy (1990) 208–18.

⁴ Cf. 102/11, and Commentary ad loc.

⁵ Its proximity to 3 may have also had an impact on the poet's desire to repeat such an injunction; cf. 78/17 n. 3; 9/25 n. 26; 16/1 n. 2 for other indications of Menelaos' ambiguous status.

⁶ 9/45 n. 20.

‘*thumos drives*’ [θυμὸς ἀνώγει]: 18 examples: [1] 4. 263, [2] 6. 439, [3] 6. 444, [4] 7. 74, [5] 8. 189, [6] 8. 322, [7] 9. 101, [8] 9. 703, [9] 14. 195, [10] 15. 43, [11] 18. 90, [12] 18. 176, [13] 18. 426, [14] 19. 102, [15] 20. 77, [16] 20. 179, [17] 22. 142, [18] 24. 198.¹

The *thumos* is depicted as an irresistible force which drives someone to act in a certain way, frequently but not inevitably to that character’s detriment. The action, denoted either by an infinitive or a previous clause, is always carried through: [1] the strength of Agamemnon’s reminder of hospitality depends on the idea that Idomeneus does always drink whenever he wants;² [2] though Andromakhe is uncertain about the source of the motivation, the Greek attack on the wall by the fig tree had already been carried out;³ [3] Hektor does indeed fight in a dangerous manner, though here he seeks to qualify the operation of his *thumos*;⁴ [4] Hektor’s challenge is accepted; [5] the point of Hektor’s details about Andromakhe’s favour to his horses is that they did receive tendance;⁵ [6] Hektor does indeed hit Teukros; [7] Nestor does go on to speak εἰς ἀγαθόν (9. 102) and Agamemnon hearkens to his advice; [8] Akhilleus does eventually rejoin the fighting; [10] the intervention of Poseidon has already taken place; [11] Akhilleus revenges himself upon Hektor;⁶ [13] Hephaistos acquiesces to Thetis’ request (as Aphrodite to Here’s in [9]⁷); [16] Aineias fights Akhilleus;⁸ [17] Akhilleus does indeed get hold of Hektor; [18] Priam goes to the Greek camp.⁹

Once this is postponed [15] (where Akhilleus’ desire to face Hektor is put off, but not cancelled), and only twice does it not happen at all: [14] in a departure from the usual ὅφρ’ εἶπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει construction, the poet employs ἀνώγει to lay great stress on Zeus’ determination to honour Herakles.¹⁰ Agamemnon’s story leads the audience to expect that Zeus will be successful in getting his way—when he is not, because of Here’s intervention and deceit, the disjunction powerfully underlines the force of Ate, which is the point of the paradigm, and reveals Agamemnon as a skilful

¹ There is not the opportunity here to discuss the difference between the *thumos*, personal responsibility, other types of motivation, and the gods; cf. the works referred to 116 n. 1. In 3 the impulsion of the *thumos* is contrasted with the ideal of learning how to behave in a certain way (οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς | αἰεὶ καὶ πρόποισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι 6. 444–5). Hektor seeks to calm Andromakhe’s nerves and soothe her worries (cf. 169/6; also 45/1 n. 2), by making his choice to fight seem not simply a result of impulsion by his *thumos*, but a matter of social necessity. Thus it is not a case of irrational as opposed to rational choices, but of personal as opposed to external motivators; cf. further Clarke (2000) esp. ch. 3, though his focus is very different.

² Cf. 87/3 n. 7. ³ Cf. 45/1 n. 2. ⁴ Cf. n. 1; also 45/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 8. 186–90, 312–13; M. L. West (2001a) 202; also (10).

⁶ Cf. 41/9. ⁷ Cf. 78/28 n. 18. ⁸ Cf. 9/39 n. 18. ⁹ Cf. 48/17 n. 10.

¹⁰ Cf. above 4/11 n. 4; also (1) n. 28.

exponent of traditional language;¹¹ [12] Iris uses Hektor's desire to mutilate Patroklos' body as an incentive to Akhilleus. Such threats are almost never carried out,¹² and her rhetorical aim is sufficient explanation of the disjunction or juxtaposition of connotative potentials here.¹³

- 102 '[I] claim to be' [ἐϋχομαι εἶναι]: 22 examples: [1] 1. 91, [2] 2. 82, [3] 3. 430–1, [4] 4. 264, [5] 4. 405, [6] 5. 173, [7] 5. 246, [8] 5. 247–8 (ἐκγεγάμεν)¹ [9] 6. 211, [10] 6. 231, [11] 8. 190, [12] 9. 60, [13] 9. 161, [14] 13. 54, [15] 14. 113, [16] 15. 296, [17] 20. 102, [18] 20. 208–9 (~5. 247–8) (ἐκγεγάμεν), [19] 20. 241, [20] 21. 187, [21] 21. 411, [22] 23. 669.²

These expressions denote an attempt to identify and establish a character's authority to participate in the heroic world, but in a number of ways and contexts. Dealing first with the first-person claims, the most common appeal with this expression is to genealogy (in [9], [13], [15], [16], [18], [19]) often in martial contexts as a preparatory challenge or concluding vaunt (as in [9], [15], [18], [19]), or as a general justification for making a proposal [15]; [5] Sthenelos' favourable comparison of himself and Diomedes with their fathers is the only one of this type. Other points of reference include greater age (as in [12], [13]) or excellence (as in [19], [21]), or indeed guest-friendship (as in [10], established in [9]);³ only once is marriage the source of the character's identity, with Hektor in [11] making this claim.

Self-image may be rapidly exemplified: [12] Nestor uses his greater age in order to underline his authority as a speaker (a constantly emphasized aspect of his character); [13] Agamemnon focuses on his greater age and authority as good reason for Akhilleus' yielding to him; [15] Diomedes, once again seeking to establish his heroic stature, does so by reference to his father and

¹¹ For this quality with regard to Akhilleus, cf. 1 n. 3. It should, however, be remembered that the paradigm reflects ironically on Agamemnon, for his story presents a great hero subordinated to a lesser man who happens to have greater authority; cf. Alden (2000) 36–7, and 107/5 n. 11 for a similar example.

¹² Cf. 176/13.

¹³ Cf. 40/26; also 12/3 n. 3.

¹ It is notable, but slightly ancillary to the point, that the other three usages of ἐκγεγάμεν in the *Iliad* refer to Aineias (5. 248 and 20. 209 with regard to Ankhises and Aphrodite, 20. 106 to Aphrodite). In fact, the perfect forms of ἐκγίγνομαι always denote divine parentage in early epic; ἐκγεγαυία is used of Helen (3. 199, 3. 418; *Od.* 4. 184, 219, 23. 218), Athene (*Od.* 6. 229), the Muses (*Theogony* 76) and Dike (*Works and Days* 256) with regard to their descent from Zeus, ἐκγεγάτην of Kirke and Aietes (*Od.* 10. 138) descended from Helios, ἐκγεγαῶπι of Asteropaios with reference to his descent from a river (21. 185; cf. 33 n. 7), and ἐκγεγαῶπα of Demophon (*Hom. Hy. to Dem.* 237 ὡς εἰ θεοῦ ἐκγεγαῶπα) during Demeter's attempt to immortalize him. Though the apparently future perfect ἐκγεγάοντι (*Hom. Hy. to Aphr.* 197) is suspect (ἐκγεγαῶπες Ilgen, ἐκγεγάοντες Baumeister; cf. Nordheider 1982, 148), the verb itself would emphasize the (eventually) divine origins of Ankhises' descendants.

² Cf. Adkins (1969a); Muellner (1976) 84–99; Higbie (1990) 178–9; also Latacz (2000) on 1. 91, 61–2.

³ Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

his own past deeds;⁴ [16] Thoas' awareness of divine protection for Hektor does not change the fact that, as the ἄριστοι, it is they who must prevent him from entering the crowd and kicking the hell out of it;⁵ [18], [19] Aineias' genealogy establishes his authority to fight against such a prominent foe, and thereby indeed his heroic identity;⁶ [20] in the course of his vaunt over Asteropaios, Akhilleus uses the expression to claim his descent from Zeus. Thus his sire is greater than the river Akheloos (Asteropaios' ancestor), so that Akhilleus' feats simply enact that comparison;⁷ [21] vaunting over the prostrate Ares, Athene's claims to greater strength are obviously persuasive;⁸ [22] Epeios bolsters his claim to pre-eminence at boxing by admitting his shortcomings as a fighter.⁹

In the second and third persons, identification or configuration of the hero now becomes subject to a range of rhetorical purposes and perspectives appropriate to that change in person. Characters are reminded paraenetically of past claims: [3] after his escape from the duel, Helen rebukes Paris for having claimed to be a better man than Menelaos; [4] Agamemnon exhorts Idomeneus to act in a manner appropriate to his previous claims.¹⁰ Genealogy is again a source of identification, as in [7] and [8] from the perspective of an opponent who is seeking to draw the figures as too powerful to face,¹¹ and with heavy sarcasm in [14], but characters may also make reference to inherent qualities or status, with a range of conviction: [1] Akhilleus promises to protect Kalkhas even from Agamemnon, who claims to be the best in the army. This need not be a directly disparaging reference to Agamemnon's self-conception more than a means for underlining his own determination to support the seer; [2] Nestor endorses Agamemnon's dream and subsequent plan because of the latter's claim to be the best in the army; [6] seeking to persuade Pandaros to use his bow against Diomedes, Aineias asserts that no one claims to be better;¹² [17] Aineias avows that, were it not for the constant help of the gods, Akhilleus would not win easily, even if he claims to be παγχάλκεος.

In all these situations, the identification of the hero is subject to the rhetorical purpose of the speaker: [14] Poseidon pretends that Hektor now claims to be the son of Zeus, in order to undermine that claim and spur the Greeks on with its ridiculous quality; [17] Aineias ascribes a similarly fanciful claim to Akhilleus because he wishes to denigrate him, and at the same time emphasize his own willingness to fight, whilst he boosts Pandaros' confidence [6] by making the claim to the latter's credit seem a general opinion.

⁴ Cf. 11a/1 n. 3; also 86 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

⁷ Cf. 33 n. 7.

⁸ Cf. 7/5 n. 6.

⁹ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

¹⁰ Cf. 87/3 n. 2.

¹¹ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

¹² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

103 'to heaven goes' [*εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει*]: 10 examples: [1] 1. 317, [2] 2. 153, [3] 2. 458, [4] 8. 192, [5] 8. 509, [6] 12. 338, [7] 14. 60, [8] 14. 174, [9] 17. 425, [10] 19. 362.¹

Several things may be so described, including savour from sacrificial smoke [1], the gleam from armour (as in [3], [10]) or fire [5], the shouting of men (as in [2], [6], [7], [9]), the smell of Here's robe as she prepares for the *Dios apate* [8],² and even the *kleos* of Nestor's shield [4]. Actions (or the items representing them) with such an effect are intended to link the mortal and divine worlds, in that the action is caused by and / or then comes to the attention of an intervening deity: [1] the savour is obviously intended to draw divine attention, and the sacrifice is of course caused by the action of a deity, but it is only when Apollo hears Khryses' prayer that the process is complete; [2] as the Greeks are on the verge of returning home, the noise they make draws the audience forward into the intervention by Here and Athene to prevent it from happening; [3] the advancing Greek army sends the flash from its armour to heaven, straight after Athene had been present waving around the aegis in support (2. 446–52); [4] though Hektor uses the expression to describe Nestor's shield during the exhortation of his horses, his entire speech comes to the attention of Here,³ and her reaction is hardly gentle; [6] Menestheus is forced to use Thoas to fetch the Aiantes (instead of shouting for aid) because of the noise from Sarpedon's attack, which Zeus had himself just begun (12. 292–3);⁴ [7] Nestor describes the battle with this expression, characterizing the fighting as tremendously mixed because the Greeks are driven by the will of Zeus (14. 53–4); [8] obviously attracting divine notice, Here's garment gives off an odour which goes to earth and heaven, which intimates not only that Zeus will be ensnared but also the ramifications of this action on earth; [9] the noise from the fighting over Patroklos' horses goes to heaven, and Zeus looks on the team in pity;⁵ [10] the process of the Greek arming described by this expression is interconnected with Athene feeding Akhilleus (cf. 19. 350–64).

The only example not to have this proximate divine notice or participation is [5], where Hektor (uniquely) applies the expression to the future (hence *ἵκηι* instead of the usual indicative), unless one contends that Zeus' control over the Trojans' presence (strongly emphasized in the preceding divine

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 2. 153, 55. The poet uses the short form *ἵκει* (*vel sim.*) with *οὐρανὸν*, and the longer form (*ἵκανε vel sim.*) with *αἰθέρα* as a verse-end structure, though the units are metrically interchangeable (i.e. open heavy syllable after the bucolic diaresis to the verse-end). I am not concerned here with the latter expression, though cf. 206 (for 5); also 103a for 4 below.

² Cf. Janko (1992) on 14. 172–4, 175.

³ Cf. esp. 105/6.

⁴ Cf. also 12. 402–3 (155/6) for his further intervention; also 37/5 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

assembly) is intended to cover this action. This could well be the case, but there are several other indications in this speech of Hektor's delusion, and so I favour reading this as a misuse of the figure which the audience would notice as such.⁶ The poet would seem to be suggesting that Hektor wants divine notice as a sign or guarantee of favour or further intervention, which is perhaps dangerous to claim in this way anyway.

'glory to heaven goes' [κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει]: 1 example (3): [1] 8. 192, [2] *Od.* 8. 74, [3] *Od.* 9. 20, [4] *Od.* 19. 108.¹ 103a

The expression is applied to a number of different items (a shield [1], an οἴμη of epic song [2],² Odysseus [3], and Penelope [4]) when that item or individual is deployed in a context where the hero's identity is of central importance. Noticeably, it is always used in the *Odyssey* in proems to internal narratives: [2] the οἴμη from which Demodokos draws his song concerns the quarrel between Odysseus and Akhilleus, and Odysseus' reaction to it is one element in a series where his identity is concealed from the Phaiakians. During his sojourn with them, he delays revealing himself until well into his reception, either because they are traditionally unfriendly hosts or because the revelation of his name must await (or at least be part of) the regaining of his heroic identity;³ [3] Odysseus now reveals his identity as the preface to the tale of his wanderings, and qualifies himself with the expression. This, then, asserts his heroic status in a powerful way, for the narration to come is as much an exercise in self-definition and justification as an interesting tale;⁴ [4] in reply to Penelope's standard question about his identity (19. 105–7), where at least some form of identification is expected,⁵ the disguised Odysseus uniquely applies the expression to the queen before an expansive comparison with a good king who benefits the land. He then refuses to identify himself on the ground of his sorrows, remembrance of which would cause him to indulge in unseemly grief. Thus he emphasizes the primacy of Penelope's position within the *Nostos* pattern, as the goal of his quest to return home.⁶ These examples suggest that [1] characterizes Hektor, somewhat 'metapoetically', as

⁶ Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 206 for how Hektor's use of σέλας in this expression is similarly unusual; also 4/1 n. 2 for this as a general feature of Hektor's rhetoric.

¹ Cf. Commentary on 8. 192, n. 127. One could also consider 10. 212 (μέγα κέν οἱ ὑπουράνιον κλέος εἶη), where Nestor makes the offer of a reward for the hero brave enough to go on the scouting mission. Scodel (2004) argues that Homeric poetry is often respectful of other traditions, and this reference could well hint at the centrality of the Rhesos tale to the Trojan myths, and the fame which will accrue to the successful heroes in other epic poetry.

² Cf. Thornton (1984) 148–9; Ford (1992) 40–8.

³ Cf. Gainsford (2003).

⁴ Cf. e.g. Most (1989); Olson (1995).

⁵ Cf. Gainsford (2003).

⁶ Cf. Foley (1990) & (1999).

vitality concerned with his opponent's status *specifically in heroic song*, as a matter of self-presentation in epic itself.⁷

104 'he toiled in the making' [κάμε τεύχων]: 4 examples: [1] 2. 101, [2] 7. 220, [3] 8. 195, [4] {19. 368}.¹

Hephaistos is the maker in all these cases except [2], where the obscure figure of Tukhios is responsible for Aias' shield, which illustrates negatively the usual point of the expression, viz. that the link with the divine bolsters the authority or impressiveness of the possessing hero:² [1] Agamemnon's sceptre is the symbol of an authority which he is to test, and to negative results, in the coming assembly. Hephaistos' craftsmanship links the item with Zeus and his authority, and so underlines the continuity of that authority through the Atreid line to Agamemnon;³ [3] Diomedes' breastplate, apart from furthering the parallel with Akhilleus in the second half of the poem,⁴ reminds the audience of his status and the protection afforded the Greek side in general (cf. e.g. 8. 245–6). As this is the only example inside character speech, and given that the audience know of Diomedes' coming retreat from importance, Hektor's concern with Diomedes' power and status⁵ would add to their impression of his delusion;⁶ [4] the divine favour represented by the armour is an obvious index of Akhilleus' importance, particularly as he goes into battle against someone who is going to be armed in Akhilleus' own (and similarly divine) armour. Aias is not favoured with such an origin for his shield in [2], though it would not be a dangerous assumption that the poet had the freedom to give him one, because he is not to be the dominant hero in the *Iliad*, even in Akhilleus' absence.⁷ In every case, therefore, the expression allows the audience to ponder the relationship between the character and the divine before the item's significance is demonstrated.

⁷ This concern with his afterlife in song may also be seen at 7. 87–91 and 22. 304–5; cf. also 81/2–5 and n. 2.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 101, 38. One might also consider 5. 735 (= 8. 386), where Athene removes her *peplos* (ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν); τεύχων is obviously no longer possible; cf. Commentary ad loc., n. 255; also *Od.* 15. 105, where Helen gives Telemakhos a gift of a *peplos* from among those οὗς κάμεν αὐτή.

² Cf. Kirk (1990) on 7. 221–3, 264; also von Kamptz (1982) § 71 b 5, 367; cf. 97/5 n. 5; also 26/3 n. 5.

³ Cf. 2/2 n. 15; also Kirk (1985) on 2. 101–8, 126–7; Latacz (2003) ad loc., 38. There may be other intimations here, for instance the idea that Hermes as the trickster god complements Agamemnon's *Diapaira*, or the mention of the Thyestes story (2. 106) as a hint at the rather unpleasant background to Agamemnon's family history.

⁵ Cf. 103a/1; also 11a/1 n. 3 and 86 n. 2 on Diomedes.

⁶ Cf. 4/1 n. 2.

⁷ Cf. 97/5 n. 5. Perhaps the name Tukhios should be derived from τύχη (cf. von Kamptz (1982) § 39 b 1, 115 Φήμιος < φήμη), and is meant to signify Aias' later lack of good fortune, though von Kamptz (1982) § 71 b 5, 367, plausibly links the name with τεύχω.

'so [he] spoke praying' [ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος]: 13 examples: [1] 1. 43, [2] 1. 457, [3] [5. 106], [4] 5. 121, [5] 6. 311, [6] 8. 198, [7] 10. 295, [8] 15. 377, [9] 16. 249, [10] 16. 527, [11] {20. 393}, [12] 23. 771, [13] 24. 314.¹

This hemistich is employed in both sacred and secular contexts to express the speaker's claim upon the future. Apart from [3], [6], [11], the accompanied speech acts are formal prayers, in which the usual second hemistich is τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε, with the exception of ἀνένευσε δὲ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη in [5] and μέγα δ' ἔκτυπε Ζεύς in [8]:² [1] (and [2]) Apollo hears the request and grants it, on the first occasion then marching down to the camp (1. 44–52), on the second with no further action (1. 458). By contrast, Athene simply refuses the request in [5], and the poet combines the two in [9].³ The common element to all of these prayers is of course the concern with the future, for which the hero requires the aid of the deity, whose reaction is therefore expected.

When the hemistich is not used to close prayers, the character is making a claim about the future ramifications of his current actions or desires: [3] Pandaros connects the fact of his striking Diomedes as grounds for believing that he is to die. His claim is moderated by a mention of Apollo's patronage, but is mistaken anyway, and Diomedes will issue a prayer to Athene (which she grants) in which he asks for assistance.⁴ In fact, she even guides the spear which later on kills Pandaros himself (5. 290–1);⁵ [6] Hektor intends to strip Nestor's shield and Diomedes' breastplate, and to get the Akhaioi back on their ships. Here's indignant reply goes nowhere, but she does then motivate Agamemnon's rally and his prayer to Zeus;⁶ [11] Akhilleus' vaunt over Iphition focuses simply on his death and the fact that his γειῆν live in Gugaie.⁷ Here he links his victim's death and separation from his family, which is clearly a comment on Iphition's inevitable failure to return to that family. There is no immediate divine response to Akhilleus' claim, but the circumspection of his vaunt's substance seems not to require one. As with his use of the 'fool!' label, Akhilleus shows remarkable self-control in speaking about the future,⁸ and he is again able to bend the referential curve of traditional structure.⁹ Similarly, Hektor's claim is far more adventurous

¹ Cf. Adkins (1969a) esp. 33; Reynen (1983) 20–70, 126–7, 141; Muellner (1976) 18–31; also 126; (11). ² Cf. 29/12 n. 7. ³ Cf. 9/31 n. 27. ⁴ Cf. 126/8.

⁵ Cf. 86/1; also 9/14 n. 7; 9/15 n. 8.

⁶ Muellner (1976) 29–31 analyses this speech as a prayer, exhibiting the same features: invocation, claim to favour, request of favour, and of course the closing hemistich. However, such reminders of past treatment are a typical element in speeches both in general and of this sort, as is naming the horses, and the closing hemistich is employed on two other occasions in the *Iliad* in 'secular' contexts (3, 11). ⁷ (11); cf. also 20 n. 1. ⁸ Cf. 99.

⁹ Cf. 1 n. 3.

than that of either Pandaros, who could reasonably expect his successful strike to be of more moment than it turns out, or Akhilleus, whose certainty comes from the corpse at his feet.¹⁰

106 ‘Olympos was shaken’ [ἐλέλιξεν/πελεμίζεν]: 3 examples (3): [1] 1. 530, [2] {8. 199}, [3] 8. 443, [4] *Theogony* 842, [5] *Hom. Hy. to Dionysos* (1) 15, [6] *Hom. Hy. to Athene* (28) 9.¹

The association of this commotion with trouble amongst the immortals and the power of Zeus is ubiquitous, and there is an intriguing (and often indirect) thematic link with Here’s various attempts at sedition: [1] in granting Thetis’ request, Zeus’ assent renders conflict inevitable amongst the gods, as he well knows; [2] and [3] are directly concerned with the aborted attempt of Here and Athene to contravene Zeus’ direct instructions, and its effect. The non-Homeric examples are included here because they make a broader point about *stasis* involving Here and Athene in early epic: [4] Zeus causes the earth to shake as he goes to meet the challenge of Typhaon, with whom Here is elsewhere linked as mother or as the nurse-maid for his children by Ekhidna;² [5] Zeus grants Dionysos his *geras* among the immortals. Given Here’s hostility to Dionysos over this liaison, and with Zeus over his others (a prominent theme in Zeus’ catalogue of lovers during the *Dios apate*, which mentions Dionysos at 14. 323–5),³ there seems at the least an intimation here of Here’s disturbance; [6] on Athene’s birth from Zeus’ head, she shakes her spear and Olympos is then shaken by her presence. It is Here’s anger at Zeus’ parthenogenesis of Athene which elsewhere motivates her decision to give

¹⁰ Cf. 99/4, 11, 14, 24; also 4/1 n. 2.

¹ Cf. O’Sullivan (1984); W. Beck (2001); Latacz (2000) on 1. 530, 168; also (12). The singularity of the current expression’s structure should be remarked upon: [1] μέγαν δ’ ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον; [2] ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον; [3] μέγας πελεμίζετ’ Ὀλυμπος; [4] μέγας πελεμίζετ’ Ὀλυμπος; [5] μέγαν δ’ ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον; [6] μέγας δ’ ἐλελίξετ’ Ὀλυμπος. The formulaic expression for this type of action is μέγας | verb | Ὀλυμπος, generated according to the following rule: the idea ‘Character A made Olympos shake’ demands an active form of ἐλελίξειν where there is a need for a conjunction within the expression itself (as in 1, 5), and a passive form of πελεμίζειν when there is no such need (as in 3, 4). 6 is subject to this criterion, though ἐλελίξειν is employed passively in order to focus upon the effects of Athene’s birth, by making Olympos the subject (as γαῖα, πόντος, ἄλμη, and Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς [9–13]); it may be that the composition of this hymn is untraditional (and less account is here taken of 5, 6 because of their relatively uncertain date). 2 significantly alters this rule, but only because the clause must open at the penthemimeres, every other example falling at the trochaic caesura. Thus the line-end formula μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον replaces μέγαν | Ὀλυμπον, an example of the frequent occurrence where formulaic modification or substitution leads to hiatus (θρόνῳ ἐλέλιξε); cf. M. Parry (1928) 1–9 and *passim*. On Here’s constant potential for *stasis*, Athene’s occasional role therein, and all the material in this element discussion, cf. Appendix B.

² *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 305–55; Stesikhoros F 56 Page (239 PMG); Hesiod, *Theogony* 314–15, 328–9.

³ Cf. Janko (1992) on 14. 323–5, 204; Dodds (1960) on Euripides, *Bacchai* 9, 64.

birth either to Typhaon or Hephaistos.⁴ In [3], it is quite clear that Here must necessarily fail in her attempt to go against Zeus in any permanent way, and the fact that this is one of the few occasions on which Olympos is made to move by a god other than Zeus, and the only occasion where this action is directed against Zeus' hegemony, makes this point even more pointedly.⁵

'straight at [he] spoke' [*ἀντίον ἦῤῥα*]: 17 examples: [1] 3. 203, [2] 4. 265, [3] 107 5. 170, [4] 5. 217, [5] 5. 647, [6] 8. 200, [7] 11. 822, [8] 13. 221, [9] 13. 254, [10] 13. 259, [11] 13. 266, [12] 13. 274, [13] 13. 311, [14] 16. 619, [15] 23. 482, [16] 23. 586, [17] 24. 333.¹

This expression connotes the character's perturbation, and introduces a speech which gives a troubled (and usually unintentionally revealing) justification for an eventually unsuccessful determination: [2] like many other such episodes in the *Epipoleis*, Idomeneus' response to Agamemnon's exhortation affirms his continued and unwavering support before suggesting that he move on to others who, he implies, require encouragement.² There may well be an unease around Atreid hospitality, given Menelaos' absence in Crete during the crucial period,³ and this troubled reaction to exhortation is seen perhaps most clearly in the series of episodes in *N* [8]–[13]:⁴ [8] after Poseidon's *πηῖ* question⁵ as to the situation and Idomeneus' presence in the rear echelon, the Cretan once again responds by bidding the disguised deity urge on others,

⁴ Typhaon: *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 331–55; Hephaistos: *Theogony* 927–9.

⁵ O'Brien (1993) 88 n. 37, 180 n. 15 even suggests that the image is in fact original to Here. Ramersdorfer (1981) 96–8 argues that 8. 443 [3] depends on *Theogony* 842 [4] (whilst approving the view of Von der Mühl (1952) 154, that 8. 199 [2] is already a trivialization of the true use of the motif at 1. 530 [1]) because the threat posed by Typhaon in the *Theogony* is very real, whilst here in the *Iliad* it is not. On the contrary, as has been exemplified again and again in this book, variations on traditional structure are designed to make a point.

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 219–20, 75. The characters most frequently found with this expression (Meriones, Idomeneus, Antilokhos, and Aineias) do not have regular formulae in the latter half of the line in other answering expressions, so one might argue that *ἀντίον ἦῤῥα* is employed *metri gratia* for those people who are unable to reply in any other way. However, 17 belies this conclusion, for the poet could easily have generated *αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἑρμείαν ἔπεα πετρόεντα προσήδα* (indeed, after pitying reactions, *ἔπεα πετρόεντα προσήδα* is common when the speaker is attempting to do something about it; cf. 49). One modification to the poet's existing systems for a name in this group is *τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε* (20. 86); cf. Appendix A (16) n. 33 (and (9) n. 17). This could easily be extended for the other names above (*τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἰδομενεὺς / Μηριόνης / Ἀντίλοχος ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπεν*) but it is not (on *Ἀντίλοχος*, cf. 23. 756; M. L. West (1982) 38 c). The failure of assorted metrical or syntagmatic methodologies to account for these phenomena leads one to suggest that connotative potential is to be linked with characters as well, in that they are cast in traditional roles which can explain the range of formulaic diction employed for them (the tentative suggestion of Janko above); cf. Appendix A nn. 7, 33 for examples.

³ *Kypria* arg. 14–16 Bernabé; also 87/3 and n. 7.

⁴ Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 77–88; also 9/27 n. 11.

⁵ Cf. 124/5; also 9/27 n. 11.

² Cf. 87/3 n. 2.

this time after placing the general blame for the reversal upon the gods. The audience is thus prepared for the encounter with Meriones, in which each speaker feels the need to justify his absence from the field; [9] after Idomeneus questions his companion about his absence from the field, Meriones explains his need for a new spear, being careful to mention that the spear was broken in an enemy's shield; [10] Idomeneus then offers him one of his, before speaking of his own custom of fighting close to the enemy, a fact which has earned him many spears and trophies; [11] Meriones is stung by this into recounting his own hoard of treasure, and his skill in the battle which he feels Idomeneus should know; [12] Idomeneus denies the need to be informed of this, and then issues an extended *gnome* about the qualities of the good and bad fighting men, before cutting short their encounter and suggesting that they return to the battle. In each case, the poet is signalling that the speaker is deeply concerned to provide an example of his own heroic worth with every speech. This is continued in [13], where Idomeneus (again in response to a $\pi\eta\iota$ question)⁶ decides to fight on the left of the battle. Hektor is in the centre and faced by the Aiantes, and he declines joining them on the grounds of their worthiness, into which he goes at some length. When he joins the battle and enjoys an *aristeia*, it is noticeable that there are no fighters of note opposing him until Deiphobos summons Aineias (13. 455–68), whereupon Idomeneus' greater age and infirmity lead him to call for aid. His *aristeia* ends shortly thereafter with a whimper. In the preparation for this series of encounters (just as in its resolution), the poet constantly undermines Idomeneus' military effectiveness.⁷

Other justifications are similarly revealing: [1] Helen's reminder of Odysseus' intellectual skills leads Antenor to comment on the exhibition of those skills in the embassy which preceded and could have avoided the war. The host on that occasion, Antenor is the most vociferous opponent of continuing the fight in the assembly in *H*, and will be spared at the sack.⁸ His position on the war is an ambiguous one, and his reminiscence of Odysseus' excellent qualities as a speaker imply his opposition towards, and criticism of, the course represented by Helen's presence; [3] Aineias is troubled by Diomedes' victorious progress across the field, and encourages Pandaros to shoot at him. This is an unusual request, given the ambiguous qualities of bowfighting in the poem,⁹ and when Pandaros avows the uselessness of that weapon, Aineias is now forced to suggest a combined attack [4].¹⁰ In the first speech, Aineias expresses his uncertainty about the identity of Diomedes, who may even be a god. In the second, after Pandaros has revealed that he has already engaged the

⁶ Cf. 45/6.

⁷ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁸ Cf. 2/5 n. 5.

⁹ Cf. 135.

¹⁰ Cf. 51/1; also 9/15 n. 8 for the episode as a whole.

hero in question, Aineias focuses on his horses' skill and so, by extension, his own heroic prowess—though with qualifications (5. 224–5)—as they prepare to attack. The poet thus illustrates the hero's hesitation to face such an overwhelming figure; [5] Sarpedon distinguishes Tlepolemos' application of the Laomedon / Herakles paradigm,¹¹ referring to the previous king's error as justification for his punishment and thus implying the lack of such motivation in the current situation, before expressing his prediction that Tlepolemos will die at his hands (a threat also seen e.g. in [14]). He cannot, nonetheless, be unaware of the weaknesses in his case; [15] Idomeneus replies with vehemence to Aias *minor*'s abuse, calling upon Agamemnon as ἴστωρ. Aias' apparently unmotivated abuse¹² had focused upon his adversary's great age (used by the poet to qualify his heroic quality during *N*),¹³ Idomeneus' painful awareness of which then motivates his reply;¹⁴ [16] in reply to Menelaos' demand for recompense, Antilokhos willingly gives in, excusing himself by his youth and foolishness. In an obvious contrast to the situation between Akhilleus and Agamemnon (in which Menelaos behaves with a restraint foreign to his brother), Antilokhos dances the fine line between guarding / asserting his right to material reward and showing respect due for those with greater authority;¹⁵ [17] pitying Priam,¹⁶ Zeus sends Hermes down to assist him. Zeus constantly affirms his regret at the destruction and suffering of the Trojans, and the poet goes to some lengths to depict him as sorrowful over the sufferings of mankind, whilst never forgetting (as some moderns have) that Zeus is the cause and guarantee of those sufferings.¹⁷

The qualification of the determination's eventual success is notable: [1] Antenor's story, or at least its implications, are simply ignored by Priam when he comes to ask his next question; [2] the following exhortations urged upon Agamemnon have mixed success, to say the least, and the Trojans are not immediately doomed because of the oath-breaking, as Idomeneus predicts; [3], [4] Pandaros and Aineias are roundly defeated; [5] Sarpedon does indeed kill Tlepolemos, but his denial of the Laomedon paradigm is eventually unsuccessful, and his wound so great that he requires rescue; [6] Here will of course fail to get Poseidon to join her in the attempt, though he acts off his own bat in *N–O*; [7] Eurypylos is unable to return to the battle despite Patroklos' assistance, and it is while he is tending him that the situation

¹¹ Cf. 172/4. Nonetheless, the paradigm contains a lesson for Sarpedon and the Trojans, in that a previous abuse of reciprocity brought about the first sack of the city; cf. 101/14 and n. 11 for another case where Agamemnon (this time) apparently uses a paradigm well, but without full understanding of its implications.

¹² Cf., however, 77/27 and n. 21.

¹³ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹⁴ Cf. 9/44 n. 29.

¹⁵ Cf. 9/45 n. 20.

¹⁶ Cf. 168/7. For other elements in the scenes leading up to the departure of Priam, cf. 177/25, and, for the exchange between Hermes and Priam, cf. 45/10 n. 5.

¹⁷ Cf. 49/4.

becomes so precarious;¹⁸ [8]–[13] Idomeneus' *aristeia* ends in his withdrawal and has no lasting effect upon the battle; [14] Meriones fails of course to kill Aineias, and Patroklos' following rebuke suggests the uselessness of such agonistic speeches; [15] there is no need to invoke Agamemnon, and it would be quite inappropriate, for Akhilleus is the *ἴστωρ* at these games, and he calms the quarrel by distributing the blame equally before the conflict moves too far;¹⁹ [16] Antilokhos does not succeed in returning the horse, for Menelaos gives in. The reversal of the usual detriment is significant precisely because of the connotation, as indeed (though more strongly) in [17], where Zeus' despatch of Hermes is successful. Notice, however, that this intervention and indeed motivation does not guarantee the success of the mission, at least in Akhilleus' eyes, when he threatens Priam (24. 559–70). This last example shows once again the exceptional nature of Akhilleus expressed through the manipulation of traditional associations.²⁰

108 'Odear' [ὦ πόποι]: 29 examples: [1] 1. 254, [2] 2. 157, [3] 2. 272, [4] 2. 337, [5] 5. 714, [6] 7. 124, [7] 7. 455, [8] 8. 201, [9] 8. 352, [10] 8. 427, [11] 13. 99, [12] {14. 49}, [13] 15. 185, [14] 15. 286, [15] 15. 467, [16] 16. 745, [17] 17. 171, [18] 17. 629, [19] 18. 324, [20] 20. 293, [21] 20. 344, [22] 21. 54, [23] 21. 229, [24] 21. 420, [25] 22. 168, [26] 22. 297, [27] 22. 373, [28] 23. 103, [29] 23. 782.¹

This ejaculation marks the speaker's awareness of a disjunction between his perspective or expectations and the narrative, introducing a statement or determination about that provocative context, which is usually effected. The few contrary examples fall at moments where such an expectation increases the tension in the conflict envisaged, for they are concerned with the maintenance of divine peace. Determinations can be expressed by the speaker, whether directed towards himself or another (as in e.g. [1], [2], [4], [5], [7], [14], [19], [22]), or they can be expressed by the addressee in response to the speaker's comments (as in [9], [15], [20]), and can include rebukes (as in e.g. [6], [23]) as well as specific instructions or suggestions (as in e.g. [1] and the majority of cases). In other words, the contents of the speech following the exclamation are greatly varied and not determined by the presence of ὦ πόποι. This is to be observed most clearly in those examples where no determination is made at all (as in [3], [12], [16], [27]–[29]), in which the character's exclamations simply set out their surprise at the turn of events.

This disjunctive connotation is the universal feature of this figure, giving rise to a range of emotional reactions: [1] Nestor's speech in *A* is designed to avert the now inevitable conflict between Akhilleus and Agamemnon, and the

¹⁸ Cf. 20/4 n. 5.

¹⁹ Cf. 9/44 n. 29.

²⁰ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 99, 56; Latacz (2000) on 1. 254, 105; Cuypers (2004).

old man proceeds by pointing out the joy this fracas would be giving their enemies. That their actions should lead to such a reaction in Troy is reason enough not to engage in it, and the opening expression adds to the indications that his following advice should have been implemented;² [3] the crowd's reaction to Thersites' beating is interesting, for his misbehaviour has great precedent, and his squashing signals a departure from the defensive and pessimist tone of the *Diapēira*.³ Odysseus' immediately following speech realigns the group to its mission, but the disjunction is between their happiness at this event and their current mood (*ἀχνυμένοι περ* 2. 270);⁴ [5] Here so introduces the speech to Athene in which she initiates their journey to the field to stop Ares destroying the Greeks, and she begins with suggesting the impossible—that their promises to Menelaos should remain unfulfilled; [6] Nestor's disapproval of the Greeks' reluctance to face Hektor is immediately set against his own experience of a past generation of great(er) heroes in order to shame his audience into action. It works; [7] Zeus' reassurance of Poseidon focuses on the unworthy fear which the latter has shown, and grants him the right to destroy the source of his ire, the Greek wall, which he does (12. 13–35);⁵ [9] Here's dissatisfaction at Hektor's victory is a personal slight upon her power and influence (as in [8]; cf. also [5]), to which theme she constantly returns;⁶ [10] Iris' following speech is directed towards the avoidance of divine conflict, which she depicts as particularly shocking given Athene's complicity in the plot;⁷ [12] Agamemnon's speech introduces his fear that the other Greeks have withdrawn from fighting out of anger, just as Akhilleus had done. As support among the *basileis* for his position had generally remained firm (however critical individual speakers were), this is truly surprising—and untrue. Nestor's reply reveals a slight annoyance,⁸ and Agamemnon's error is compounded in this scene by his disastrous advice to flee; [14] Thoas, after seeing Hektor wounded, now observes his return with surprise and an awareness of the need to counteract it;⁹ [16] Patroklos' vaunt over Kebriones, already surprising in light of his rebuke of Meriones for indulging in the same type of flyting (16. 626–31), is directed against Aineias' previous taunt, which had proceeded on similar (non-heroic) lines.¹⁰ The ejaculation is thus intended by the speaker to be ironical, but the deeper irony here (that both Trojans and Greeks can be killed) is not envisaged by Patroklos as he heads towards his own death;¹¹ [17] Hektor's indignant reply to Glaukos is opened by this expression to represent his amazement that the

² Cf. esp. B/2; also 77/3 n. 19.

³ Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 64/3; also 6/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 3/9 n. 7.

⁶ Cf. e.g. 4. 23–9, 18. 360–7.

⁷ Cf. Appendix B; also Commentary ad loc.

⁸ Cf. 78/26 (and 27).

⁹ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 404–5.

¹¹ Cf. 24/25 n. 2; also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3; 10/11 n. 7.

younger man should have shown such little sense given his previous prudence. Hektor now takes on the role of Glaukos' instructor, assigning to Zeus the pre-eminence in the battle;¹² [18] Aias complains of Zeus' clear favour to the enemy—often a surprise to the Greeks—and essays a (successful) prayer to him about being allowed to die in the light;¹³ [20] aware of Aineias' destiny, Poseidon is surprised to see him urged on by Apollo to fight Akhilleus, for it represents a serious challenge to the course of that future;¹⁴ [21] Akhilleus realizes, as the audience must (cf. 20. 301–8), that Aineias is favoured by the gods. It is almost as though he cannot countenance that others—particularly his enemies—should be so favoured, but at least some of his surprise is engendered by his realization that Aineias' pre-combat speech was not empty self-aggrandizement;¹⁵ [23] Skamandros addresses a rebuke at Apollo given his apparent lack of protection for the Trojans in the face of Akhilleus' onslaught, all the more surprising because Zeus had enjoined him to it. Not realizing the constraint under which Apollo is working,¹⁶ he then determines to attack Akhilleus; [25] Zeus can hardly view Hektor's death as a surprise, and so the disjunction in perspective is rather to be located in the honour due Hektor for his previous piety, and Zeus' realization of his own powerlessness in this situation;¹⁷ [26] finally aware of the truth (cf. also Aias *minor* in [29]), Hektor realizes that his death was long purposed by the gods, even his protector Apollo (22. 302–3), and he proposes to attack nonetheless;¹⁸ [27] the marvelling Greeks contrast their experience of Hektor at his moment of triumph with his current helplessness; [28] Akhilleus' knowledge of life in Hades is increased, against his expectation, by the appearance of Patroklos' shade, making clear the existence of *phrenes* in such creatures; [29] Aias *minor* is not surprised that Athene should favour Odysseus but, like others who recognize divine influence after the event (cf. esp. Hektor in [26]), his realization comes as a surprise in itself.¹⁹ Perhaps the poet is also hinting at the hostility which she will show him after his rape of Cassandra during the sack of Troy,²⁰ in that he will not realize the (potential of) hostility from Athene.

Divine peace is a common purpose for which characters react negatively to determinations introduced by ὦ πόποι, and the contradiction invokes a greater power: [8] Here is refuted by Poseidon (8. 208–11) on the grounds of Zeus' might; [13] his surprise generated from the idea of separate honour

¹² Cf. 76/8 and n. 2.

¹³ Cf. 126/19; also 54/26 n. 14.

¹⁴ Cf. 40/29 n. 14.

¹⁵ Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

¹⁶ Cf. 78/41 and n. 26.

¹⁷ Cf. 3/12 n. 13.

¹⁸ Cf. 96/12; 190/4; also 33/16 n. 4.

¹⁹ For the other elements in this contest between Aias and Odysseus (23. 768–84), cf. 105/12; 119/63; 126/20.

²⁰ Pace Kullmann (1960) 72–3.

stemming from the original *dasmos* of spheres, Poseidon is only persuaded by Iris (15. 200–4) with οἷσθ' ὥς πρᾶσβυτέροισιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἔπονται (204);²¹ [25] Athene deflects Zeus (22. 177–81) by hinting at the disapproval of fate and predicts open dissent from the other gods (179, 181).

Divine reminiscence of mortal tendance: 6 examples: [1] 4. 48–9, [2] 8. 201–4, [3] 20. 297–302, [4] 22. 169–72, [5] 24. 33–4, [6] 24. 68–70.¹ 109

Amongst themselves, gods recall their honouring by mortals when they are determined to act in fulfilment of those obligations, but are usually unable to do so. The freedom even of Zeus to respond to the observance of ritual is thus severely limited: [1] accepting that Troy's fate cannot be changed (or, perhaps more annoying, that Here is right), Zeus' anger and determination to destroy Here's favourite cities is deepened by his awareness that the Trojans have observed all his rites; [2] Here reminds Poseidon of his cult as a means to awaken in him the suitable determination to rebel against Zeus' injunction. Given the referential quality of these reminders, it is not an effective persuasive device;² [3] in a partial exception, Poseidon does invoke Aineias' piety in this regard as an initial reason for saving him. However, the crucial reason for his action is the anger of Zeus, who would be furious should Aineias die in contravention of his fated course. In any case, both Here and Athene remain unmoved, and what matters here is the degree of alignment between Zeus' power and the course of fate;³ [4] Zeus considers (apparently only half-seriously) the idea of saving Hektor, but is swiftly disabused by Athene;⁴ [5] Apollo calls the other gods to account for failing to regard Hektor's previous piety towards them. Even now, Here attempts to prevent any favourable action on his behalf, and it is only Zeus in the next example who achieves the resolution required; [6] Zeus exercises himself once again against Here's malevolence towards the Trojans to intercede for Hektor's burial. Nonetheless, even in this moment when his power is apparently unquestioned, he is still unable to act without securing Thetis' assent (cf. 24. 72–6). These episodes make it clear that intercession or protection is not to be expected as an automatic return on sacrifice. At best, it is a means to avoid immediate punishment.⁵

‘[he] wished victory’ [βούλετο νίκην]: 6 examples: [1] 7. 21, [2] 8. 204, [3] 13. 347, [4] 16. 121, [5] 17. 331–2, [6] 23. 682.¹ 110

²¹ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

¹ Cf. Allan (2006).

² Cf. Appendix B.

³ Cf. 40/29 n. 14.

⁴ Cf. 3/12 n. 13.

⁵ Cf. e.g. 7. 448–53, 9. 534–7 for episodes in which this failure is a source of instant danger for those concerned; also 20/6 n. 7.

¹ Usually a verse-end formula; only in 5 is it found over two verses.

This expression is usually applied to the actions or interventions of gods, and accompanies actions directed towards their purpose, but frequently where that purpose is being challenged: [1] Apollo's intervention is motivated by his desire to give victory to the Trojans, but Athene's return to the field requires some hasty bargains;² [2] Here is indeed asking Poseidon for that type of action, whilst pointing out that this is not where the narrative is heading at the moment; [3] the poet uses Zeus' will and its qualification (i.e. victory for the Trojans but not total destruction for the Greeks) as the backdrop for Poseidon's intervention, which stands in the way of the *Dios boule* at this moment; [4] Aias recognizes what he thinks is Zeus' determination to set fire to the ship, and so retreats from there as the planks are engulfed by the flames. This is the moment at which Patroklos then emerges into the battle; [5] Apollo in disguise persuades Aineias to join him in fighting over Patroklos' body by appealing to Zeus' desire to grant victory to the Trojans rather than the Greeks. Apollo is incorrect about the outcome of the impending *Leichenkampf*, and the Greeks in any case have the body as Apollo speaks; [6] the only occasion on which the wish is not that of a deity, Diomedes encourages his man Euryalos to enter the boxing competition and equips him for it. It is perhaps no surprise that Euryalos is to lose the coming encounter.³

These expressions are generally employed in third-person narrative, [2] being the only occasion where one god mentions to another a determination in this regard. Here's appropriation and manipulation of this figure as a persuasive device is a poor choice in the light of the associations discovered above, and so doomed to fail (unlike Zeus' appropriations).⁴

- 111 'at [her] greatly angered he spoke' [τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη]: 10 examples: [1] 1. 517, [2] 4. 30, [3] 7. 454, [4] 8. 208, [5] 15. 184, [6] 16. 48, [7] 17. 18, [8] 18. 97, [9] 19. 419, [10] 22. 14.¹

This speech introduction is used when the speaker is required to react to a situation or participate in a course of action he feels inappropriate. That feeling is central to the character's self-image, in that he is concerned with the expression, acknowledgment and preservation of his power.

The speaker is not necessarily refusing to comply with the prior speech. Instead, the introduction keys the audience to the fundamental ethical concerns of the speaker in any given situation. Immortals speak in [1]–[5]: [1] Zeus' reluctance is expressly linked to the strife it will cause with the other gods (specifically Here), coupled with his need to repay his debt to Thetis and

² Cf. C/2. ³ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. Commentary on 8. 452–4; also 5/1 n. 2 and Appendix B.

¹ Cf. Adkins (1969b) esp. 17; Scully (1984); also Latacz (2000) on 1. 517, 166.

enforce his will in the face of confrontation; [2] strife is again the source of Zeus' concern, although this time his displeasure is directed straight at Here, for he feels that her anger and hatred of Troy is unreasonable (cf. esp. 4. 31–6); [3] Zeus gently reproaches Poseidon for worrying about the construction of the wall, yet the latter's claim is provoked by the diminution he feels his own wall will suffer. As Zeus is the ultimate arbiter of these things, diminution in any deity's honour is a source of concern and potential rebuke for him (cf. esp. 7. 446–7, 450);² [5] Poseidon claims that Zeus' peremptory treatment of his wishes is unjustified, given their equal allotment of *time* (cf. esp. 15. 186–95).³ At the end of the process, in which these five examples have been generated, the *Dios boule* is now accepted by the divine players, however unhappy they may be.

Then, almost as though treating this divine process as a requisite for the mortal plane, the poet decides to use the figure for his human characters in [6]–[10]: [6] Akhilleus refuses to participate personally, as Agamemnon's insult still rankles him so as to make his return unpalatable;⁴ [7] Menelaos feels it wrong to retreat from combat (as Euphorbos suggested) in the face of the latter's vainglory;⁵ [8] Akhilleus refuses to retreat from fighting Hektor though he now knows his own destiny is soon fixed, because he has failed to protect Patroklos and other comrades. To remain isolated would amount to a denial of his nature;⁶ [9] Akhilleus tells Xanthos that he knows his death is near, and the introduction asserts the irrelevance of the warning given him. His course is already set, and caution against the time of death is no longer a consideration; [10] Akhilleus vigorously reproaches Apollo for damaging his *kudos* by saving Trojans, a deed done scurvily as the god feared no consequence therein. Akhilleus seeks to apply to the gods a mortal set of reciprocities, whose impossibility he immediately acknowledges, in that such personal intervention represents a mismatch of abilities.⁷ It is no surprise that most of these examples are applied to Akhilleus' speeches, for his self-concern dominates the course of the poem (and his authority is in some ways analogous to that of Zeus, to whom most of the divine examples are allotted).

'what sort of word did you speak?' [ποῖον τὸν μῦθον εἶπες]: 7 examples: 112
 [1] 1. 552, [2] 4. 25 (111/2), [3] 8. 209 (111/4), [4] 8. 462, [5] 14. 330, [6] 16. 440, [7] 18. 361.¹

² Cf. 3/9 n. 7.

³ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 83/4; also 9/30 n. 13.

⁵ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 41/9 n. 2. This is to be viewed not as an altruistic desire, but an integral element in the typical need to have one's authority acknowledged by others. Killing Patroklos shows scant regard for his companion, as he points out to Hektor (22. 332–4).

⁷ Cf. 149/3.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 1. 552, 111; Latacz (2000) on 1. 552, 173; also 83. The poet alters this expression at 13. 824 (*ποῖον εἶπες*;) by omitting *τὸν μῦθον* and, though one could argue that

This is a specifically divine interrogative designed to reject the implication or suggestion of a prior speech with a sense of outraged propriety. Most often used by Here (except [3])² when wrangling with Zeus, the response generally focuses upon the prior speaker's factual or conceptual error with regard to the established order of things, and is generally correct (or at least justified). There is no consistent connotation about the form of the rest of the speech or its content, beyond the idea that the speaker disagrees with and seeks to frustrate the errant character: [1] Here reacts to Zeus' secretiveness and his intimations of meddling. Given the number of children he has by other sources, her response about his freedom to act without reference to her desires is not unjust, though one might add that it is in her nature to oppose Zeus' will;³ [2] Zeus' play backfires as Here takes him at his word. Troy's destruction cannot be avoided; [3] Poseidon here disputes the wisdom of facing off with Zeus, because his greater power makes it simply an untenable operation; [4] Zeus' previous taunt confirms what Here and Athene now know, and realized even at the penultimate moment. Though Here is apparently disingenuous in suggesting that conflict (as envisaged by Zeus) was not their intention, yet he has not made clear to the pro-Greek deities the precise extent of his plan—an error which he rectifies (though angrily) in his next speech;⁴ [5] Here is indeed correct that to make love in the open air would be a shameful thing in the eyes of the other gods,⁵ and Zeus readily accommodates her reticence; [6] Here correctly points out the inappropriateness of altering the division between men and gods for Sarpedon;⁶ [7] again, Here is right in that her wrath must be able to be fulfilled, surely a fair point in a pantheistic system, and particularly with regard to a circumstance over which Zeus has eventual control.

- 113 'thus they spoke such to one another' [ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον]: 8 examples: [1] 5. 274, [2] 5. 431, [3] 7. 464, [4] 8. 212, [5] 13. 81, [6] 16. 101, [7] 18. 368, [8] 21. 514.¹

ποῖον here is only used for *οἶον* to avoid hiatus, I suggest that the poet's contraction is intended to be noticeable as such, for not only does Hektor use an expression of rebuke usually reserved for deities (and so inappropriately), but he does so whilst ignoring a clear bird omen 128/5—not surprising at all given his earlier unwise, almost impious, denial of orinthomancy *in toto* (12. 237–40)—and so another example of his faulty rhetoric; cf. 4/1 n. 2.

² Note that, when the poet allots Athene a closely paralleled speech to the one Here gives in 6 at 22. 177–81, he uses a different marker of the speaker's error; cf. 83/6.

³ Cf. Appendix B.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 5/1 n. 2; esp. 18/3, 4, 6 and n. 6. The poet seems to be suggesting that Zeus is not infallible.

⁵ Cf. *Od.* 8. 324.

⁶ Cf. 54/23 n. 12.

¹ Cf. de Jong (1987) 206. One might also include 24. 141–2, where the poet chooses to replace the usual expression with a distich: ὥς οἱ γ' ἐν νηῶν ἀγύρι μῆτηρ τε καὶ υἱός | πολλὰ πρὸς

This transitional verse marks a return to the action which formed the immediate pretext of the group of speeches thereby summarized, and which reaches its climax shortly thereafter. Thus the poet foreshadows the irruption of a new course in the narrative as that action continues to its end. But the digressional speeches are predictive of its culmination in terms of content as well, for the characters and issues discussed are then involved or reflected in that process.

The action to which the poet returns is usually exactly that which opened or motivated the discussion: [1] is framed by the advance of Aineias and Pandaros (<5. 240 | 275>), [2] by Diomedes' aggressive actions directed at deities (<5. 351 | 432>),² [3] by the construction of the wall (<7. 441 | 465>), [4] by Hektor's advance (<8. 172–98 | 213>), [5] by Poseidon's exhortations (<13. 65 | 83>), [6] by Aias' difficulties, his final retreat, and the firing of the ship (<16. 1 | 102>), [8] by the *theomakhia* (<21. 496 / 503 | 515>).³ Only in [7] does the transition return the focus to an action other than that which precedes, for the poet moves from the night vigil and lamentation over Patroklos (18. 355) to the commentary between Zeus and Here (356–68), and then after the transitional verse (368) to Thetis' arrival at Hephaistos' house (369), thus resuming a narrative thread begun at 18. 148 and showing again the narrative pre-eminence of Akhilleus.⁴

The end of the action is achieved shortly thereafter: [1] the advance of Aineias and Pandaros comes swiftly to its end shortly after the transition;⁵ [2] Diomedes' continued aggression towards the gods requires a warning from Apollo (5. 439–42);⁶ [3] the construction of the wall is finished immediately (7. 465); [4] Hektor's advance is curtailed by a Greek counterattack engineered by Here's impulsion of Agamemnon, his consequent prayer to Zeus, and the favourable omen (8. 218–52); [5] Poseidon's exhortations are continued and applied to the army as a whole (13. 82–125), before another reactivation sequence; [6] Aias' retreat and the firing follow immediately (16. 102–24), whereupon Patroklos enters battle (125); [8] the *theomakhia* finishes and the gods disperse (21. 515–20) before the narrative returns to Akhilleus (221). Once again, only in [7] is this not the case. The episode in

ἀλλήλους ἔπεια περὸν ἄγόμενον; cf. 49/59 and n. 1. This episode is also slightly divergent, in that the poet moves from a description of Akhilleus' maltreatment of Hektor's corpse (24. 14–22) to a divine assembly in which the ending of that action is determined. The process for ending is in itself exceptional, with Thetis being summoned and then despatched to earth to prepare Akhilleus for the ransom. This is another indication of his remarkable status, in that the transitional verse thus links him with the determination on Olympos, before returning to the action—the ransom itself; cf. 1 n. 3.

² Cf. 20/1 n. 2; also 33 n. 8.

³ Cf. 7/6 n. 7.

⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

Hephaistos' house is extended into the ekphrasis before Thetis finally returns with the armour to Akhilleus at the start of *T*. The point of the transitional marker in this example is to make the audience think in terms of the *telos* of the armour; thus the meticulous and measured description of the exchanges between Hephaistos, Thetis, and then of the shield, augment the episode as a preparation for Akhilleus' return to battle, and so that return itself.

The 'digressional' speeches reveal the characters and / or issues to be employed: [1] Sthenelos and Diomedes discuss the latter's determination to fight it out and claim Aineias' horses, which is what happens; [2] Dione's speech detailed some stories of mortals who had attacked gods, and warns Diomedes for it, which is precisely what Apollo does after the focus has been returned to the attack on Aineias;⁷ [3] Zeus' consolation of Poseidon rests on the understanding that Poseidon will be free to destroy the wall *after* the Greeks have gone. Thus his speech actually demands Poseidon's acceptance of Zeus' control over the battle, which he foreshadows for both sides (7. 478–9) and then acts upon in the assembly at the start of *Θ*;⁸ [4] Here is the one to impel Agamemnon's exhortation and prayer to Zeus, and stopping Hektor, temporarily at least, is its effect; [5] the reactivation of the battle is achieved when the Greeks have been steadied, in which the Aiantes (the speakers in the digression) are vital agents; [6] the speeches between Patroklos and Akhilleus self-evidently prepare Patroklos' advance;⁹ [7] Zeus' rebuke of Here focuses on the fact that Akhilleus has now arisen, for which the armour is the ultimate preparation;¹⁰ [8] the exchange between Artemis and Zeus at the end of the *theomakhia* foregrounds the role of Here in the generation of strife,¹¹ and the Greek ascendancy with which she has always been identified now reaches its penultimate stage.

114 Ares similes: 26 examples: [1] 2. 478–9, [2] 2. 627, [3] 2. 651, [4] 5. 576, [5] 7. 166, [6] 7. 208–10, [7] 8. 215, [8] 8. 264, [9] 8. 349, [10] 11. 295, [11] 11. 603–4, [12] 12. 130, [13] 13. 295, [14] 13. 298–303, [15] 13. 328, [16] 13. 500, [17] 13. 528, [18] 13. 802–3, [19] 15. 302, [20] 15. 605–8, [21] 16. 784, [22] 17. 72, [23] 17. 259, [24] 17. 536, [25] 20. 45–6, [26] 22. 132.¹

Perhaps unsurprisingly for a poem of war, Ares is very frequently used as a source of comparison for mortal warriors. Apart from some cases which do not quite fit into the following two categories (as [1], [9], [14], [20]), there are

⁷ Cf. 86/3 n. 5; also 33 n. 8.

⁸ Cf. 3/9 n. 7.

⁹ Cf. 9/30 n. 13.

¹⁰ Cf. also 180/7.

¹¹ Cf. Appendix B.

¹ Cf. Amory Parry (1973) 218–23; Scott (1974) 68–70; Moulton (1977) 21–2, 119; Simon (1985) 255–7; Erbse (1986) 156–68; Deacy (2000); Latacz (2003) on 2. 479, 139–40.

two major ways of constructing such similes, either with *βροτολογίῳ ἴσος Ἀρηι* (as in [10]–[12], [18], [25], [26]) or *θοῶι ἀτάλαντος Ἀρηι* (as in [2], [4], [7], [13], [15]–[17], [19], [21], [22], [24]). Whatever the simile's form, there is a consistent connotation of secondary status or ineffectiveness surrounding the characters so compared. This concords well with Ares' general press in the *Iliad*: wounded by Diomedes and Athene in *E*, abused by Zeus in the same book, rebuked for foolishness by Athene in *O*, and soundly defeated by the same goddess in *Φ*.²

The two characters most frequently compared to Ares are Hektor and Meriones. The latter is the subject of [13], [14] (together with Idomeneus), [15], [17], and (in the particularized form *ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντηι*) of [3], [5], [8], [23]. The concentration of the examples in *N* is quite extraordinary, the Idomeneus–Meriones episode itself having begun in such a way as to place a cloud over the participants and their eagerness for the battle:³ [13] Meriones gets a spear after his somewhat touchy exchanges with Idomeneus;⁴ [14] in an expansion of the previous simile, both Cretans are described in these terms as they enter the battle, but before Meriones asks a 'where / whither?' question as to where they should fight;⁵ [15] Meriones takes the lead this time in going where Idomeneus had indicated, away from Hektor;⁶ [16] Aineias and Idomeneus are so described as they attack one another. Neither covers himself with glory in this episode, Aineias standing off from the fight directly prior to the fight because he was not properly honoured by Priam,⁷ whilst Idomeneus is forced to retreat; [17] Meriones wounds Deiphobos in his attempt to strip Askalaphos' corpse. These episodes all portray Meriones in the shadow of his leader, and one whose own success is also not immune from question (somewhat reminiscent of the Agamemnon / Menelaos doublet).⁸ In fact, it is notable that Meriones is only so compared when he is acting together with Idomeneus, and so where he is neither the most prominent nor the most successful member of that pair. This is made

² Cf. 7/5 n. 6; cf. also, however, Erbse (1986).

³ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁴ Cf. *ibid*.

⁵ Cf. 45/6.

⁶ This may seem a trifle harsh on Idomeneus, but his *aristeia* begins with the Trojans targeting him (13. 330–2) rather than being routed by him, he calls for help against Aineias, and is forced to retreat fairly swiftly during that encounter; cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁷ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

⁸ Especially at the start of *K*; cf. 78/17 n. 3. Is it a coincidence that Menelaos is almost the only individual warrior labelled *ἀρηϊφίλος* (3. 21, 52, 69, 136, 206, 232, 253, 307, 430, 432, 452, 457; 4. 13, 150; 5. 561; 17. 1, 11, 138, *Od.* 15. 169; *contra* 17. 346)? Akhilleus is called *ἀρηϊφίλον* (2. 778), but only in the context of his withdrawal, where his troops miss him and they do not fight. Meleagros is also so labelled (9. 550) when he is about to withdraw from the fighting, and the Greeks are called *ἀρηϊφίλων*, but only when failing to push the Trojans back into Troy (6. 73, 17. 319, 17. 336) or from the camp (16. 303).

particularly clear in the catalogue entries: [3] Idomeneus opens and closes the ring surrounding the Cretan contingent, whilst [5], [8], [23] are all preceded by the expression Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ ὀπάων Ἰδομενῆος (7. 165 ~ 8. 263 ~ 17. 258)— and in none of these cases does Meriones go on to do anything at all, nor is the action itself successful: [5] the duel is indeterminate, [8] Teukros is wounded without being able to strike Hektor, and [23] the rescue of Patroklos' corpse is eventually achieved only with Akhilleus' aid. The Mycenaean prosody of the expression makes clear the extreme antiquity of this character's association with Ares, and his traditionally subordinate function in epic poetry.⁹

Hektor is almost as frequently compared to Ares, and again in situations where his ineffectiveness is underlined: [7] though penning the Greeks in their camp, his victory is undermined by the expression ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε (8. 216),¹⁰ and after the preceding conversation between Here and Poseidon the audience expects him to be opposed by Here;¹¹ [9] Hektor wheels before the camp with the eyes of Ares and Gorgo, but in a context where his imprudence and weakness have been underlined by the poet's choice of expression and simile;¹² [10] Hektor only advances now that Agamemnon has been wounded and withdrawn from the field (as Zeus had warned him), but the form of his *aristeia* itself connotes a coming unsuccessful encounter;¹³ [18] Hektor is unable to break the Greek line, whilst Aias' challenge to him is approved by an omen;¹⁴ [20] the poet has just told the audience that Zeus is waiting for the turning point so as to push the Trojans back from the ships;¹⁵ [22] Apollo's exhortation focuses on Hektor's dereliction in allowing Euphorbos to be killed by such an ineffectual warrior as Menelaos whilst he was off chasing Akhilleus' horses. Hektor does of course move to intercede and strip Patroklos' corpse, but he avoids facing Aias and is then rebuked by Glaukos for doing so, and the Greeks eventually claim the corpse.

Apart from these two characters, the simile's ambiguity can be applied to anyone great or small: [1] Agamemnon is made impressive by Zeus as he marshals the army, with the eyes of Zeus, the waist of Ares, and the chest of Poseidon as well. He is of course being manipulated by Zeus entirely in this action;¹⁶ [2] the metanast Meges heads quite a large

⁹ Cf. M. L. West (1997a) 234; *contra* Wyatt (1996) 548–9.

¹⁰ Cf. 115/2; also Commentary ad loc.

¹¹ Cf. 113/4.

¹² Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹³ Cf. 96/5 n. 2.

¹⁴ Cf. 128/5; also 85/3 n. 4.

¹⁵ Cf. 150 n. 1; 44/5, 6 n. 2.

¹⁶ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 2. 479, 166; also Latacz (2003) ad loc., 139, where he thinks it '*pars pro toto* für die gesamte Rüstung'; id. on 478–9, 139: 'der Vergleich zielt also nicht nur auf das Aussehen des Agamemnon, sondern auch auf die entsprechende Ausstrahlung und Kompetenz.'

contingent, though he is not an important warrior in the poem, and the fact of *metanasteia* does not reflect uniformly well on the characters so described (e.g. 9. 648). In the entry itself, he is overshadowed by his father Phyleus (628–9);¹⁷ [4] Pylaimenes is so described as he and his charioteer are killed; [6] applied to Aias as he begins the duel, and there is no denying that he has the better of the combat,¹⁸ but it must also be acknowledged that he was reluctant to volunteer in the first place and does not kill Hektor, and has been prevented from doing so by the gods (as made clear at the start of the episode); [11] Patroklos is called out of the tent by Akhilleus, and the poet happily informs the audience at the same time that this *κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἄρχῇ* (11. 604);¹⁹ [12] Leonteus is so described at the start of his joint *aristeia* with Polypoites.²⁰ This period of prominence is purely defensive and, though Leonteus kills more people than Polypoites, there is another imbalance in their relative importance in the catalogue entry in *B* (as Menelaos and Idomeneus in [3]) where Polypoites is the son of Zeus and described over five verses (2. 740–4), Leonteus the son of Koronos is described in two (745–6; cf. also *ῥζος Ἀργος* 745);²¹ [19] Meges is again described in a catalogue of leaders who follow Thoas' advice and keep Hektor at bay. In this defensive activity, Aias *maior* is the chief hero and, when Meges is in fact mentioned (15. 520–4) and kills a Trojan in an *alienum vulnus*, the poet dwells on the breastplate guest-gift of his father Phyleus from Euphetes which protects his son (529–34) from Dolops' counterattack, before an unsuccessful strike from Meges shears off Dolops' crest and requires Menelaos (!) to finish him off; [21] Patroklos is so described in his final killing-run as the gods call him to death;²² [24] only able to strip the corpse because the arrival of the Aiantes puts Hektor to flight, Automedon strips his victim and then says it will be poor recompense for the loss of Patroklos.²³

Once again, the only apparent exception to this is Akhilleus, though in each case the poet is trying to qualify his effectiveness with this simile: [25] trembling seizes the Trojans as they see Akhilleus before the first element of the *theomakhia*. As with Hektor in [7], [20], the proximity of divine activity places a limit on the mortal character's influence. This specifically divine conflict, however, ceases almost immediately, and the poet moves to Aineias' extended combat with Akhilleus. It is in this episode that the deities impinge upon Akhilleus' freedom to act, Poseidon saving the Trojan and delivering to him a prophecy about his own and his enemy's future. In short, the simile preceding the episode leads the audience to expect some qualification as the combat narrative

¹⁷ Cf. Martin (1992); Latacz (2003) ad loc., 203; also 19 below.

¹⁸ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

¹⁹ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

²⁰ Cf. 138/7 | 139/7.

²¹ Cf. also 197/2.

²² Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

²³ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

proceeds, creating uncertainty about the outcome of the coming duel as Aineias is impelled forward;²⁴ [26] Hektor flees at Akhilleus' advance. This prepares the audience for Akhilleus' failure to catch the former, and for Athene's role in persuading the Trojan to stand and fight. Though by far the most elaborate examples of the simile's connotation, the reader must have learned to expect that Akhilleus will push the referential resources of any unit to its very limits.²⁵

- 115 'glory | [he] gave' [$\kappa\hat{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ | $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$]: 8 examples: [1] 1. 279, [2] 8. 216, [3] 11. 300, [4] 12. 437, [5] 13. 303, [6] 18. 456, [7] 19. 204, [8] 19. 414.¹

Such attributions of success bestow an apparent inevitability which is nonetheless (and more or less immediately) undermined or challenged: [1] the prior granting of $\kappa\hat{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ to the *basileus* is Nestor's explanation to Akhilleus of the imbalance in $\tau\mu\eta$, which the latter does not accept;² [2] Here and Zeus together, in effect, engineer the first delay in the *Dios boule* in the form of a Greek counterattack; [3] $\kappa\hat{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ is linked with the catalogue of Hektor's victims as the final act during his *aristeia* before his incapacitation by Diomedes; [4] the Trojan incursion into the camp is almost immediately undermined by Zeus' inattention and the intervention of Poseidon; [6] the victory granted by Apollo to Hektor over Patroklos is recalled by Thetis as the arms are made, which is obviously an important element in the preparation for Hektor's eventual death; [7] Akhilleus invokes Hektor's prior success, and the image of the dead Greeks which was its result, as an incentive to the coming battle which will end it;³ [8] Akhilleus' horse apportions the responsibility for Patroklos' death on the previous day to Apollo, right at the moment when Hektor is about to pay for this moment of victory; [5] seems at first sight an exception, but the granting of $\kappa\hat{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ to either the Ephryoi or Phlegyai is to be seen in a traditional and long-standing enmity in which the victory has been alternating from one side to the other.⁴ In this case, the reciprocity of the action undermines each side equally, and adds to the many other such indications about Idomeneus and Meriones in *N*.⁵

- 116 'in his *phrenes* placed' [$\epsilon\nu$ / $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$]: 6 examples: [1] 1. 55, [2] 8. 218, [3] 13. 121 ($\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\epsilon$), [4] 16. 83 ($\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$), [5] 19. 121 ($\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$), [6] 21. 145.¹

²⁴ Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

²⁵ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Trümper (1950) 196–200; also 74 (and n. 1) for a similar expression with a different referential implication; the current unit (except 5) is usually a line-end formula.

² Cf. 77/3 n. 19.

³ Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

⁴ Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 85.

⁵ Cf. 114/14; also 9/27 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 55, 49. The expression conveys not only divine impulsion but also the imparting of information. The relationship between human and divine motivation (and

This action is usually confined to divine agents (except [3], [4]), who may impart either a course of action, a general quality such as *aĩdĩwĩs*, or an item of information. In every case, the agent establishes the object of the expression in the subsequent narrative and so fulfils his or her intention: [1] the assembly does succeed in uncovering and removing the cause of Apollo's wrath, thus effecting Here's care for the Greeks; [2] enacting Here's previously announced intention, Agamemnon's exhortation brings this first period of Hektor's dominance to an end; [3] though expressed with an imperative which renders the mortal addressees the agents, the Greeks do respond positively to Poseidon's exhortation;² [4] the only human agent to use the expression directly,³ Akhilleus attempts to prevent Patroklos from overstepping a certain boundary in his coming *aristeia*.⁴ That he fails is expressly related by the poet to Patroklos' later failure to follow this advice (16. 686–91), which is hereby marked with even greater irony as a sensible thing to do. Again the exception proves the rule;⁵ [5] following the terms of Zeus' earlier prediction, Here thus prefaces her announcement of Eurystheus' birth. Despite his anger, the substance of her statement will stand, and is the first evidence of her long-standing opposition to Herakles;⁶ [6] Skamandros places *ĩvĩwĩs* into the heart of Asteropaios in order that he face Akhilleus and prevent the continued slaughter in the river. He does indeed do so, though unsuccessfully, yet this was not Skamandros' purpose as the poet frames it (21. 146), and he will be forced to intervene personally.⁷

In most of these cases, the implementation of the immediate action has a negative outcome for both the instilling and instilled characters, and one which they were unable to see at the time. For mortal characters, particularly, this is only another element in the central human limitation, in that necessary actions may still be harmful. This is also true of the gods, though they have more choice in the matter: [1] directed admittedly towards addressing a failure on Agamemnon's part, Akhilleus can hardly foresee what then happens in the *assembly*, and Here cannot be pleased at its outcome; [3] having no choice in the circumstance (of course), the Greeks cannot be expected to see the extent of the *Dios boule*, nor the extent of its damage. Continued resistance to it does not prevent its fulfilment, but it does ensure that the suffering involved will be greater. For Poseidon himself, it can only bring a rather

various gradations therein) is an issue in which there is no room here to become entangled, and so I confine myself to stating a general agreement with the notion of 'double motivation'; cf. Lesky (1961); Sharples (1983); Erbse (1986); A. Schmitt (1990); Pelliccia (1995); Cairns (2001*a*) 12–24; Gaskin (2001); Teffeteller (2003); cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 55, 49; *contra* Kirk (1990) on 8. 218, 317; also C. Wilson (1996) ad loc., 191.

² Cf. also 122/3; also 17/9 n. 13.

³ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. also 9/30 n. 13.

⁵ Cf. 40 n. 1; also 1 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. esp. 172/12, and Appendix B; also 4/11 n. 4.

⁷ Cf. 23/7 n. 7; also 33 n. 7.

painful exemplification of his necessary subordination to Zeus; [4] Akhilleus' advice to Patroklos is fundamentally mistaken because it tries to overcome the possibility of his friend's death, and is aimed at the idea that Patroklos will win *time* and *kudos* for Akhilleus. Sending him out in fact ensures his death, and Patroklos' loss is obvious;⁸ [5] while Zeus is obviously the immediate loser in agreeing to the oath, Here can hardly think that Herakles will end up a deity, or that all her intervention will not prevent him from having the glory Zeus had foreseen. Nonetheless, her action increases the *stasis* with her husband, and does not prevent what she wanted—the honouring of Herakles; [6] Skamandros cannot have intended that Asteropaios would die, for he is trying to stop Akhilleus, and his own involvement ends up bringing him in harm's way.

This connotation of harm and knowledge limitation allows the audience to see further into the circumstances of both Here and Agamemnon in [2], an example not as clear in this regard as the others. Firstly, Here is bound to follow Zeus' lead in this situation (a fact she is yet to accept), for it is only his response to Agamemnon's prayer which moves the Greeks on to the counter-attack. Moreover, her action betokens a plan to continue intervening in the battle, from which she will only be dissuaded with the threat of violence in both *Θ* and *Ο*. Similarly, and like most mortals in the same circumstance, Agamemnon himself continues to believe that resistance is possible, but what is most noticeable in the circumstance is his belief in Zeus' favour because of his past observance of the proper ritual (8. 236–41). Zeus juggles many obligations, and Agamemnon's is not the only fish he must fry. A natural corollary of this limitation is Agamemnon's mistaken inference that this current passage of fighting spells doom for the Greeks (cf. esp. 246).

- 117 '[he] went to go' [βῆ δ' *ἵέναι*]: 32 examples: [1] 4. 199, [2] 4. 209, [3] 5. 167, [4] 6. 296, [5] 8. 220, [6] 9. 596, [7] 10. 32, [8] 10. 73, [9] 10. 136, [10] 10. 179, [11] 10. 273, [12] 10. 297, [13] 10. 336, [14] 12. 299, [15] 13. 167, [16] 13. 208, [17] 13. 242, [18] 13. 789, [19] 14. 134, [20] 14. 166, [21] 14. 188, [22] 14. 384, [23] 15. 483, [24] 16. 221, [25] 17. 657, [26] 19. 241, [27] 20. 32, [28] 20. 319, [29] 20. 484, [30] 21. 205, [31] 24. 95, [32] 24. 347.¹

Such movement is always strongly connected to and motivated by the preceding narrative, whether by direct request or situational exigency, and the end-point of the journey is usually stressed or at least mentioned. Requests or suggestions motivate [1], [2], [4], [6], [9]–[14], [16]–[19], [22], [23], [25]–[28], [31], [32], whilst the death of some Trojans at the hands

⁸ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

¹ Cf. Chantraine (1953) 301; Kurz (1966) 97 and nn. 9 and 10, 105–6.

of Diomedes precedes Aineias' intervention at [3],² Here's impulsion precedes [5], Menelaos' concern for the army and inability to sleep (paired closely with the previous episode where Agamemnon was of course unable to sleep) informs [7] and is matched by [8],³ the loss of Meriones' spear precedes [15],⁴ Here's determination to deceive Zeus precedes [20] and [21],⁵ the typical need to libate before departure informs [24], and the killing of the Paionian leader naturally devolves into the slaughter of his men in [30]. In every case, the character's aim is therefore clear to the audience.⁶

The action or journey itself is usually successful, in the sense either that the character arrives at the place aimed at or finds the character he is looking for, but it is a very short term proleptic unit: [1] Talthybios finds Makhaon and summons him; [2] Makhaon responds, finds the wounded man, and treats him; [4] Hekabe leads the Trojan women in their unsuccessful attempt to enlist Athene's aid;⁷ [6] Meleagros succeeds in averting the *κακὸν ῥῆμαρ* from the Aitolians; [9] Nestor begins to rouse the Greek leaders, coming across Odysseus first of all; [13] on one of the very rare occasions where the character does not even reach the desired point, Dolon sets out—but the poet tells the audience immediately that he was not to return (10. 336–7). The disjunction adds to the excitement here, the poet keeping deliberately unclear precisely where the two sets of scouts would meet;⁸ [14] Sarpedon's attack, magnified by a simile, does lead to the breaking of the wall (12. 397–9); [17] Idomeneus does return to the battle, but only after his encounter with Meriones;⁹ [19] the Greek leaders' advance, qualified though it is, does coincide with a Greek resurgence which continues after the *Dios apate* (cf. [22]); [23] Teukros returns to Aias' side, rearmed after his bow was broken.¹⁰ There is a Trojan resurgence, but the honours are even in the subsequent encounters; [25] Menelaos succeeds in finding Antilokhos and sending him to inform Akhilleus; [27] the gods reach the battlefield, and play a prominent role in the fighting until they retire after the *theomakhia*; [32] Hermes not only finds Priam, but guides him to and from the Greek camp.¹¹

There are two exceptional occasions where the expression is used to denote an attack upon named individuals, both of them unsurprisingly involving Akhilleus [29], [30].¹² In each case he successfully kills his victim, but the deployment of this expression in such an atypical context may be intended to show that individual encounters with the other Trojans are but a step—of relative unimportance to him—in the process of wreaking vengeance on

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 9/25 n. 26; also 78/17 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁵ Cf. 78/28 n. 18.

⁶ Even 29, which simply continues Akhilleus' killing spree without the sort of information preceding 30, is a natural extension of that period.

⁷ Cf. 126/9.

⁸ Cf. 11/9 n. 4.

⁹ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹⁰ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

¹¹ Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

¹² Cf. 1 n. 3.

Hektor: [29] falls directly after his first encounter with Hektor, at the close of which Akhilleus realizes they are not to meet decisively yet, and so he must turn his attention to the rest of the Trojans (20. 448–54), whilst [30] is separated from this episode by his river leap and the encounters with Lykaon and Asteroipaion, upon which he resumes the killing spree¹³ before his *contre-temps* with Skamandros and the following *theomakhia*.¹⁴ In other words, at this stage of Akhilleus' *aristeia*, the poet is trying to broaden the narrative focus beyond the mere fact of killing, delaying the final combat of the entire poem.

- 118 'purple' [πορφύρεος]: 17 examples: [1] 1. 482, [2] {3. 126}, [3] 5. 83, [4] 8. 221, [5] 9. 200, [6] 14. 16, [7] 16. 334, [8] 16. 391, [9] 17. 361, [10] 17. 547, [11] 17. 551, [12] 20. 477, [13] 21. 326, [14] 21. 551, [15] 22. 441, [16] 24. 645, [17] 24. 796.¹

Purple is used to describe items when the context in which the item is invoked is at least threatening for the participants. Thus, it is the natural colour for Thanatos in the act of grabbing victims (as [3], [7], [12]) or for blood spilt during battle [9]. It is also a colour for a dangerous entity like the sea: [1] so qualified as the Greeks journey back to camp, and to the dangerous impasse, described by the poet as soon as they return. The point of the voyage, whilst apparently successful in its propitiation, is only the beginning of their troubles; [6] the sea is invoked to compare the Trojan assault on the wall as it is overborne; [8] again in a simile, the sea is so described as the place to which the ruined works of men are deposited by rivers in flood; [13] Skamandros heaps up his waters to attack Akhilleus, an action dangerous for all concerned.² Other natural phenomena are also so described: [10] Athene is compared to a rainbow as she moves to the battlefield (and the cloud in which she conceals herself as she moves [11]); the rainbow is sent from Zeus *τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο | ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος* which destroys the works of men (17. 548–9); [14] Agenor's heart is so described as he ponders Akhilleus' onset, all too aware of the risks involved.³

It is also used of a range of textiles, from coverlets (as [5], [16]) to cloaks (as in [2], [4], [15]) and *peploi* [17], and only some of these are directly threatening: [2] Helen and [15] Andromakhe are found weaving a cloak; Helen incorporates episodes from the war into her design, whilst Andromakhe creates a floral pattern. In each case, the cloak and the activity symbolize a doomed household in a doomed community at a moment when this becomes clear to the participants; Helen represents herself as

¹³ Cf. 138/11.

¹⁴ Cf. 23/7 nn. 6, 7.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 482, 158; Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 482, 244–5; Langholf (2004).

² Cf. 23/7 nn. 6, 7.

³ Cf. 40/31 n. 15.

thoroughly dissatisfied with the situation, whilst Andromakhe is just about to find out that her husband is dead; [4] the purple cloak is a sign of Agamemnon's distress, and the danger represented by the situation of retreat. This definition does not exclude a more practical purpose, i.e. that the cloak would gain the army's attention, or indeed the gods' for his coming prayer,⁴ but the connotation of the colour allows the audience another insight into his attitude and situation before he speaks; [5] the ambassadors (and perhaps even more so Priam [16]), are in a very difficult and ambiguous situation of hospitality with Akhilleus, so the coverlets on which they are seated are not simply pretty; [17] the *peploi* with which Hektor's bones are wrapped are also a symbol of what Hektor's death means for the Trojan community.⁵

'holding' [ἔχων]: 71 examples: [1] 1. 14, [2] 1. 45, [3] 1. 168, [4] 1. 225, [5] 1. 373, [6] 2. 101, [7] 2. 279, [8] 2. 447, [9] 2. 872, [10] 3. 17, [11] 4. 154, [12] 4. 533, [13] 5. 271, [14] 5. 593, [15] 5. 624, [16] 6. 44, [17] 6. 400, [18] 7. 137, [19] 7. 150, [20] 8. 221, [21] 8. 349, [22] 9. 86, [23] 10. 440, [24] 11. 256, [25] 11. 488, [26] 12. 27, [27] 12. 422, [28] 12. 434, [29] 12. 444, [30] 13. 201, [31] 13. 537, [32] 14. 385, [33] 14. 431, [34] 15. 311, [35] 15. 361, [36] 15. 443, [37] 15. 717, [38] 16. 68, [39] 16. 107, [40] 16. 734, [41] 17. 412, [42] 17. 436, [43] 17. 473, [44] 17. 520, [45] 17. 604, [46] 18. 33, [47] 18. 132, [48] 18. 536, [49] 18. 551, [50] 18. 557, [51] 18. 594, [52] 19. 18, [53] 19. 251, [54] 20. 68, [55] 21. 19, [56] 21. 139, [57] 21. 145, [58] 21. 259, [59] 21. 393, [60] 23. 114, [61] 23. 219, [62] 23. 481, [63] 23. 780, [64] 23. 892, [65] 24. 63, [66] 24. 280, [67] 24. 284, [68] 24. 304, [69] 24. 345, [70] 24. 647, [71] 24. 724.¹

Disquisition upon an item in this way suggests or foreshadows that aspect of the participant's character and attitude, though the object need not be further mentioned or used during the course of the coming action. Many of these expressions occur during combat, denoting the weapon with which the strike is made or other action undertaken (as in [10], [12], [15], [16], [18], [19], [22], [24], [27], [29], [31], [33], [36], [39]–[42], [44], [45], [49], [54]–[57], [59]), but the objects range from Agamemnon's sceptre (in [6], [7]; cf. [50]), Astyanax in the grasp of an attendant [17], the aegis (as

⁴ Cf. 126/13.

⁵ Cf. also 134/16, 13, 19 for the application of another apparently random quality in such circumstances.

¹ I confine this list to the nominative participle (principally for reasons of space, but this is by far the most common case) and physical objects, excluding expressions where the gods (1. 18, 2. 13, 2. 30, 2. 67, 5. 383, 15. 115) or specifically the Muses (2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112) have Olympian homes. I could also have omitted 4 (also on the grounds of being a vocative) and 21, in which Agamemnon is said (by Akhilleus) to have the eyes of a dog and Hektor those of the Gorgon and man-slaying Ares (cf. 114/9). I assume that this is not meant literally.

in [8], [36], [37]), wine [69] or the cup [61] for libation, the *stathmos* with which a woman works the loom [28], the horses of Priam [66] (cf. [13]),² corpses dragged by Ker [48] or lifted on high to be stripped [30], Kydoimos in the grip of the advancing Enyo [14], the little strip of land to which the Greeks are confined [38],³ the *phorminx* with which Apollo attended the wedding of Peleus and Thetis [65], or Hektor's head held by his wife at the start of her lamentation [71]. Hands are also frequently held, whether as a sign of affection [51] or concern for safety (as in [11], [25], [46]). Lack of further mention or emphasis is often because the item is assumed to be an essential ingredient in the process, as e.g. torches carried in order to work at night [70],⁴ spears or shields in combat or its preparation, and horses and their teams before or after a journey (as in [13], [31], [33], [42], [66]).

The person holding the item will usually play a prominent role in the coming narrative, but the item itself may be more important, and its significance is frequently more than merely practical: [1] Khryses' role as Apollo's priest is symbolized by his paraphernalia, and Agamemnon hints that even this may not be enough to save him a second time (1. 28) (cf. also [4]); [2] Apollo's weapons are to play an obvious role in what comes; [6] Agamemnon's possession of the sceptre, as well as the poet's exegesis on its origins, focuses attention on his authority,⁵ as indeed does the sceptre in Odysseus' hands [7]; [8] the aegis which Athene waves about in her encouragement of the Greeks is of course naturally used in combat (as in [34], [35]), but on this first day it represents the neutrality of the *Dios boule*, for in [34], [35] the bearer is Apollo acting under Zeus' instructions; [10] Paris' panther skin and bow (also a sword) are generally indicative of a certain motivational ambiguity, for the bow is a questionable weapon in a formal duel of this sort,⁶ and the panther skin is also worn by the similarly ineffective Menelaos in *K*;⁷ [11] Agamemnon's concern for his brother's safety is encapsulated in grasping his hand; [13] the horses which Ankhises had and raised at his stall become the goal of Diomedes' attack, Ankhises himself being entirely absent (from the poem!);⁸ [17] Astyanax is borne by an attendant who plays no further part in the *Homilia*, whilst the boy himself is vital;⁹ [18] Ereuthalion's possession of Areithoos' armour, obtained by the former's companion in combat and then left to him, not only signals the coming fight with Nestor, but also the prize which Nestor will win. It may also allow the audience to reflect on the shifting

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8. ³ Cf. 9/30 n. 13. ⁴ Cf. 9/46 n. 21. ⁵ Cf. 2/2 n. 15; also 104/1.

⁶ Cf. 135; also Kirk (1985) ad loc., 267–8.

⁷ Cf. 177/8; also 78/17 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. 9/15 n. 8. Furthermore, the horses were taken by Ankhises in secret from Laomedon (5. 268–9), foreshadowing the continuation of dynastic strife within the Trojan royal family from one generation to the next; cf. 18/7 n. 9.

⁹ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

fortunes of war: Ereuthalion inherits armour from a man who won it in a duel, and will in turn surrender it in the same context. Could the poet be hinting at the death of Antilokhos in this sequence?;¹⁰ [21] the eyes of the Gorgon and Ares represent both Hektor's almost supernatural martial fury (and perhaps his divine support) as well as, at least in the latter case, an intimation of coming failure;¹¹ [23] Dolon describes Rhesos' armour to Diomedes and Odysseus, once again (as in [18]) foreshadowing the capture of his equipment;¹² [26] though generally significant of the deity, Poseidon's trident is both a tool and a symbol of the power directed against the wall;¹³ [28] the *stathmos* is of obvious utility in weaving activities, but more broadly it represents a world of approved action for Homeric females;¹⁴ [30] holding the corpse above the ground, admittedly an unusual thing to do, strengthens the connection between the Aiantes and the lions in the simile (13. 198–200);¹⁵ [36] the bow is the weapon requested by Aias (15. 440–1)¹⁶ and then used in a series of kills for Teukros before Zeus breaks it and the hero rearms in more conventional manner; [37] Hektor's hold on the ship seems not to make any immediate tactical sense, as presumably one could hurl fire (15. 718) without first grabbing the thing, but it does indicate the achievement of possession; [39] the constant use of the shield has sapped Aias' strength and symbolizes his retreat, despite his continued resistance; [40] though Patroklos immediately picks up a stone, the presence of the spear as he makes his attack is generally significant of his attitude;¹⁷ [43] Alkimedon's portrait of Hektor (repeated by Thetis to Hephaistos in [47])¹⁸ is not simply that he possesses the armour, but that he glories in its possession. That act has already been the subject of Zeus' troubled ruminations;¹⁹ [48] Ker holds a corpse because that is what she does; [52] the armour itself, no less than the joy Akhilleus feels in it, is the practical beginning of the final battle day (cf. also [18], [19], where Nestor gives an elaborate insert tale about the origin of the armour between the two examples); [53] Talthybios holds the boar in preparation for the sacrifice (a typical herald's function, cf. 3. 118–20, 245–8), but he waits on Agamemnon to begin the ritual. The whole thing represents the resumption of normal social behaviour, and on all levels; [58] the poet's focus on the mattock strengthens the equation between the simile and the narrative, as Akhilleus and his weaponry (and not necessarily only the ash-spear) stand in the same relationship to their Trojan victims as the bludgeoning mattock and its insensate victims. It is almost as though his

¹⁰ Pace Kullmann (1960) 124 n. 2.

¹¹ Cf. 114/9.

¹² Cf. 15/3 n. 4; also 11/9 n. 4.

¹³ Cf. Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 320.

¹⁴ Cf. Wohl (1993); also Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 362 for *ἀεικέα μισθόν*.

¹⁵ Cf. 164/13.

¹⁶ Cf. 124/6; also 40/20 n. 8.

¹⁷ Cf. 24/25 n. 2.

¹⁸ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

¹⁹ Cf. 6/4 n. 4; also 40/24 n. 10.

slaughter had no part in the usual violent reciprocity of war;²⁰ [61] the cup is obviously required for the libation, but the poet pauses so as to let the audience focus on the continuous nature of the action, occurring as it does ‘*all night*’ (23. 218);²¹ [62] Aias *minor*’s retort about Eumelos’ continued good progress and possession of the reins is deeply significant in the light of Idomeneus’ suggestion that he had dropped them,²² and the audience’s own knowledge of what has happened to him (23. 391–7); [63] after his fall, Aias *minor* stands up holding the horns of the cow and delivers a rueful speech about his luck. His grasping of the horns represents not only the fact that he has won that second prize (23. 779), but also the cowardice on which he slipped and is still spitting out as he stands (781);²³ [64] Akhilleus’ offer to Agamemnon does not specify (for the audience) which prize he means by τὸδ’ ἄεθλον until the next verse (23. 893), which places extra emphasis on the gift itself. When Meriones takes the spear (in a spear-throwing contest) and Agamemnon is left with the cauldron, the emphasis is surely not undeliberate;²⁴ [65] Here’s charge against Apollo is not only that he attended the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, but that he attended with his *phorminx* and so indicated his good will by participating; [67] last appearing in an appeal to her husband not to go,²⁵ Hekabe’s emergence with the wine for the typical libation betokens her acquiescence in Priam’s intention which she then qualifies with further instructions to her husband;²⁶ [68] aside from the practical need to have someone bring to the departure place some lustral water before the libation, this scene’s addition of a servant girl holding the instruments strengthens the contrast between this and the other example of libation before a departure in the *Iliad*, Akhilleus’ actions before Patroklos’ departure in *II*. There he performed the washing himself, whilst here Priam has the resources of an entire city and a (still) powerful community to draw upon, which is obviously significant in a mission conducted for ransom

²⁰ Cf. also 153/9.

²¹ Cf. 205/15, 16.

²² Cf. 67/8; also 9/44 n. 29.

²³ Cf. 108/29 n. 19.

²⁴ Cf. 7/8 n. 8. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 269–70, believes ‘it becomes clear’ that the first prize is the cauldron, the spear being naturally less valuable, and that the episode ‘seals the reconciliation’ between the two. This ignores the fact that on no other occasion is the second named prize intended for the winner in the Funeral Games; cf. 23. 263–70, 653–6, 702–5, 740–51, 850–1 (at 826–9 there is only one prize offered). The sole exception to this are the prizes offered for the armour fight (798–800), where Akhilleus sets out the armour of Sarpedon to be shared equally, but then offers in his speech (805–8) the sword of Asteropaios to the one who hits first. From this it is clear that in every other case the poet specifies the victory prize, either in his own voice with an ordinal (265, 750) or participle (656, 702 and 704), or in a following speech from Akhilleus (805–8, 855–8). His failure to be similarly precise in this case is therefore deliberate. When allied with similar elements throughout the Funeral Games, and this very episode within them (cf. 7/8 n. 8), this leads me to doubt whether all is as well in the Greek camp as Richardson believes.

²⁵ Cf. 48/17 n. 10.

²⁶ Cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 303; also 48/18 n. 11.

(cf. 24. 228–37), but also to increase the pathos in the situation (cf. esp. 543–6);²⁷ [69] also generally significant of his power, the caduceus will be used by Hermes to maze the minds of the guards when they come to Akhilleus' camp;²⁸ [71] Andromakhe holds Hektor's head in her hands as she begins the lamentation addressed to him.²⁹

Thus this expression allows a more complete picture of the character, his actions, and his motivations, simply by pausing briefly to describe something in that (or another) figure's possession.

'in [his] broad hand' [χεῖρὶ παχείῃ]: 13 examples: [1] 3. 376, [2] 5. 309, [3] 7. 264, [4] 8. 221, [5] 10. 31, [6] 10. 454, [7] 11. 355, [8] 14. 385, [9] 17. 296, [10] 20. 261, [11] 21. 175, [12] 21. 403, [13] 21. 424.¹ 120

This expression connotes the reversal or subversion of its action or the larger sequence of which the current action is one part, and is usually so viewed from the perspective of the subject: [1] after the helmet strap is broken and Menelaos is left holding it, Alexandros' rescue by Aphrodite returns him to Troy, thus ending the duel (and the momentary suggestion that the war would end without the destruction of the city); [2] the expression momentarily undermines Aineias' hope for recovery or escape, for it is only Aphrodite's intervention which saves him from a follow-up attack, as the immediately following *contrafactual* suggests (5. 311–12);² [3] Hektor's grabbing of the stone is to be matched by Aias' more successful use of the same weapon, whilst the combat itself comes to an inconclusive end with the exchange of the gifts;³ [5] Menelaos' equipage is generally suggestive of preparation,⁴ though the action of the *Doloneia* is to be dominated by others, and the early stages of *K* foreground Menelaos' ambiguous position among the Greek leaders;⁵ [6] Dolon's failed attempt to initiate a supplication with his hand adds to the irony of his act;⁶ [7] as Aineias in [2], Hektor's collapse is followed by a retreat as Diomedes is engaged on finding his spear, and he does not reappear until 11. 502. The expression suggests that the Greek would have followed up his attack after he reclaimed his weapon,⁷ as he certainly intimates when Hektor has retreated into the crowd;⁸ [8] Poseidon's grasping of the sword, and the advance it represents, is doomed to fail before Zeus' determination;⁹ [9] the killing of Hippothoos by a spear in Aias' hand leads him to drop Patroklos' corpse, but the Greek claiming of that corpse is still uncertain

²⁷ Cf. 48/18 n. 11.

²⁸ Cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 308–9.

²⁹ Cf. 90/6 n. 4.

¹ Cf. e.g. Austin (1975) 73–4; Lowenstam (1981) 10–14, Lowenstam (1993) 26–32; Fernández-Galiano (1992) on *Od.* 21. 6, 148–9; Roller and Roller (1994); Foley (1999) 218–20.

² Cf. 20/1 n. 2; also 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 177/8.

⁵ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; also Appendix A (6).

⁶ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

⁷ Cf. 26/13.

⁸ Cf. Bolling (1925) 131–2 for the troubled attestation of 11. 355–6.

⁹ Cf. 17/9 n. 13.

and will in the end require Akhilleus' somewhat supernatural intervention;¹⁰ [10] Akhilleus' manoeuvre with his shield is unnecessary, as the poet goes on to tell the audience with a *νήπιος* unit;¹¹ [11] the failure of Asteropaios' action dooms him in the very next sequence;¹² [12], [13] Athene's strikes at Ares and Aphrodite, whilst immediately successful, do not represent the determinative action she thinks they do (cf. esp. 21. 432–3). Their actions are not, ultimately, as important in opposing Athene's wishes for the destruction of Troy as those of Zeus himself.¹³

- 121 'he shouted piercingly | yelling' [ἤϋσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον | γεγωνώς]: 6 examples: [1] 8. 227, [2] 11. 275, [3] 11. 586, [4] 12. 439, [5] 13. 149, [6] 17. 247.¹

Exhortations so introduced are employed when an individual is calling for assistance in counteracting an immediately preceding failure or setback: [2] Agamemnon leaps onto his chariot after being wounded (11. 273–4), and he exhorts his men to fight on without him;² [3] after being wounded, Eurypylos sinks back into the crowd before encouraging the others to protect Aias as he had tried to do;³ [4] Hektor leaps forward and exhorts the Trojans to follow him there, after Sarpedon's previous charge has been checked (12. 415–35); [5] Hektor cannot break through the massed Greeks and is forced to give way a little (13. 143–8), calling the Trojans to his aid; [6] Menelaos summons aid from the rest of the army because Aias feels the need for reinforcement, without which they might perish (17. 238–45).⁴

The speaking character is usually very prominent in the preceding narrative: [1] Agamemnon has just been introduced as the vehicle for Here's intervention (8. 218–26); [2] Agamemnon has been the driving Greek hero hitherto on this third day of battle; [3] Eurypylos sought and failed to assist Aias as he bore the brunt of the Trojan advance; [5] Hektor's attack has failed to achieve its objective, but he has been the focal point of the exhortations in the Greek camp and the leading figure in the preceding advance (13. 136–45); [6] Menelaos (and Aias) have been the prominent figures in the defence of Patroklos' body. More general eminence can also suggest the character:

¹⁰ Cf. 40/26.

¹¹ Cf. 99/16; also 93/10; 9/39 n. 18.

¹² Cf. 33 n. 7.

¹³ Cf. 7/5 n. 6. These episodes could therefore be interpreted as the transferral of Athene's cosmic truculence away from Zeus, whilst intimating that the suppression of her previous nascent rebellion in *Θ* may not be entirely successful; cf. Appendix B. Her potential for future disorder is as great as for the antecedent period (cf. 1. 400), and reminds the audience of the hints in the last few books of the poem that Akhilleus may not have learnt how to avoid similar situations arising in the future.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 8. 227, 317; Schmidt (1978) 1692, (1982a), (1982b); Kaimio (1977) 28–30, 238–9: 'διαπρύσιον is used with urgent shouts uttered in a crisis.'

² Cf. 19/6 and n. 8 for his attitude here.

³ Cf. 36/4 n. 4.

⁴ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

[4] though the immediate pretext of this exhortation is the failure of the Lykians under Sarpedon to break through the line, Hektor becomes the next prominent Trojan to advance upon the wall. As the most powerful leader, his is naturally the responsibility for the heaviest attack (as indeed Agamemnon's for the defence in [1]).

The group generally responds positively and immediately to these exhortations: [1] the Greeks counterattack; [3] Eurypylos' request is answered and Aias returns safely to the ranks (11. 592–4); [4] Hektor breaks the gates and leaps into the camp; [5] in response to Hektor's speech, Deiphobos straight-away makes an attack (13. 156–7), which the poet then uses as an excuse to remove Meriones from the battle (in preparation for his meeting with Idomeneus) before devolving the narrative into reciprocal *androktasiai* in which the Greeks (again) have the better of it. This is not an exception, for the poet is simply concerned to show a Trojan response and exemplify why they generally fail to win the day; [6] the Greeks respond to Menelaos' summons. Only in [2] is there no response; after Agamemnon's exhortation and departure, the expectation of Greek response is countered by Hektor's *κέκλετο μακρὸν ἄβυσσας* exhortation and his *aristeia* (11. 284–309).⁵ The poet thus underlines the power of Zeus' earlier prediction.

'shame!' [*αἰδώς*]: 6 examples: [1] 5. 787, [2] 8. 228, [3] 13. 95, [4] 15. 502, [5] 16. 422, [6] 17. 336.¹ 122

Speeches so begun are typically found in reactivations, exhorting a defensive side onto the offensive: [1] is part of Here and Athene's reactivation of Diomedes' *aristeia* following his retreat before Ares' onset, and is followed by an individual encounter between the hero and Ares; [2] the Greeks have been penned into the camp but are about to issue forth in counterattack; [3] is also part of Poseidon's emergence into the battle, which has its effect from 13. 125–35 as the Greeks strengthen their lines.² Hektor attacks (136–145), retreats momentarily (146–8) and then delivers an *ἦῦσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον | γεγωνώς* exhortation³ before specific combat; [4] is preceded by an exhortation from Hektor on seeing Teukros' bow broken,⁴ and is followed immediately by reciprocal *androktasiai*; in the face of Trojan retreat, [5] is followed by the encounter between Sarpedon and Patroklos; [6] Aineias' exhortation comes after Greek success which would have been extended *ὑπὲρ Διὸς αἰσαν* (17. 321) had it not been for Apollo's rebuke motivating him into battle.

⁵ Cf. 96/5 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Snell (1955); Adkins (1960) esp. 43–6; Fenik (1968) 129; Janko (1992) on 13. 95–6, 55; Cairns (1993) 68–9.

² Cf. 116/3; also 17/9 n. 13.

³ Cf. 121/5.

⁴ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

This introduction does not determine the structure of the following speech, but the speaker generally identifies a deficiency in his own side's performance by focusing on the broader needs or ramifications of the situation, rather than merely identifying a single specific task for the addressees to attend to: [1] Here's rebuke focuses on the fact that in the past, when Akhilleus fought, the Greeks could keep the Trojans penned into the city;⁵ [2] Agamemnon likewise emphasizes that the Greeks are failing to live up to their standards;⁶ [3] after a lengthy recounting of the situation's ignominy, Poseidon suggests resistance in general terms;⁷ [4] Aias similarly concentrates on the bewildering failure of the Greeks to respond to Hektor's challenge; [5] Sarpedon demands to know where his men are fleeing to,⁸ but he then decides to face Patroklos personally;⁹ [6] Aineias communicates Apollo's recent encouragement and exhorts his men to go at the Greeks and prevent them from taking Patroklos *ἔκρηλοι* (17. 340).

The individual issuing the rebuke is then actively involved in attempting to counteract the situation: [1] that role is taken by Here's partner in crime Athene, in close conjunction with Diomedes; [2] Agamemnon's role in the coming phase is limited to encouraging Teukros, though there is something of a cloud over his effectiveness in so doing;¹⁰ [3] Poseidon assists the Greeks until his removal in *O*; [4] Aias bears much of the burden of battle, as the poet continually returns to his defiance; [5] Sarpedon now goes to his death in an attempt to stop the retreat; [6] Aineias is the first to kill a victim, and then joins Hektor for an attack on Automedon.¹¹

The immediately ensuing action is usually successful: [1] Ares is removed from the battle; [2] the Greek counterattack pushes the Trojans back; [3] Poseidon does stiffen Greek resistance and, when Zeus awakes at the start of *O*, Hektor is not healthy; [4] though they cannot drive the Trojans back, the Greeks do persist in their resistance despite the open favour being shown the Trojans by Zeus (cf. esp. 15. 567, 593–5), and they also enjoy the better of the reciprocal encounters which immediately follow the exhortation; [6] the Trojans stand and face the Greeks, creating an even battle over Patroklos until the *reactivated chariot attack* of Alkimedon and Automedon, which is initially conducted from an (aggressive) Trojan perspective. The association is completely broken in [5], but this is also the only example where the speech focuses on an individualized threat requiring immediate counteraction by the speaker personally, as Sarpedon identifies the need to face down Patroklos himself. This disjunction would strike an audience as a sign that things are not to go well for Sarpedon in the coming encounter.

⁵ Cf. 123/1.

⁶ Cf. 123/2; also Commentary ad loc.

⁷ Cf. also 108/11; 17/9 n. 13.

⁸ Cf. 45/9.

⁹ Cf. 9/32 n. 14.

¹⁰ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹¹ Cf. 51/6; also 40/24 n. 10.

‘in beauty marvellous’ [εἶδος ἀγῆστοι]: 4 examples: [1] 5. 787 (122/1), [2] 123 8. 228 (122/2), [3] 22. 370, [4] 24. 376.¹

Even beyond this particular collocation, the possession of this quality need not necessarily be a negative thing: [4] Priam’s comments are clearly not intended as an insult, for he couples physical attractiveness with *πέπνυσαι τε νόωι, μακάρων δ’ ἔξεσσι τοκῆων* (24. 377), and the Greeks *θηήσαντο* at Hektor for this reason [3]. Like the ability to speak well (cf. 4. 399–400), it seems to be the case that beauty becomes a source of rebuke if unaccompanied by the other heroic qualities, as implied in [1], [2] where first Here and then Athene rebuke the Greeks for being put on the back foot by the Trojans.

However, these expressions tend to be employed in negative contexts, from the open rebukes of [1], [2] in situations of great difficulty² to Hektor’s death in [3] and the rather dark and dangerous meeting in [4].³ The ambiguities of this quality are thus made most evident by the contexts where it tends to appear. On the female equivalent, cf. below, 123a.

‘in beauty best’ [εἶδος ἀρίστη]: 8 examples: [1] 2. 715, [2] 3. 39, [3] 3. 124, [4] 123a 6. 252, [5] 13. 365, [6] 13. 378, [7] 13. 769, [8] 17. 142.¹

This appellation is usually applied to women, and always relates the character to her father, figures so labelled including Alkestis (Pelias) [1], Laodike (Priam) [3]² and [4], Cassandra (Priam) [5], and an unspecified daughter of Agamemnon [6]. The last example is particularly intriguing, as Idomeneus uses Othryoneus’ suit for Cassandra, which the poet has just related, as the basis for his taunt.³ In all these cases, no opprobrium attaches to the female, but there seems to be a consistent agenda to remind the audience of the father in somewhat dubious circumstances, especially if the subsequent fates of these characters are remembered: Pelias is mistakenly killed by his daughters (whilst Alkestis’ marriage is far from perfect and began inauspiciously because of a sacrificial failure on Pelias’ part),⁴ Priam perishes because of the sexual misdemeanours of Paris (who should never have been born anyway)⁵ and so his daughters are either killed or raped,⁶ whilst Agamemnon’s murder is not unrelated to the sacrifice of his daughter or the sexual jealousy of Klytaimnestra arising from Cassandra’s presence (both perhaps hinted at in [6]). There may thus be a connotation here that a very

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 167–8; also Latacz (2003) on 2. 715, 230.

² Cf. 122/1, 2.

³ Cf. 45/10 n. 5; also Appendix A (18).

⁴ Cf. Fenik (1968) 167–8; also Janko (1992) on 13. 365–7, 94.

⁵ Cf. also 180/2.

⁶ Cf. also 185/7.

⁴ Cf. Scherling (1937); cf. Dräger (1993) 147, on the antiquity of Medea’s role in Pelias’ death; also Dräger (2000).

⁵ Cf. Stevens (1971) on Euripides, *Andromakhe* 293ff., 132; also Stoevesandt (2000).

⁶ Cf. Anderson (1997) ch. 3.

beautiful daughter is a dangerous or, at the very least, an ambiguous thing for the men associated with her.

All this potential allusion notwithstanding, the application of this expression in a male context is obviously and deliberately negative:⁷ [2] Hektor abuses Paris, and goes on to specify that the Greeks will laugh at the Trojans, for their best men are judged solely on their looks ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι βίη φρεσὶν οὐδέ τις ἀλκή (3. 45);⁸ [7] Paris is again on the receiving end, though this time Hektor does not specify why he abuses him, and Paris replies in a less submissive manner; [8] Glaukos now rebukes Hektor for general dereliction in the battle over Patroklos, and specifically for a refusal to face Aias directly.⁹ As with the previous expression, it seems that it is more a case that this quality alone does not a hero make, and it is invoked in a context and to a purpose that is overwhelmingly negative.

- 124 'where? / whither? (II)' [ποῦ/πῇ]: 8 examples: [1] 2. 339, [2] 5. 171–2, [3] 5. 472, [4] 8. 229, [5] 13. 219–20, [6] 15. 440–1, [7] 20. 83, [8] 24. 201.¹

In each case, the speaker attempts to persuade his interlocutor to reveal in the current circumstance the quality of whose absence he bemoans: [1] Nestor reminds the assembled Greeks of their previous oaths and promises, which are hardly in evidence at the moment; [2] Aineias asks Pandaros for his arrows and his κλέος in that regard in order to attack Diomedes;² [3] Sarpedon rebukes Hektor for proving rather ineffective in the face of their current misfortune; [4] Agamemnon asks the Greeks for evidence of their previous boasts; [5] Poseidon asks Idomeneus for evidence of the threats which the Greeks used to utter; [6] Aias requests from Teukros the whereabouts of his bowcraft;³ [7] Apollo asks Aineias for evidence of his drunken promises to fight Akhilleus; [8] Hekabe questions the current location of Priam's wisdom, given his decision to go to the Greek camp.⁴

The reaction of the addressee is varied, but in every case the question has an immediate impact: [1] Agamemnon approves highly of Nestor's speech (2. 369–93), and the Greeks do in fact prepare themselves for battle; [2] Pandaros denies that his arrows are of any use, as he has just used them unsuccessfully, but he and Aineias together decide to attack in the chariot; [3] Hektor is annoyed (5. 493), leaps to the ground, and strengthens the Trojan ranks; [4] the Greeks respond with a counterattack; [5] though replying οὐ τις ἀνὴρ νῦν αἴτιος (13. 222), Idomeneus rearms and, after an interlude with

⁷ For another way in which feminine characteristics are used as a trope of reproach, cf. 88.

⁸ Cf. 71/1 n. 2.

⁹ Cf. 76/8 n. 2.

¹ Cf. 45 for the first group of 'where? / whither?' questions.

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 48/17 n. 10.

Meriones, returns to the battle;⁵ [6] Teukros brings his weaponry to bear; [7] despite an initial reluctance, Aineias nonetheless goes to meet Akhilleus; [8] Priam invokes Zeus' impulsion in order to answer Hekabe's objections.

'Zeus father' [*Ζεῦ πάτερ*]: 21 examples: [1] 1. 503, [2] 3. 276, [3] 3. 320, [4] 3. 365, [5] 5. 421, [6] 5. 757, [7] 5. 762, [8] 5. 872, [9] 7. 179, [10] 7. 202, [11] 7. 446, [12] 8. 236, [13] 12. 164, [14] 13. 631, [15] 15. 372, [16] 17. 19, [17] 17. 645, [18] 19. 121, [19] 19. 270, [20] 21. 273, [21] 24. 308.¹ 125

This ejaculation usually opens speeches (except in [7], where it closes a speech opened by [6]; also [12], [14], [17]) in which the speaker reacts to a negative circumstance by implicitly or explicitly requesting Zeus' aid to rectify the situation. Hence, with mortal speakers, the address is frequently connected with prayers (as in [2], [3], [9], [10], [15], [17], [21])² but also with complaints which do not make an explicit request (as in [4], [12]³—[14], [16], [19], [20]). Divine speakers also call for action on his part (as [1], [7]) or complain about a circumstance (as in [5]—humorously—[6], [8], [11]), but only in [18] is there no such implication, as Here (in Agamemnon's speech) simply introduces her announcement of Eurystheus' birth (cf. below).

This address is not automatically used to open all direct requests to Zeus (e.g. 2. 411–20, 3. 350–4), but it is used overwhelmingly (16 / 21 cases) where the speaker refers explicitly to the source of a dissatisfaction with an existing state of affairs⁴ (as in [1], [3]–[8], [11]–[17], [19], [20]). Though Zeus may not be directly to blame, his is the ultimate power and so the final responsibility for these matters since, as Menelaos points out, *σέο δ' ἔκ τάδε πάντα πέλονται* (13. 632): [1] Thetis mentions the dishonouring of Akhilleus; [3] the crowd on both sides expresses a hope that the original wrongdoer should die; [4] Menelaos complains that his chance to have vengeance has been taken from him;⁵ [5] with deep irony, Athene comments on Aphrodite's injury. By using this introduction, Athene makes a superficial request that Zeus rectify the problem, which he does—or rather does not do—by confirming Aphrodite's unsuitability for war; [6] and [7] Here first complains of Ares' behaviour and then issues an open request for Zeus' acquiescence in her

⁵ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 503, 164. ² Cf. 126/4, 6, 11, 12, 16, 19, 21.

³ Though this example is followed very shortly by a prayer; cf. 126/13.

⁴ Compare the crowd's prayer at 3. 297–301 with that at 3. 319–23. In the first case (introduced not by *Ζεῦ πάτερ* but *Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε*), *πς* prays that whoever does wrong by these oaths in the future should suffer tremendously, but in the second (introduced by *Ζεῦ πάτερ*) *πς* requests that the one to have first done wrong (*πῶδε ἔργα | ἔθηκε*) should die. The latter case has an expressed cause of dissatisfaction, so the poet chooses *Ζεῦ πάτερ* to open the request. This is not to say that he is constrained to do so; cf. e.g. 9 (discussed below).

⁵ For other elements in this speech (3. 364–8), cf. 199/2; 202/1; also 159/2.

intervention, which he readily gives; [8] Ares tries to relate Athene's behaviour to the continued *stasis* among the gods, which can only be harmful, but the audience know that Zeus has already assented to the action; [11] Poseidon complains that the *kleos* of the new Greek wall, constructed without hekatombs (and so proper honour to the other gods), will overturn the repute of his own wall around Troy. Zeus hastens to assure him that this is not the case;⁶ [12] Agamemnon complains that his ritual observance has obviously been wasted, else the Trojans would never have been able to make these advances; [13] Asios is frustrated by the resistance of the Lapithai, but he fails to persuade Zeus to intervene; [14] Menelaos blames Zeus for the Trojans' continued assault on the ships; [15] Nestor's prayer reacts to what he feels is this *νηλεές ἥμαρ* (15. 375)—the certain ramification of the current Greek predicament; [16] Menelaos complains about the hubristic attitude towards him of the sons of Panthoos—Euphorbos in this circumstance, Hyperenor in the earlier;⁷ [17] Aias' speech closes with this prayer not to let the Greeks die in darkness, but the speech as a whole sets out Zeus' responsibility for the terrible predicament in which they find themselves;⁸ [19] Akhilleus ascribes to Zeus the desire to kill many Greeks, for otherwise *ate* would never have thus possessed Agamemnon and caused so many deaths; [20] here Akhilleus shares the blame between Thetis and Zeus, or deflects the blame from the latter to the former—Zeus as the ultimate arbiter but Thetis as the one who failed to tell him that death at the hands of the river would apparently be his fate.

Thus those examples so introduced which lack an explicit reference to a source of dissatisfaction (as in [2], [9], [10], [18], [21]) are nonetheless marked as driven by that sense: [2] the duel is designed to solve the war, which is of course the major problem, and one for which Agamemnon on the Greek side bears the primary burden. He refers here pointedly to what would happen should the Trojans transgress on their oaths (3. 288–91), for in his eyes they are of course guilty already of tremendous ritual wrong-doing; [9] the crowd prays that three of its most prominent warriors (Aias, Diomedes, or Agamemnon) should be awarded the right to fight Hektor. The address suggests dissatisfaction mostly with the general situation, in which Hektor has challenged their best and they have not responded as they ought, but it also betokens an uncertainty in the absence of Akhilleus which the crowd also manifests in [10] where its prayer is either for victory to Aias or shared honour for both—a curiously cautious wish.⁹ Thus the reference to

⁶ Cf. 3/9 n. 7.

⁷ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

⁸ Cf. 54/26 n. 14.

⁹ This may be related to Aias' unnecessary (i.e. marked as such by its introduction) call for prayer; cf. 140/5; also 97/5 n. 5.

Agamemnon himself (7. 180) may not be accidental, but suggest a current of dissatisfaction among the army at his behaviour towards Akhilleus; [18] Here's announcement of Eurystheus' birth does not require any action from Zeus at all (aside from his inevitable obedience to his own oath), nor is she particularly dissatisfied at the trick she has managed to carry through. Nonetheless, her actions are grounded in the negative situation constantly affecting her marriage—marginalization in terms of Zeus' offspring¹⁰—and so her unique manipulation of this address is designed to indicate not only her annoyance, but also to subvert the idea of Zeus' power, for this is the very circumstance in which he no longer has any further determinative influence; [21] Priam is obviously distressed at the entire circumstance, but his request for a further indication comes after Iris had informed him of Zeus' agency in this matter, and his wife's insistence on requesting the omen.¹¹ In these five cases, the reapplication of the connotation adds tremendously to the audience's ability to understand the speaker's motivation and attitude.

As a further point, it is noticeable that, when mortals use this address simply to complain about the circumstance, they reveal the limitations of their understanding with regard to the *Dios boule*: [4] Paris is destined to be killed later in the war, but Menelaos is not to have his personal revenge;¹² [12] Agamemnon's performance of rites has nothing to do with this current manifestation of the *Dios boule*, and relies on almost an insurance purchaser's attitude to ritual observance;¹³ [13] Zeus and the poet had made it clear that Asios' attack is both individual and unsuccessful;¹⁴ [14] the continuation of the Trojan assault is integral to the *Dios boule*; [16] Menelaos is hardly so brilliant a fighter that he should impress himself on the Trojans in the way he seems to expect, and in any case his previous encounter with Hyperenor had contained no such vaunt;¹⁵ [19] Akhilleus is correct that *ate* is to be ascribed to Zeus, for the *Dios boule* has indeed driven the poem. However, he seems to think that the *ate* was *all* on Agamemnon's side (cf. esp. 19. 271–3) and Zeus is to blame because he wanted to kill many Greeks (273–4). *Ate* was of course in play here, but its disastrous results had at least something to do with the fulfilment of Thetis' request in ways which not even Akhilleus foresaw, because of his own intransigence in *I*. This makes [20] very significant, for it shows that Akhilleus is subject to the same limitation as the other speakers. Though he may grasp the error in Agamemnon's behaviour, his own role in the process is simply beyond his understanding.

¹⁰ Cf. Appendix B. ¹¹ Cf. 48/18 n. 11.

¹² One could argue that he does have his revenge when he defiles Paris' corpse after his death in the fight with Philoktetes (*Ilias parva* arg. 8–9 Bernabé) but, even if Homer knew of this tale in precisely this form, it is still not the type of revenge Menelaos has in mind at the time of this complaint. ¹³ Cf. 109. ¹⁴ Cf. 48/8 n. 12. ¹⁵ Cf. Edwards (1991) ad loc., 65.

126 Prayer: 21 examples: [1] 1. 35–43, [2] 1. 450–7, [3] 2. 411–20, [4] 3. 275–80, [5] 3. 295–302, [6] 3. 318–24, [7] 3. 349–55, [8] 5. 114–121, [9] 6. 301–11, [10] 6. 475–82, [11] 7. 177–81, [12] 7. 200–6, [13] 8. 242–6, [14a] 10. 277–82, [14b] 10. 283–92, [15] 10. 460–5, [16] 15. 370–8, [17] 16. 231–52, [18] 16. 513–27, [19] 17. 645–8, [20] 23. 768–71, [21] 24. 306–14.¹

The usual introductory elements for a prayer are, firstly, drawing the god's attention and then calling on the deity with a form either of *εὔχομαι* or *ἀράομαι* (though a verb is lacking in [13] because the speech begins with an *αἰδώς* rebuke² and in [19], which opens with an *ὦ πόποι* expression).³ Such requests are always successful so long as they are not traditionally impossible, and the poet usually takes advantage of this in order to foreshadow the action before the character speaks.

Drawing attention is commonly achieved by the raising of one's hands (as in [2], [4], [6], [9], [11], [16]), but Hektor raises his child in quasi-dedication before [10], as Odysseus does with spoils taken from Dolon before [15]⁴ (cf. also [7] where Menelaos *ᾤρνυτο χαλκῶι* in combat as he prays), and the poet mentions that Glaukos was unable to raise his wounded arm before [18]. Other attention-getting actions are looking into the sky (as in [11], [12]), standing in the middle of the yard (as in [17], [21]), or going apart from others [1]. There are several occasions on which the poet omits the feature (as in [3], [5], [8], [13], [14], [19], [20]); of these, the prayers in [13] and [19] close rather than open the speech, [14] falls after a favourable omen sent from the addressed god (and so they have already been noticed), [3] and [5] occur during a ritual action engineered by the god to whom the prayers are addressed, and in [8] and [20] the character is distracted when the prayer is made (in the former by a wound, in the latter by being in a race). One might therefore suggest that part of the poet's purpose in getting Agamemnon up on the ship with a red cloak in [13] was to inform the audience of an intention to attract divine attention.⁵

The deity is invoked at the very opening of the prayer (usually by name, but in [15], [20] Athene is invoked by *θεά*), and whilst epithets and local information may be supplied at length (as in [1], [2], [4], [17], [18]), the poet prefers either a whole- (as in [3]–[6], [8], [9], [12], [14b], [21]) or part- (as in

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 21–2; Morrison (1991); Lateiner (1997) esp. 259–60; de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 2. 260–7, 59. One could also include the request of Thetis to Zeus at 1. 502–10, for it includes an invocation 125/1, an appeal *da ut dedi*, and the request *πόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήνην ἔελδωρ* 127/3. If this were to be interpreted as a prayer by the audience, they would therefore intuit the success of Thetis' supplication, as its substance is not traditionally impossible.

² Cf. 122/2.

³ Cf. 108/18.

⁴ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. Commentary ad loc., n. 151 for a variety of other suggestions.

[7], [10], [11], [13], [14a], [15], [16], [19], [20]) line invocation.⁶ There is no link between the extent or detail of the invocation and the success or otherwise of the prayer.⁷

Therein often follows a passage of *hypomnesis*, in which the speaker reminds the god of a past favour or existing relationship (*da ut dedi / dedisti*). Straightforward examples may be found in [1] 1. 39–41, [2] 1. 453–4, [8] 5. 116–20, [13] 8. 238–41, [14a] 10. 278–80, [14b] 285–90, [16] 15. 372–4, [17] 16. 236–7. The poet may also manipulate the usual type of reminder: [12] in their prayer for Aias' victory, the Greeks modify their wish for equal honour *εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορά περ φιλέεις καὶ κήδεαι αὐτοῦ* (7. 204);⁸ [15] Odysseus dedicates the spoils to Athene before asking for her continued support, obviously forming a ritual complex with his previous prayer [14a] and Diomedes' [14b], which immediately followed it. The speaker may also promise future observance (*da ut dem*): [9] Theano promises the performance of a further ritual; [14b] Diomedes is unique in combining the prior relationship (10. 285–90) with a future promise (292–4), separating them by his request (291). The point of these various passages is to establish a reciprocal relationship, whether by reference to future, past, or present actions, and they allow the audience to predict that the request will be successful, with only two exceptions: [17] Akhilleus' prayer is (again) unusual, for Zeus grants one part of Akhilleus' prayer but not the other (16. 249–52);⁹ [9] Theano's request is only denied because of the modification she makes to the instructions given by Helenos and conveyed by Hektor, for she prays that Diomedes be killed (6. 306–7), whereas the two men had intended a prayer simply that he be pushed back from the city (96–7 = 277–8). The disjunction here, between the intimations on the one hand of success afforded by the *hypomnesis*, and on the other of failure because of the prayer's traditional impossibility, shows the audience Theano's error with particular clarity.¹⁰ *Hypomnesis* may, finally, be omitted in both unsuccessful (as in [3]–[7], [10]) and successful prayers (as [11], [18]–[21]).

Reactions on the part of the deity are usually immediate. An unsuccessful request is either (a) explicitly refused outright, (b) explicitly not granted yet, or (c) implicitly refused: [3] the sacking of Troy is not destined on that day (2. 419–20) (b); [4] the fulfilment of the oaths is not to happen on that day (c), and the poet waits until after the closely following [5] to give an explicit statement to that effect (3. 302) (b) (though cf. [8] below); [6] the duel is not

⁶ For the prayers beginning with *Ζεῦ πάτερ* (i.e. 4, 6, 11, 12, 16, 19, 21), cf. 125/2, 3, 9, 10, 15, 17, 21.

⁷ Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 37–42, 132–3.

⁸ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

⁹ Cf. 1 n. 3; also below.

¹⁰ Cf. Morrison (1991); also 182/6.

to go to the death, and peace will therefore be impossible (c); [7] Menelaos is not destined to have direct revenge upon Paris (c);¹¹ [9] Diomedes cannot be killed during the war, particularly not by Athene (a);¹² [10] Astyanax is destined to perish before he reaches manhood (c);¹³ [17] Zeus has already made it clear several times that Patroklos is not to return safe (cf. e.g. 8. 473–6, 15. 64–77) (a).¹⁴ The audience always knows, even without expression from the poet, that these requests will be denied, for their substance is traditionally impossible.

The successful request is accepted either (a) explicitly, with the most common expression being *ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε* (as in [1], [2], [8], [14], [17], [18], [20], [21]),¹⁵ or (b) implicitly. What is crucial in these prayers is that the substance of the request is traditionally possible, and frequently already foreshadowed: [1] the wrath of Apollo has already been foreshadowed (1. 8–12) (a); [2] the end of the wrath is a necessary condition of Kalkhas' predictions (1. 92–100), and indeed the story itself (a); [8] Pandaros' death was foreshadowed by the earlier (unsuccessful) prayer [5] (a);¹⁶ [11] the choice of Aias has not been foreshadowed (b), and so the audience does not know who is to win the coming lot; [12] the outcome is already intuited, in that Hektor cannot die now (7. 52–3) and Aias is destined to die after Akhilleus (b);¹⁷ [13] total destruction of the Greek army is never in question, and so a favourable response is expected (a); [14] is preceded by a propitious omen sent from Athene, whose favour is assured (a); [15] the pair are still operating under the previous sign of favour (b); [16] once again, total destruction is not possible (a) (with modifications, as Zeus thunders in response without any prior indication of acceptance);¹⁸ [17] the repulse of Hektor from the ships has long been foreshadowed, and the fight from thereon is not concerned so much with the ships as it will be with Patroklos' corpse (a); [18] the revival of Glaukos and his participation in the *Leichenkampf* over Sarpedon was foreshadowed in the latter's death speech at 16. 491–501 (a); [19] whilst not explicitly foreshadowed, the removal of the darkness is a prerequisite for the informing of Akhilleus which will resolve the battle on this day (a);¹⁹ [20] again not foreshadowed, but to be read against the background of Odysseus' general favour from Athene (esp. Aias *minor*'s complaint at 23. 782–3), and perhaps also (given their connection in the poem) by

¹¹ Cf. 125/4 and n. 12.

¹² Cf. above, n. 10.

¹³ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

¹⁴ Cf. 9/31 n. 27; also next note.

¹⁵ Cf. 105; for 13 and 19, both of which are preceded by complaints, the poet uses *ὡς φάτο· πὼν δὲ πατὴρ ὀλοφύρατο*; [17] is unusual, in that Zeus grants one part of the request, but denies the other (*ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς | πῶι δ' ἔπερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατὴρ, ἔπερον δ' ἀνένευσεν | νηῶν μὲν οἱ ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμόν τε μάχην τε | δῶκε, σόον δ' ἀνένευσε μάχης ἔξ ἀπονέεσθαι* (16. 249–52). Of course, the successful element in this is traditionally possible, the unsuccessful is not.

¹⁶ Cf. 9/14 n. 7.

¹⁷ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

¹⁸ Cf. 29/12 n. 7.

¹⁹ Cf. also 54/26 n. 14.

her earlier intervention on Diomedes' behalf (23. 388–400) (a);²⁰ [21] the journey of Priam to Akhilleus was suggested and so guaranteed by Zeus through Iris (24. 169–88) (a).²¹

For the means of fulfilment, the deity may use indirect action, expressed either by effecting the request from afar (as in [2], [8], [17]–[20]) or sending an omen to indicate the divine will (as in [13], [16], [21], and before [14]),²² or by appearing directly to the character (as in [1], [8], [15]). Only in [11] and [12] is the request effected without any mention at all of the divine mechanism.

'fulfil for me this wish' [τόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήνον ἐέλδωρ]: 5 examples (1): [1] 127
1. 41 (κρήνον) (126/1), [2] 1. 455 (126/2), [3] 1. 504 (κρήνον), [4] 8. 242 (126/13), [5] 16. 238 (126/17), [6] *Od.* 17. 242 (κρήνατ').¹

This verse is used to introduce the request of those prayers (except [3])² based around a *hypomnesis* (and so successful) whose substance is vitally important to the narrative of the poem *as a whole*: [1] is cancelled out by [2] and concerns the sending and recall of the plague, which is the direct cause of the wrath theme announced in the proem; [3] is similarly cancelled by [5], though Akhilleus is not quite as successful in his requests as Khryses was.³ These rather nice parallels seem at first undermined by the isolation of [4], yet the point of Agamemnon's prayer is not simply to foreshadow the coming Greek counterattack, but to establish at this early stage in the *Dios boule* that the honouring (or, from Agamemnon's perspective, the absence) of Akhilleus will not demand the utter destruction and degradation of the Greek position; [6] though Odysseus is already home and in fact present as Eumaios makes his prayer, and the request already partially fulfilled, once more the basic

²⁰ Cf. 108/29 n. 19. ²¹ Cf. 182/21; also 48/18 n. 11.

²² Cf., in turn, 128/2; 29/12 n. 7; 128/6; 128/3.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 455, 152. One might consider *Od.* 3. 418 (καρπαλίμως μοι, τέκνα φίλα, κρήνατ' ἐέλδωρ), where Nestor hurries his children to prepare the sacrifice in order to sacrifice to Athene ἣ μοι ἐναργής ἦλθε θεοῦ ἐς δαίπα θάλειαν (420). Although the differences are more immediately apparent, in that the request is addressed towards mortals (and children) rather than gods, and there is no prayer involved, consider the way in which the poet has manipulated the expression's reference. Nestor's request is connected with a *hypomnesis* (i.e. Athene's recent presence in his house) and the fulfilment of the ritual promise made in his successful prayer the preceding evening (380–5). Before that prayer, as the Pylians had realized who Athene was when she departed, Nestor connected her presence with a particular favour for Telemakhos (375–6) and Odysseus (379). Moreover, Athene had issued instructions to Nestor to send the younger man on his way with a chariot and one of his own sons (369–70). Thus the sacrifice on the next day, which devolves very rapidly into the departure of Telemakhos, is part of a larger complex expressing Athene's relationship with the mortal characters, and stresses the importance of her participation, as well as that of the *Telemakheia*, in Odysseus' own *nostos*.

² Cf. 126 n. 1.

³ Cf. 9/31 n. 27.

theme of the poem is hereby encapsulated. Thus the expression always seems to be concerned with delimiting the scope of the current prayer—or story—against the background of the Trojan war as a whole.

The *hypomnesis* in these requests is usually expressed from the perspective of the speaker, or his relationship with the god: [1] Khryses calls on his past favours to Apollo (as Thetis to Zeus in [3] and Agamemnon in [4]); [2] Khryses summons the previous moment of favour as a precedent for this current request (as Akhilleus in [5]). Only in [6] does Eumaios remind the Nymphs, into whose grotto Odysseus had sailed (13. 96–113), of Odysseus' past favours to them—yet another symbol of fidelity to his master.

128 Bird omens: 6 examples: [1] 2. 308–21, [2] 8. 247–52, [3] 10. 274–6, [4] 12. 200–9, [5] 13. 821–3, [6] 24. 315–21.¹

The basic pattern employed in these omens is appearance, source, action, perception, reaction. Not all of these elements appear in every example, nor is their order fixed: [3], [5], [6] omit the action altogether, whilst the source of the eagle in [4] is not made explicit until perception and reaction have been expressed.² Omens of this sort are not infrequently linked with ritual processes seeking divine favour: [1] occurs during a sacrifice, whilst [2], [3], [6] are linked with prayers.³ Sometimes there is conflict within the omen between the bird and another animal, a fawn in [2] and a snake in [1] and [4], the latter being a particularly difficult opponent.⁴

Despite these formal variations, these episodes never leave the audience in doubt as to the source, direction or interpretation of the omen's intention. Its source is often directly stated (as in [1]–[4], [6]), though it may also be deduced from the nature of the animal itself, the eagle in [4] and [5] being the bird of Zeus.⁵ Moreover, in both [1] and [2] the action occurs at or involves an altar, in the latter case the specific altar of Zeus, and is expressed in a form emphasizing his power and freedom to act.⁶ Other *loci* reflect the narrative requirements of the group at whom the omen is directed: [3]–[5] occur in the middle of battle, whilst [6] appears over the city of Troy itself, where Priam is standing.⁷

¹ Cf. Stockinger (1959) 120–52; Janko (1992) on 13. 821–3, 146; Graziosi and Haubold (2005) 86–7. Thornton (1984) 53–4, links 2, 4, 5, pointing out that each is more favourable to the Greeks than the last.

² Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

³ Cf. 126/13, 14, 21. Moreover, Nestor's prayer at 15. 370–8 (126/16) is also followed by an omen; cf. above 29/12 n. 7.

⁴ Cf. Stockinger (1959) 32 n. 47. On the snake in myth more generally, cf. Sancassano (1996–7) 80–4; at 83–4 she plausibly links the snakes in the two *Iliad* omens with the Greeks.

⁵ Cf. Stockinger (1959) 120.

⁶ Cf. 20/3; Σ bT ad loc. suggests that the god is himself providing the Greeks with the victim.

⁷ Cf. 48/18 n. 11.

Direction is similarly always clear: before [2], [6] a prayer with an explicitly positive answer (and, in the latter, the fact that the bird flies *σφιν δεξιός* 24. 319–20), in [3] the phrase *τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν* (10. 274), in [4] *σφίν* (12. 200), in [5] the phrase *οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις* (13. 821), and in [1] the situation itself, for the Greeks were already sacrificing when they saw the omen.⁸

The omen may cause either confusion which requires a somewhat inductive method of interpretation (as in [1], [4]),⁹ or straightforward joy (as in [2], [3], [5], and [6]).¹⁰ On every occasion, however, the observers seem to be expected to act upon the indication: [1] Odysseus reminds the Greeks of the omen because it is, or should be, a persuasive source of encouragement; [2] the Greeks respond positively in initiating a counterattack; [3] both Diomedes and Odysseus recognize the favour of Athene and make a promise of sacrifice; [5] the Greeks cry out in approval and are not tempted into flight by Hektor's following taunt;¹¹ [6] the people are gladdened by the omen, with which, however, their reaction shortly afterwards (24. 327–8) would seem to sit ill. Nonetheless, Priam (understandably) does not feel safe on his journey (cf. 352–60), in Akhilleus' presence (559–71) or sleeping in the camp (682–9), and the poem has certainly undermined the notion that divine favour is an insurance policy. Thus their reaction, as Priam's fear later on in the journey, is not unreasonable. Only in [4] is an interpretation offered and rejected, and so no action at all taken in response to the omen. It is hardly coincidental that this decision eventually proves disastrous for Hektor and the Trojans.¹²

‘more did they leap | and remember their battle lust’ [*μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης*]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 252, [2] 14. 441, [3] 15. 380 (*Ἀργείοισι*).¹ 129

⁸ Cf. 9/8 n. 5.

⁹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 1. 328–9, 150.

¹⁰ Cf. 140/10.

¹¹ Cf. 85/3 n. 4.

¹² Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Martin (1989) 79. One could also consider 4. 222 (*μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης*), where the Greeks rearm at the Trojan advance (221) whilst their leaders busy themselves around the wounded Menelaos (as the battle has not yet started, the first hemistich of the unit is not appropriate). This might seem an exception to the referential definition, as there is no general verb of cognition to denote their comprehension, and the previous episode in any case was the wounding of Menelaos (and the subsequent Trojan advance) which would hardly affect their fortunes positively. However, the poet has laid considerable stress on the fact that he has not been seriously wounded (cf. 16/1 n. 2), and so this reaction on the part of the Greeks expresses their knowledge of Menelaos' safety; after the prominence given to the duel in the army's eyes at the start of *Γ*, it would be very strange for the poet simply to ignore their reaction to its ramifications, and this unit allows him to do so with great economy. Moreover, in terms of delusion, though the Greeks definitely enjoy the better of the first day's play, the Trojans are eventually favoured by Zeus at the start of the second day, and this phase in the war will not directly settle the vital questions for which the duel had been designed. Compare the negative of this expression at 13. 721–2 (*οὐδ' ἔπ' χάρμης | Τρώες μμνήσκοντο*), where it is not so much an observation of something as the reality of having Lokrian arrows rained upon them which causes the reaction.

On each occasion, the reacting group has observed an action which it feels positively affects their fortunes: [1] an omen spurs on the Greeks; [2] the wounding of Hektor does so again; [3] another omen, delivered as the response to Nestor's prayer, is misinterpreted by the Trojans.² One might, as well, infer an element of delusion from these reactions—at least with regard to the group's understanding of the previous event's ramifications—as the following (counter)attack has only temporary significance and is certainly not a decisive event: [1] the Trojans soon push the Greeks back; [2] the Greeks will enjoy only a brief respite until Zeus awakes at the start of *O*; [3] the Trojan reaction is mistaken, as the omen was directed as a sign of favour for the Greeks.³ Furthermore, these examples are all connected with the beginning or ending of *flight-phases*,⁴ and so would assist the audience in predicting the reversal at the end of the current phase or the initiation of the next one.

- 129a 'let us remember our battle-lust' [*μνησώμεθα χάρμης*]: 3 examples: [1] 15. 477, [2] 17. 103 (*ἐπιμνησαίμεθα*), [3] 19. 148.¹

These expressions are deployed within character speech where the speaker attempts to encourage the addressee to react positively to a defensive situation: [1] after seeing Teukros' bow disabled by Zeus, Aias encourages his brother to rearm and rejoin the fighting;² [2] Menelaos consoles himself for his retreat with the thought that, if he could find Aias, they could reclaim the corpse together; [3] Akhilleus attempts to get the Greeks fired up with the thought of seeing him fighting. His next speech focuses more explicitly on the need to avenge the comrades Hektor killed on the previous day, but the deployment of this exhortation shows his awareness of the public's attitude towards that situation.

This usage of the narrative unit from 129 in character speech illustrates the defensive qualities usually associated with those who either experience this reaction or are exhorted to do so; that this is not true with the Trojan reaction in 129/3 is another indication of several in that episode that something is awry.³

- 130 'no one | before' [*οὐ τις | πρότερος*]: 4 examples (1): [1] 1. 547–8, [2] 8. 253, [3] 17. 14, [4] 24. 697–8 (*πρόσθ*).¹

² Cf. 29/12 n. 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Cf. 32/7, 16, 17.

¹ Cf. Martin (1989) 79–80.

² Cf. 208/2; also 40/20 n. 8.

³ Cf. 29/12 n. 7.

¹ Richardson (1993) on 24. 698, 348, compares 18. 403–5 (*οὐδέ τις ἄλλος | εἶδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων | ἀλλὰ Θέης κτλ.*), which is very close to 24. 697–9 (*οὐδέ τις ἄλλος | ἔγνω πρόσθ' ἀνδρῶν καλλιζώνων πε γυναικῶν | ἀλλ' ἄρα Κασσάνδρην κτλ.*). However, the expressions covered here (i.e. those which employ a temporal adverb or adjective) express priority of action, not exclusivity of action, which is what is stressed in 18. 185, 18. 403–5, 21. 275–6 (183/17), etc. Within the current grouping only 24. 697–9 uses a form of *ἄλλος*; hence, while it may

This method of expressing priority is employed both by the poet (in [2] and [4]) and his characters (in [1] and [3]) when that priority is felt to be a matter of great personal importance to the character, but only where it is not as much of an advantage as the character feels it to be. The application is quite straightforward for those examples in the poet's voice, for the audience simply reflects on the character's mistaken hopes and impressions: [2] after the exploration of his motivations in the preceding phase, it is no surprise that Diomedes is the first of the Greeks to counterattack, but there are several indications in this passage that he is to recede from importance (and in the previous phase that he was acting against the will of Zeus);² [4] though it is nowhere explicit that the *Iliad* knows of Cassandra's eventually useless mantic skill, the twin connotations of eventual failure and personal importance to her primacy of observation in Ω could indeed hint at the story that, for all her gifts of vision, she was still unable to prevent Troy's destruction.³

Where employed by his characters, however, the situation is slightly more complicated, for (whether the speaker himself is aware of it) that assertion of priority is unpersuasive and proves to be disagreeable for the character so labelled: [1] Zeus informs Here that she will be the first to know his plans when it is suitable, seeking thus to remove her immediate opposition by assuring her of her great importance. Given his quasi-poetic skill elsewhere,⁴ he could well be implying that, even when she is informed, she will be unable to affect that plan, but it hardly persuades her to acquiesce in any case;⁵ [3] Euphorbos claims his priority in killing Patroklos as reason for Menelaos to retreat.⁶ The only character to use it of himself, he is immediately slain by Menelaos (who has found his claim unpersuasive), and his confidence in the credit of his victory has anyway been severely qualified by Apollo's activities before that moment, and Hektor's action after it.

partake of that exclusivizing syntax, it is also an example of the prioritizing one (as Cassandra then summons the other Trojans to look at Hektor). One might also compare *Od.* 11. 482–3 (σεῖο δ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, | οὐ τις ἀνὴρ προπάρειθε μακάρτατος οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπίσσω), though 'before' may not be the term of comparison, because the poet may employ the unit in this unusual context without fully accommodating it. Certainly, Odysseus' attempted flattery of Akhilleus focuses both on his honour during his lifetime as well as his happiness in prominence amongst the dead. Akhilleus' reply flatly contradicts at least the latter element, and one may well reflect that his status among the living (indeed the extremity of his honouring) was a reflex of his quasi-divine nature which could only, in the current circumstance, underline how mortal he actually was. I suggest (particularly given the poet's use of the syntax, and Zeus' quasi-poetic status in 1) that Odysseus was well aware of that fact, and is using traditional language in a highly skilled and subtly antagonistic manner; cf. 47/1 n. 7.

² Cf. Commentary ad loc.

³ Cf. *Kypria* arg. 11 Bernabé and Bernabé (1987) ad loc., 39; Kullmann (1960) 247; Richardson (1993) on 24. 699–702, 348–9; also 152/6. ⁴ Cf. 5/1 n. 2. ⁵ Cf. Appendix B.

⁶ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

- 131 'far the first' [πολὺ πρῶτος]: 5 examples: [1] 2. 702 (πρώτιστον), [2] 7. 162, [3] 8. 256, [4] 14. 442 (πρώτιστος), [5] 23. 288.

This type of specification is confined to catalogues (or smaller entries therein [1]) and re-introduces a previously emphasized character at a moment when the action for which he is known becomes again briefly prominent, before he disappears from the narrative. The resumption may function over a small or very large portion of narrative: [1] the poet tells the story of Protesilaos, who leapt off his ship far the first and was killed by a Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ. Then he proceeds to the replacement leader for his contingent, Podarkes;¹ [2] after making Menelaos sit down, Agamemnon is far the first to stand up and volunteer after Nestor's rebuke. He does not get the job; [3] Diomedes has driven the preceding narrative, not to mention the first day of battle, and he is about to disappear from that role; [5] Eumelos has been unmentioned since the judgement of the poet about his team in *B* (763–7), and he fails spectacularly to win the race, coming in last of all.

The eagerness or special skill motivating the character is in every case dubious, leading either to his death [1], failure [5], or eclipse of another sort (as in [2], [3]). This ambiguity helps to explain [4], where Aias *minor* has very little role in the preceding narrative (last mentioned at 13. 701 in conjunction with Telamonian Aias), but briefly becomes prominent again at the end of *E* after the catalogue (cf. esp. 14. 520–2). This type of activity seems to have been a traditional aspect of his character (cf. his epithet Ὀϊλῆος παχὺς Αἴας), and the poet is elsewhere inclined to blacken his impression.² The expression would therefore seem to bestow a negative intimation, the explanation for which the audience supplies from its traditional knowledge of his character until the poet specifies his activities during the coming Trojan rout. Thus this expression encourages the audience to look not only at the accompanying narrative but at its broader knowledge of the character and his situation.

- 132 'he killed a helmed man of the Trojans' [Τρώων ἔλεν ἄνδρα κορυστήν]: 3 examples: [1] 4. 457, [2] 8. 256, [3] 16. 603.¹

Each of these denotes an initial slaying in a series after the course of battle has been set, but the series is itself very short, with a counteraction almost immediately. The victorious hero (once again) retreats from prominence:

¹ The reminiscence of Protesilaos so late in the war need not be an ill-digested relic of earlier tales in the Trojan war, but another indication of the *Iliad* poet's conscious desire to appropriate every possible tale for his own poem, and moreover to show his own total knowledge of the saga.

² Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 72, 52; on 14. 521–2, 224; also 9/44 n. 29.

¹ Cf. Trümper (1950) 47–51, esp. 49; Markwald (1991); Janko (1992) on 16. 603, 390.

[1] Antilokhos begins the poem's series of reciprocal encounters as the battle is joined. Another Greek attempts to claim his victim before being killed by Agenor, and then a short struggle develops over his corpse. This then moves into a new series of reciprocal *androktasiai* until the Greeks claim the bodies, and Antilokhos does not reappear until 5. 565; [2] Diomedes kills the last of his victims (or at least the last mentioned) before Teukros' *aristeia* begins. The poet thus adds to the many signals in this section of the personalized nature of Diomedes' counterattack² in that any other hero's action is an interruption, and it may also place Teukros' coming *aristeia* under the expectation of fairly immediate counteraction.³ Diomedes disappears until the assembly at the start of *I*; [3] after Glaukos is the first of the Trojans to turn, stand and claim his victim, Meriones' slaying of Laogonos invites an unsuccessful reply by Aineias, upon which there are a series of speeches between Aineias, Meriones and Patroklos, which returns the narrative focus to the ἀριστεύων. Meriones himself does not reappear until 17. 259.

'clattered armour on him' [ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ]: 9 examples: [1] {4. 504}, [2] 5. 58, [3] 5. 294, [4] {5. 540}, [5] 8. 260, [6] 13. 187, [7] {15. 578}, [8] 17. 50, [9] 17. 311.¹ 133

This expression accompanies spear-slayings followed by an attempt to claim the corpse and its armour. Successful or not, the claimant is then immediately thereafter removed from the narrative forefront. The attempt is expressed in [1], [3], [4], [6]–[9], whilst in [2] and [5] it is not. However, both examples occur when the victorious nature of the battle has already been emphasized: before [2] the poet tells that the Greek leaders each claimed a victim as the Trojans were put to rout (5. 37–8), and before [5] the Greek resurgence is assured from the shape of the preceding narrative. In fact, where there is simply an uninterrupted catalogue of *androktasiai* or victories for one side alone as in these two examples, the poet usually avoids narrating the claiming of the bodies, presumably because there is no narrative tension in being able to strip the dead when one's side is in the ascendant. That the claiming of the spoils is a normal action on the battlefield is illustrated by special instructions not to do it at 6. 66–71 (Nestor) and 15. 346–51

² Cf. Commentary ad loc.

³ As such, it would add to the many subversive elements at play here; cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹ Cf. Gelzer (1973); Muellner (1976) 24–5; Morrison (1999); also (13). At 21. 408, Ares is laid out by Athene and his armour clatters (τεύχεα δ' ἀμφαράβησε); Athene makes no attempt to strip him of his armour, and Ares is not of course in danger of death, but his helplessness in the circumstance is still connoted by the altered expression, as well as by the fact that Aphrodite is required to rescue him from his prone position on the field—in the end without success; cf. 7/5 n. 6.

(Hektor).² In [2], [5], therefore, the poet wishes his audience simply to assume that the bodies are claimed and stripped, leaving him free to remove the narrative focus elsewhere.

That is not to say that the hero does not continue fighting on the battlefield, just that the poet is now concerned with other characters. The referential purpose of the hemistich is therefore to point the audience to the character's concern with the aftermath of the slaying—the claiming of the corpse and / or its armour—as a pretext for removing him (momentarily or more long-term) from the narrative focus. Immediate removal occurs in [1], [2], [4]–[7], [9]: [1] after the bodies are claimed, Odysseus is not mentioned again until 5. 519; [2] Menelaos does not reappear until 5. 561; [4] Agamemnon only emerges at 6. 53–4; [5] Diomedes is not heard of until the assembly in *I*; [6] Hektor is not mentioned again until 13. 684; [7] Antilokhos, after his compelled retreat, does not re-emerge until 16. 318; [9] Hektor is momentarily replaced as the leading or motivating Trojan by Aineias (17. 323), to whom he plays second fiddle until 483 when they make a concerted but eventually unsuccessful attack on Automedon.³

Removal is postponed in [3], [8]: [3] Diomedes wounds Aineias and then (after Sthenelos has claimed Aineias' horses) Aphrodite, over whom he vaunts, before the focus moves to Olympos (5. 352–431).⁴ This extraordinary event is thus even more marked, but it brings an element of tension and uncertainty into the narrative, as the audience know that Diomedes is to become less important, but they do not know how;⁵ [8] the poet greatly expands the typical feature of retreat in the face of a superior figure which prevents stripping (as in [6], [7]) before he finally achieves Menelaos' retreat (17. 113).⁶ After this point, Aias becomes the significant martial figure, even though Menelaos accompanies him back to Patroklos' corpse. In fact, his next significant action is an appeal for help at 246–55 (suggested to him by Aias at 237–45).

It is notable that this unit, and its concentration on the armour or corpse of the slain, is not used in the poem after its two applications at the beginning of Patroklos' *Leichenkampf*. The fighting from hereon in is severely determined first by the need to rescue the corpse of Patroklos, and then for Akhilleus to take his revenge on as broad a swathe of Trojans as possible. He is of course still stripping his victims (cf. 23. 560–2), but the poet is not encouraging the audience to view this phase of combat as subject to the usual considerations of reciprocities and rewards.⁷

² Cf. 96/2, 96/6; cf. also Kirk (1990) on 6. 67–71, 162.

³ Cf. 51/6, 40/24 n. 10.

⁴ Cf. 9/15 n. 8; also 20/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 60/2.

⁶ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

⁷ Cf. in general Segal (1971), though he does not deal directly with the significance of ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι. A good analogy for the phenomenon observed above would be the fact that *transitional assemblies* become progressively less common as the poem proceeds; cf. 3 n. 22.

‘nine’ / ‘ninth’ [ἐννέα / εἴνατος]: 22 examples: [1] 1. 53, [2] 2. 96, [3] 2. 134, [4] 2. 295 (~ 313), [5] 2. 654, [6] 6. 174, [7] 6. 236, [8] 7. 161, [9] 8. 266, [10] 9. 470, [11] 12. 25, [12] 16. 785, [13] 18. 351, [14] 18. 400, [15] 18. 578, [16] 23. 173, [17] 24. 107, [18] 24. 252, [19] 24. 270, [20] 24. 610, [21] 24. 664, [22] 24. 784.¹

The number nine is applied to groupings of all sorts, temporal or concrete, animals, humans, etc., and it connotes an essential incompleteness in that grouping. Its most recognizable usage is a temporal ennead contrasted with a culminating or superseding action on the tenth day or year: [1] the plague rages for nine days before Akhilleus calls the assembly; [3] in Agamemnon’s false speech, he says that nine years have gone and it is now time to flee; [4] in Odysseus’ story of the omen at Aulis, the mother of the chicks is also eaten ninth, in the same way that for nine years they will fight and in the tenth take Troy;² [6] Bellerophon is entertained for nine days before he is asked for the symbols which will get him into trouble; [10] Phoinix’s family guard him for nine nights, but he evades them on the tenth; [11] Apollo attacks the wall with the rivers for nine days, along with Poseidon and Zeus, before its destruction and smoothing over by Poseidon; [14] Hephaistos stays in exile with Thetis and Eurynome for nine years. The tenth, in which he returned to the Olympian community, is left unspoken; [17] Zeus tells Thetis that a quarrel over Hektor has arisen among the immortals for nine days. She is now to help in its resolution; [20] Niobe’s children lie unburied for nine days, and on the tenth they are buried by the gods, just as Priam asks for a period for mourning before burying Hektor [21]³ and the Trojans collect wood before the funeral [22].

This need for an external resolution is also applied to situations where the crucial figure or item is more remote, and may even be unable to perform that function: [2] nine heralds call the Greeks to assembly, but Athene will be required to put in an appearance as the über-herald to bring them back to order so as to listen to Odysseus and return to their mission; [8] though nine

¹ I include cardinals, ordinals, and compounds; cf. Fenik (1968) 120; also Germain (1954) 13–17, 17 n. 4, 42–7; van Bennekom (1984a), (1984b); Passaloglou (1994). Though I do not examine this unit in the *Odyssey* (cf. Erbse 1972: 196) it would be interesting if this connotation of incompleteness has something to do with the number of Muses at *Od.* 24. 60, whether because (as in that case) one thinks of the lamentation of Thetis or the inefficacy of the lamentation of the Muses to assuage her grief (cf. below, esp. 13, 16, 19), or because the poet (or Apollo) is always required or presupposed in this relationship. That this number was not fixed even in early epic poetry, let alone other myth or cult, might lead one to suppose that this choice was intended to make a point within that scene or a certain tradition of epic narrative; cf. M. L. West (1966) on Hesiod, *Theogony* 60, 176; Erbse (1972) 194–7. One need not, however, assume that Hesiod copied or knew this passage; simply that the conception of the Muses as an incomplete grouping—and so nine in number when that fact needed emphasis—was known to both Homeric and Hesiodic traditions. ² Cf. 128/1; also 9/8 n. 5. ³ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

men may stand to face Hektor, it has taken both the *αἰδώς* of Menelaos and a rebuke from Nestor to bring them forward. Menelaos could be the suggested figure, given his importance for the expedition as a whole and his exclusion from the following lottery,⁴ but the eventual selection of Aias may be related to his status as second-best of the Akhaioi,⁵ the absent figure being perhaps Akhilleus himself, the only one destined to kill Hektor; [18] Priam orders his nine sons to assemble the wagon, abusing them (principally) for not being Hektor.⁶

Suggestion of the absent therefore makes the numeral readily applicable to funeral contexts, for commemoration cannot hide the inevitable failure of the ritual to compensate for the lost individual: [16] two of nine ‘table’ dogs are slaughtered, suggesting the absence of both the master himself (prominent in the same verse) on whom they will ‘attend’, as well as the ultimate inefficacy of the entire process. The same explanation is to be applied to the ointment with which Akhilleus anoints Patroklos’ body, described as *ἐννεώροιο* [13],⁷ and to the *ἐννεάπηχυ* yoke-binder [19] for the wagon on which Priam will retrieve Hektor’s corpse. None of these items, nor the process which they metonymically represent, can adequately compensate for either Hektor or Patroklos.⁸

Situations like this in turn bestow on the numeral itself an ambiguous connotation in any circumstance: [5] Tlepolemos’ contingent of nine ships, though by no means the smallest, is also dependent on a foundation resulting from a kin-slaying, and he will of course be killed in *E*, where his inability to live up to the Herakles-story he adduces suggests that the ennead quality in this case is intended to suggest his absent and superior father;⁹ [7] Glaukos’ gold armour is exchanged for a lesser set whose valuation in terms of nine oxen next to the hekatomb underlines the Lykian’s defeat in the contest with Diomedes. As the lesser hero, he now possesses the less valued armour;¹⁰ [9] in line with many other subversive features to this Greek renaissance, Teukros will be unsuccessful in turning the tide of battle and will have to withdraw wounded; [12] in Patroklos’ final attack he kills thrice nine men, the poet combining this negative connotation with both the danger such an action (*τρίς μὲν* | *τρίς δέ*) represents for the agent, and its revolutionary purpose—as Apollo moves up to disarm him;¹¹ [15] the nine dogs and young men are unable to prevent the two lions from dividing up the bull. Given the usual indeterminacy of this particular (simile) image with regard to its success, the

⁴ Cf. 40/8; also 78/17 n. 3; 16/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 97/5 n. 5.

⁶ Cf. 89/6.

⁷ That only two of these dogs are killed may be an intimation that they are to be conveyed with the deceased to the afterlife, to perform there the attendant function as Telemakhos’ two dogs at *Od.* 2. 11 and 17. 62; cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 166–76, 186–9; Andronikos (1968) 87–91.

⁸ Cf. 118/17.

⁹ Cf. 172/4.

¹⁰ Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

¹¹ Cf. 92/6; also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

poet employs the numeral to direct the audience more closely to their failure and the lions' power.¹²

Archer fighting with warrior(s): 4 examples (1): [1] 4. 104–26, [2] 8. 266–72, 135 [3] 12. 349–412, [4] 15. 436–78, [5] *Od.* 22. 1–121.¹

In this circumstance, an archer fights in conjunction with one or more warriors, who may protect him with their shields (as in [1], [2]) or simply fight alongside him (as in [3]–[5]). Archers generally play a subordinate role in the *Iliad*, the poet only rarely allowing the narrative focus to remain on such a figure for any length of time, for they usually make one shot from a distance and then recede from importance.² The idea of the archer's distance in combat disgusts Diomedes (11. 385–91), though the weaponry of Herakles tells against easy generalizations.³ The formal variation for the instantiations of this motif is enormous: [1] is a single shot, whilst [2]–[5] are all composed of multiple encounters, complete with exhortations, vaunts and many of the poet's other battlefield paraphernalia.

Despite these variations, it is noticeable that the bow is not the decisive or determinative element in the combat sequence, with the archer either failing to achieve the desired objective and withdrawing from the narrative (as in [1]–[3]) or undergoing renascence as a spear fighter (as in [4], [5]; also eventually in [1]): [1] Pandaros' shot fails to cause any real discomfiture for Menelaos, who takes part in the day's fighting nonetheless. Pandaros himself later abuses the bow as useless (5. 205–16), and is killed by Diomedes trying his luck with the spear;⁴ [2] Teukros kills a number of unimportant figures in lieu of Hektor (cf. esp. 8. 299) before being wounded and removed from the field, Greek fortunes going with him; [3] Teukros and Aias together just about stop Sarpedon from overcoming the wall, but Aias' effectiveness is greater.⁵

¹² Cf. 164/23.

¹ Archery in the *Iliad* is a popular theme in scholarship; cf. Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 351; Lorimer (1950) 276–301, esp. 289–300; Page (1959) 278–80; Erbse (1961) 173–7, esp. 173 n. 23; Snodgrass (1964) 141–56, 174–5; Edgeworth (1985); Kirk (1990) on 8. 267–72, 321–2; Janko (1992) on 13. 712–18, 136–7; van Wees (1994) 134, 144, 150 n. 63; Mackie (1996) 53; Hellmann (2000) 106; Farron (2003). Similarities between the θ scene and the co-operation between the Aiantes (and the description of the Lokrian archery method) in *N* leads Fenik (1968) 225–6, to posit a relationship with this current scene; Schadewaldt (1966) 103 n. 1 rejects a similar passage dependence with Teukros' next period of pre-eminence in *O*, though he sees the reminiscence as a deliberate structural parallel; cf. also Di Benedetto (1994) 201–4. No such dependence is necessary to make sense of the image in the current context, for the weapon's ambiguous (strategic) effectiveness is uppermost in the audience's mind, especially when this is combined with the other ambiguous intimations surrounding this action; cf. also Krischer (1971) 75–6.

² Cf. 36; also 13. 712–18 for the Lokrian 'Bogenband'.

³ Cf. 5. 392–7; Bond (1981) on Euripides, *Herakles* 161, 108–9; also 21. 482–3, and Farron (2003).

⁴ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁵ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

He kills his first opponent (12. 378–86) whilst Teukros just wounds Glaukos (387–91), in specific retaliation for which Sarpedon kills Alkmaon (394–6) before he tears down the part of the wall facing him, *πολέεσσι δὲ θῆκε κέλευθον* (399). Then both Aias and Teukros strike Sarpedon simultaneously and force him back a little, before the poet moves the focus to Hektor (437) and his breaking into the camp; [4] Teukros once again manages to kill a series of unimportant victims whilst aiming at Hektor (cf. esp. 15. 440–1) until Zeus breaks his bowstring and forces him to re-equip. Though he disappears from the narrative, one assumes that he fights on with his replacement equipment;⁶ [5] Odysseus' victory over the suitors is not assured simply by his bow, for he runs out of arrows after killing only two named victims (though these two are the two leading suitors, and cf. 21. 116–18). Instead, the poet generates interest in that episode because the audience know that, if Odysseus is to win the battle, the great symbolic bow will not be enough. Hence getting more equipment, not to mention the significance of fighting with his son and few retainers, becomes a matter of some importance for both Odysseus and the suitors.⁷

Furthermore, all these episodes are provided with a set of speeches which motivate or contextualize the hero's activity: [1] Athene persuades Pandaros to make his attempt; [2] Teukros is exhorted by Agamemnon; [3] Menestheus sends Thoas to summon the Aiantes; [4] Aias impels Teukros into action with a 'where? / whither? (II)' question⁸; [5] the slaying is preceded by a lengthy series of episodes in which the actions and motivations of all participants have been made very clear. Only in [2] does the motivating speech come in the middle of the sequence (though [5] has speeches all over the place), another of the surprising features in this exchange.⁹

136 'look[ing] about' [*παπτήνας*]: 17 examples: [1] 4. 200, [2] 4. 497, [3] 8. 269, [4] 11. 546, [5] 12. 333, [6] 13. 551, [7] 13. 649, [8] 14. 507, [9] 15. 574, [10] 16. 283, [11] 17. 84, [12] 17. 115, [13] 17. 603, [14] 17. 674, [15] 22. 463, [16] 23. 464, [17] 23. 690.¹

On each occasion, the subject of the verb is reacting to an immediately preceding setback of various sorts as the cause of his or her distress, or is at the very least depicted in an immediately difficult situation which has forced him

⁶ Cf. 177/18; also 40/20 n. 8.

⁷ Cf. S. West (1988) on *Od.* 1. 257ff., 107–8; Hainsworth (1988) on *Od.* 8. 215–18, 359; also Müller (1966) 136–44; Krischer (1971); Fenik (1974) 99–100, 146–8, though he emphasizes the typological differences between the two poems.

⁸ Cf. 124/6; also 40/20 n. 8.

⁹ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 4. 200, 352; Lonsdale (1989); Hainsworth (1993) on 12. 333, 355; Edwards (1991) on 17. 674, 128; W. Beck (2000a).

onto the back foot. Thus, the attitude connoted here is awareness of a defensive and reactive context: [1] Talthybios looks around for Makhaon to assist the stricken Menelaos; [3] together with several other ambiguous features in this passage, Teukros' activity comes just as the Greeks have responded to the omen and pushed the Trojans back from the camp; [4] Aias, after he is forced to retreat by Zeus, casts his glance like a hunted animal; [5] Menestheus sees the onset of Sarpedon and Glaukos and looks around for aid;² [7] after a failed attempt on Menelaos, Harpalion rejoins the crowd in an effort to avoid death; [8] (and [10]) in response to a slaying / boast and the appearance of Patroklos, the Trojans look around for some way to avoid destruction; [12] Menelaos, forced back from Patroklos' body by the onset of Hektor, retreats and looks for Aias; [13] the wounded Leitos, no longer thinking he can fight, looks around as he retreats; [14] as he retreats to find Antilokhos, Menelaos looks around like an eagle searching for its victim. Though apparently somewhat discordant in this context, the verb reaches beyond its simile to connote Menelaos' awareness of the situation (cf. esp. 17. 628–47, 651–5);³ [15] Andromakhe is already frightened about the source of the mourning and runs to the tower to look over the field; [16] Idomeneus, concerned for the safety of Eumelos, says that though his eyes look they cannot see the reason for his failure to be in the front;⁴ [17] Epeios strikes Eurýlaos who is looking about. Although the poet does not tell the audience that the latter was specifically afraid, the Greeks were silent to Epeios' challenge, and so Eurýlaos' action connotes his awareness of the dangers or difficulty inherent in the situation.⁵

This defensive situation does not preclude an aggressive or counteracting response from the hero: [2] Odysseus, in response to the death of one of his comrades, steps forward to make a cast, as Antilokhos in [6] after Zeus rouses the Trojans again; [11] upon being told of Euphorbos' death at the hands of Menelaos, Hektor casts his eye over the ranks and sees the situation confirmed. He then goes to deal with him. However, it is still noticeable that the situation is either one of loss or some considerable difficulty or danger.

Child similes: 19 examples: [1] 2. 289, [2] 2. 337–8, [3] 2. 872, [4] 4. 130–1, 137 [5] 7. 235–6, [6] 8. 271, [7] 9. 481–2, [8] 11. 389, [9] 11. 558–62, [10] 13. 292, [11] 13. 470, [12] 15. 362, [13] 16. 7–10, [14] 16. 259–65, [15] 20. 200–1, [16] 20. 244, [17] 20. 431, [18] 21. 282–3, [19] 23. 222–3.¹

² Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

³ Cf. 9/33 n. 15.

⁴ Cf. 9/44 n. 29.

⁵ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

¹ Cf. Fränkel (1921) 89–96; Scott (1974) ch. 3, esp. 73–4, 110–11; Moulton (1977) 101–6, 141–5 (on the *Odyssey*); Edgeworth (1985) 29–30; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 322; Ingalls (1998); de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 2. 47, 49; Latacz (2003) on 2. 136–7a, 49.

The unwarlike nature of the image is emphasized particularly in those examples where the speaker attempts to underline the martial unworthiness of the compared group or individual: [1] Odysseus compares the Greeks to a crowd of women and children weeping to go home;² [2] Nestor does the same, qualifying the image with *οἷς οὐ τι μέλει πολεμῆϊα ἔργα*; [5] Hektor tells Aias not to try to scare him as though he were a woman or child;³ [6] the simile is just one of many items the poet uses in this scene to undercut Teukros' effectiveness;⁴ [8] Diomedes claims not to care about Paris' action, as though a woman or child had struck him; [10] Idomeneus cuts short the interlude with Meriones by labelling further speech as childish in the face of the current need;⁵ [13] Akhilleus denies the efficacy of Patroklos' tears (for they are not in themselves unheroic) by making the comparison to a *κούρη*, thus undermining his coming appeal as unwarlike and so ill-suited to the occasion;⁶ [15] Aineias negates the idea of his childishness as part of his attempt to justify his presence on the field (as Hektor in [17]), and then appropriates the image himself to begin the combat [16];⁷ [18] Akhilleus contrasts the desirability of dying in war with what seems to be his current fate, killed by the river like a child.

It is noticeable that human speakers use this figure slightly more often than the poet: [3] the effete Nastes and his golden armour is so described before the poet tells the audience of his fate (2. 873–4);⁸ [9] Aias is compared to an ass forced from the field by children, but only when he has sated his desire for food; [11] Idomeneus does not retreat from Aineias like a child, but the context suggests that his effectiveness is undermined even by the negating of the idea, for he then calls for aid on the grounds of his age, and is eventually forced to retreat because of that (cf. above [10], [15]–[17] for a similar idea);⁹ [14] the wasp simile blames the angry activity of the insects on foolish children who have stirred them up and caused evil for many. So the Trojans do not realize the consequences of their actions. The reference of this image is well employed with regard to the gods for, whereas its application to mortals generally undermines their martial qualities or effectiveness in a particular circumstance, deities are simply shown to be fundamentally alien to the human experience of battle: [12] the child knocking down the sand-castle emphasizes the ease with which Apollo kicks down the Greek wall, and that his participation in the war is without risk; [4] Athene easily deflects Pandaros' shot at Menelaos.¹⁰

² Cf. 88/2; also 9/8 n. 5.

³ Cf. 88/4; also 26/3 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁵ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁶ Cf. also 99 n. 1 on *νηπιή* (16. 8); also 9/30 n. 13.

⁷ Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

⁸ Cf. 99/2.

⁹ Cf. 9/27 n. 11; also 18/7 n. 9.

¹⁰ Cf. 16/1 n. 2. One could consider that the image speaks of Menelaos' general martial effectiveness; cf. 78/17 n. 3.

It should also be noted that an unwarlike quality is not necessarily or in every circumstance a bad thing, for the relationship between parent and child may also express tenderness (as, for that matter, in [4]): [7] Phoinix tells the story of Peleus receiving him and loving him as a father for a son; [19] Akhilleus weeping over Patroklos is compared to an old man mourning his son.

Victim catalogues: 11 examples: [1] 5. 677–8, [2] 5. 703–10, [3] 8. 273–7, [4] 11. 299–303, [5] 11. 420–5, [6] 11. 489–91, [7] 12. 191–4, [8] 14. 511–22, [9] 16. 415–18, [10] 16. 694–6, [11] 21. 209–10.¹ 138

All these examples are allotted to single figures, with the exception of [8], where a series of Greek figures kill a group of Trojans with minimal explanation and elaboration. Such a one-sided series is common in *androktasia* catalogues (cf. below). It is to be noted that [7] occurs at the end of a double *aristeia*, in which Leonteus fights together with Polypoites. Such structures frequently employ mixed victim and *androktasia* catalogues, as with [9], which falls at the end of an *androktasia* catalogue.

Androktasia catalogues: 12 examples: [1] 5. 37–83, [2] 5. 144–65, [3] 6. 5–36, [4] 7. 8–16, [5] 11. 91–147, [6] 11. 320–42, [7] 12. 182–94 (138/7), [8] 15. 329–42, [9] 16. 306–50, [10] 16. 394–418 (138/9), [11] 20. 381–418, [12] 20. 455–89. 139

One can see that these catalogues are usually allotted to very prominent individuals—Diomedes, Agamemnon, Patroklos, and Akhilleus (twice)—or denote a series of kills for a group of leaders from one side (as in 139/1, 3, 4, 8, 9). The ‘generic’ quality to these lists is clear from an examination of the personnel of 138/3: another Orsilokhos (this time a Greek) is killed by Aineias at 5. 541–2, another Trojan Ormenos is killed by Polypoites at 12. 187 (138/9 | 139/10), another Ophleustes is killed by Akhilleus at 21. 210 (138/11), whilst Melanippos is a prominent Trojan addressed by Hektor at 15. 545–59 (and killed by Antilokhos at 15. 575–8), a victim of Patroklos at 16. 695 (138/10), and finally one of the Greeks entrusted with the conveying of the gifts at 19. 240. Daitor and Lykophontes do not reappear (though a Lykophontes is mentioned by Agamemnon at 4. 395), and Khromios is a battlefield pedestrian.¹

¹ Cf. de Jong (1987) 49–53; also 34 n. 1. The catalogues with which I am concerned here are an essential item in sequences of heroic prominence which are generally labelled *aristeiai*, a term applied in modern scholarship wherever a hero exhibits pre-eminent valour and success, but used here to describe prominence centred around a series of consecutive slayings which confer a generic glory on the hero because of the facelessness of the victims. The standard work on the *aristeia* is Krischer (1971) esp. 23, 75–6; cf. also Kelly (1998) 1–12; Camerotto (2001). The lists above includes those examples allotted to a number of different victors on the same side.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 4. 295–6, 360; also Fenik (1968) 147–8.

The introductory elements to this generic glory are the same found in any period of battle commencement or reactivation, e.g. arming the hero, granting him pre-eminence, a sign of divine favour, advance, exhortation, and so on. The shape of the introduction is obviously a result of the narrative's requirements when the poet begins to generate the structure, and is not predetermined by the simple fact that an *aristeia* is being prepared. For instance, the presence of a catalogue in several reactivations and at the start of a new day's battle has already been noted.² Thus, it is not surprising to find catalogues appearing at the beginning of *aristeiai* (particularly when they coincide with such periods in battle), but they need not concern the leaders of the hero's side: before 138/7=139/7 the Trojans who advance to face Polypoites and Leonteus are enumerated (12. 139–40); before 139/5 there is a catalogue of Trojan leaders at the start of the new day (11. 56–60), and before 138/9=139/10 one of the Myrmidons who are to march out with Patroklos (16. 168–97). This should suffice to illustrate that the *aristeia* is an inherently labile structure which can be generated into any battle context.

Similes are common in these situations (only lacking in 138/1, 2, 11, 139/11), and may be found before or after the catalogue, or indeed during it, and it may be some distance from the catalogue:³ 138/3 child and its mother (8. 271); 138/4 hunter, dogs, and boar (11. 292–4) / storm wind (297–8);⁴ 138/5 hunters around a wounded boar (11. 414–20); 138/6 jackals around wounded stag (11. 473–84) / shield like a tower (485); 138/7 | 139/7 oaks (12. 131–5) / hunted boars (145–51); 138/9 | 139/10 earth beneath a whirlwind (16. 384–93); 138/10 *daimon* (16. 705); 139/2 lion (5. 136–43); 139/5 lion (11. 113–20); 139/6 boars (11. 324–6); 139/12 fire (20. 490–4) / corpses like barley beneath (495–502). The usually aggressive nature of these comparisons is immediately obvious, comparing the hero's physical prowess and effect upon the battle in such a way as to emphasize his might and power.⁵ Even those *aristeiai* which fall at defensive moments are nonetheless graced with similes which manage to emphasize their strength and courage: 138/5 the wounded Odysseus is compared to a boar; 138/7 = 139/7 Polypoites and Leonteus are likened to oak trees and boars. The defensive connotation of 138/3 is therefore very noticeable.

Resolution of these periods of dominance may occur in any number of ways. In addition to actual opposition and reversal as a means of resolution (as in 138/1–5, 10),⁶ the poet may shift focus (as in 138/6, 138/7=139/7, 138/8) or he may allow the hero a victorious encounter with a major figure (as in 138/9 = 139/10, 138/11 eventually, 139/2, 6, 11). In 139/12 Akhilleus simply continues immediately his winning ways, this time in the river, before his

² Cf. 22; also 34.

⁵ Cf. 65 n. 1; 137.

³ Cf. Krischer (1971) 59–61.

⁴ Cf. 96/5 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 138a for some of these examples.

encounter with the god after 138/11—another example of the ways in which he is able to shift the poet's usual compositional technique.⁷

'whom first [and whom last] did he slay?' [*ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριζεν*]: 4 examples: [1] 5. 703 (138/2), [2] 8. 273 (*Τρώων ἔλε Τεύκρος ἀμύμων*) (138/3), [3] 11. 299 (138/4), [4] 16. 692 (*ἐξενάριξας*) (138/10).¹ 138a

This question at the outset of a victim catalogue signals a further exchange between two or more characters (usually opposing the *ἀριστεύων*) who are reacting to that period of dominance. Their determination in this regard is generally successful: [1] Here and Athene exchange words with one another, journey to the battlefield, and then exhort both the Greeks in general and Diomedes in particular to face Hektor and Ares; [3] Diomedes and Odysseus exchange words before they confront Hektor and defeat him;² [4] after an initial encounter with Patroklos on the wall, Apollo encourages Hektor to face him—and eventually successfully so;³ [2] is exceptional in that, rather than opposing figures speaking about the need to address the *ἀριστεύων*, it is Agamemnon who addresses Teukros before the next round of combats in which Hektor wounds the latter. This disjunction adds to the audience's feeling that Agamemnon is somewhat out of turn in his exhortation.⁴

Apart from those *aristeiai* ended by a change of focus or a victorious encounter for the *ἀριστεύων* (cf. above), there are other victim catalogues resolved by the actions of others, but not in the same way as the present four examples: 138/1 Hektor notices Odysseus' victories and moves to intervene. Odysseus simply disappears from the action, and there is neither an exhortation nor a confrontation between the heroes—hence no question. In a slightly different way, Odysseus' second *aristeia* 138/5 ends with two further combat episodes after the catalogue, in which the second of two brothers wounds him (somewhat like the ending of Agamemnon's large *aristeia*, the first phase of which is based around 139/5, straight after an invocation of the Muses at 11. 218–19). In this case, the hero simply embarks on a further series of killings before being wounded—hence no question. The import of this question, therefore, is that the audience is induced to look for character

⁷ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Rhetorical questions, whether linked with catalogues or not, have been often studied as part of the wider question of the poet's relationship to the Muses, with which I am not directly concerned here; cf. e.g. Calhoun (1938); Minton (1960); Murray (1981); Thalmann (1984) 78–56; de Jong (1987) 49–50; Finkelberg (1990); Minchin (1995); Finkelberg (1998) ch. 3. One might under this heading consider also 14. 511–22 (138/8), introduced by an invocation (508–10); after the Greek leaders enjoy their victories, Zeus wakes up, threatens Here and initiates a series of commands to reverse the period of Greek dominance as a whole.

² Cf. 96/5 n. 2.

³ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

reactions to, and subsequent exhortations connected with ending, that period of dominance.

140 ‘seeing | [he] rejoiced’ [ιδών | γήθησεν]: 10 examples: [1] 1. 330, [2] 4. 255, [3] 4. 283, [4] 4. 311, [5] 7. 189, [6] 8. 278, [7] 10. 190, [8] 13. 344, [9] 13. 494–5 (γεγρήθει | ἰδε), [10] 24. 320–1.¹

This expression is employed when the character views something as a personal boon for his authority or safety, which is deepened by a sense that the source of the reaction represents a reversal of his previous fortunes or attitudes. The types of action observed vary widely: [2], [3], [4] Agamemnon in the *Epipoleis* recognizes the eagerness for battle of Idomeneus,² the Aiantes and Nestor.³ Battle of course falls under his general responsibility, but their intentions are particularly significant in the light of the *Diapaira* and the testing of the *basileis*’ motivations; [5] Aias recognizes his marker in the lot, and thus his chance to duel (and, he feels, defeat) the greatest Trojan warrior, particularly after the embarrassment of not responding to Hektor’s original challenge;⁴ [6] Teukros’ *aristeia* understandably gladdens Agamemnon, given that the Greeks have—apparently for the first time in the war—been driven back into their own camp; [7] Nestor sees that the guards have, perhaps unsurprisingly, continued to observe the instructions he gave them earlier (9. 66–8). Apart from the prominent position of Nestor’s sons in this action, Agamemnon’s lack of tact at the beginning of the scene,⁵ and the confirmation of his own influence (especially given that his other suggestion at the start of *I* had failed so spectacularly), the maintenance of the guard is a symbol that authority is still observed even in the current desperate situation; [9] in the midst of his own wrathful withdrawal, Aineias’ return to the fighting symbolizes his return to the community. That others are prepared to respond to his call for aid confirms his authority amongst the army;⁶ [10] in the midst of their despair over Hektor, the Trojans see an omen which confirms the gods’ favour for and the safety of their king.⁷ The expression is explicitly negated

¹ Cf. Latacz (1966) 133–51; Finkelberg (1989) 183–4; Latacz (2000) on 1. 255–6, 105; cf. also 219 for the very similar γεγρήθει | φρένα unit, particularly 219/3 with regard to 9. One could add 7. 214 (ἐγρήθειον εἰσορόωντες), where Aias’ appearance not only makes the Greeks glad but frightens the hell out of Hektor and the Trojans, and 14. 140–1 (γηθεί | δερκομένωι) in which Poseidon posits Akhilleus’ joy in seeing the Greeks’ current plight. From here, one could include cases of γηθέω linked with other verbs of cognition, as 1. 255–7 (γηθήσαι | πυθοίαιτο), in which Nestor posits that the Trojans would be very glad to see two of the most prominent Akhaioi quarrelling (cf. 77/3 n. 19), or 16. 530 (ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ γήθησέν τε; cf. 190/3) where Glaukos realizes the favour of Apollo in saving Sarpedon’s corpse, and goes on to deliver an exhortation to the Trojan leaders and Hektor above all.

² Cf. 87/3 n. 2.

³ Cf. 50/2 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 26/3 n. 5; also 97/5 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. 9/25 n. 26.

⁶ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

⁷ Cf. 128/6; also 48/18 n. 11.

only in [1], where Akhilleus is not glad to see the heralds, for he understands that their action is to be detrimental to his *time* (over which he is already annoyed), but it is also in effect negated in [8], when the poet in his own voice thus measures the desperation of the battle, which has just been set around the advance of Idomeneus and the beginning of his *aristeia*. In these last two cases the expression is used to mark a continuity in an unpleasant activity.

[1]–[7] are all followed immediately by an exhortation from the subject of γῆθησεν (while [9] is preceded by a call for aid from the subject), which tends to confirm the actions already being undertaken. This unnecessary quality is either asserted in a reply, to be understood from the situation itself, or acknowledged by the speaker: [1] despite his reaction, Akhilleus welcomes the heralds and instructs Patroklos to ready Briseis for the handover; [2] the honour granted to Idomeneus is sufficient reason for his action in the present, as he admits, and he urges Agamemnon to encourage others; [3] the eagerness of the Aiantes (in this case Aias and Teukros)⁸ is admitted by Agamemnon and a given in the poem, and so he grants them the honour of approving their action without any separate encouragement; [4] when Agamemnon approves of Nestor, he wishes that the Pylian were young and that other, presumably less useful, figures were as handicapped by old age. This is of course impossible, and Nestor in his reply redirects Agamemnon to the present, his understanding of his duties as an older man, and their worth in the situation. Thus Nestor addresses what he sees as a partial or potential denigration of his current capabilities (cf. his speech to Akhilleus at 23. 626–50);⁹ [5] Aias' speech expressing his readiness to fight Hektor resumes the consent with which he volunteered. His rather strange exhortation of the Greeks to prayer should be read in light of the several prayers offered before the duel between Menelaos and Paris (3. 319–23). Such a request for victory was obviously standard before a formal duel, and so it is strictly unnecessary for one of the combatants to urge the crowd to pray for it (perhaps accounting for the unusual and halting quality of Aias' suggestion itself?),¹⁰ and continues the somewhat drawn-out process of the combat; [7] Nestor simply instructs the guards to keep on doing what they have been doing since he told them to do it (9. 66–8); [10] though there is no following exhortation (and the form of [8] precludes an individual speech) the crowd is reacting to a *post factum* guarantee of Priam's decision, in the form of an omen, to go to Akhilleus.¹¹

⁸ Cf. Kirk (1985) ad loc., 359; also Page (1959) 235–8 (with earlier literature); Edgeworth (1985); *contra* Stagakis (1975) 24–40.

⁹ Cf. 50/2 n. 2; also 213/4 (also 1, 5, 7, 13).

¹⁰ Cf. 125/10 for the similarly halting nature of the following prayer (7. 201–5); also 26/3 n. 5.

¹¹ Cf. 128/6.

- 140a 'so he spoke; and [he] rejoiced' [ὥς φάτο· γήθησεν δέ]: 3 examples: [1] 6. 212, [2] 17. 567, [3] 24. 424.¹

This variation on the expression above is employed when the addressee's previously unknown identity is in question: [1] the revelation of Glaukos' identity is given in the speech to which Diomedes reacts (before which he had asked whether he was talking to a god; cf. 6. 128–9), whilst in [2] Athene is in disguise, as is Hermes in [3]. The emotion itself is linked with the establishment of reciprocal relations between the two: [1] in response to Glaukos' narrative about Bellerophon, Diomedes recognizes a guest-friend relationship.² This observance of paternal obligations is another example of Diomedes' concern with his ancestors, especially Tydeus (cf. esp. 6. 222–3) and his desire to live up to him;³ [2] Athene is gladdened by the sincere reverence shown her by Menelaos, as the poet states explicitly (17. 568), and so she rewards him with βίη and θάρσος; [3] Priam is pleased by Hermes' positive news of Hektor, and after confirming the worth of offering gifts to the gods in return for their favour, offers Hermes a gift (perhaps recognizing his divinity?).⁴

- 141 '[he] stood | by' [στή | παρὰ]: 17 examples: [1] 4. 367, [2] 5. 112, [3] 5. 809 [4] 6. 43, [5] 7. 46, [6] 8. 280, [7] 8. 565, [8] 11. 314, [9] 11. 577, [10] 11. 592–3, [11] 11. 622, [12] 12. 353, [13] 17. 179, [14] 17. 707, [15] 20. 49, [16] 21. 547–8, [17] 24. 169.¹

Somewhat like the 'stood | before' expression, characters may take this stance aside animate or inanimate objects, and the relationship is more than local, connoting an attitude of potential or actual assistance. Unlike that unit, however, it appears where the assisting character actually turns out not to be that helpful or determinative in the situation: [1] Sthenelos' stance beside Diomedes contextualizes his following angry reply to Agamemnon after his leader has been rebuked, but Diomedes' own retort makes it clear that Sthenelos' offering is somewhat beside the point; [2] Sthenelos removes the arrow from Diomedes' shoulder, but in the coming combat it is the protection

¹ Cf. 140 n. 1; Finkelberg (1989) 182–3; Richardson (1993) on 24. 424, 316.

² Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

³ Cf. 11a/1 n. 3; also 86 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

¹ Cf. Kurz (1966) 93–5; also 48. I exclude here forms of the compound verb *παρίστημι*, for they show a regularity requiring separate treatment, but one could consider 11. 486 (*στή δὲ παρέξ*), where Aias moves to protect Odysseus as Menelaos leads him from the battle, and 6. 433 (*λαὸν δὲ στήσιν παρ' ἔρινεόν*) where Andromakhe exhorts Hektor to place the army at that point in order to keep the Greeks out. In the first case, Aias is shortly forced to retreat after his *aristeia* (and could this be an allusion to the rescue of Akhilleus' corpse, where his action turns out not to be as important as he thought?; cf. 97/5 n. 5), and it is Menelaos in any case who removes the wounded man from battle; in the latter, not only is Andromakhe's advice ignored, but it would not save the city in any case.

and support of Athene which achieves Diomedes' ends (cf. esp. 5. 122); [3] Athene protests that despite her support Diomedes has not proved himself worthy of his father. She uses the referentiality of the expression to point out that his deficiencies have rendered her assistance in these terms ineffective; [4] though Menelaos does not know it when he takes his stance next to the fallen Adrestos, the expression here helps to place his attitude and the following supplication in context, but Menelaos then allows himself to be overborne by Agamemnon, who kills his suppliant; [5] Helenos suggests to Hektor the duel, in which Hektor of course plays the dominant part;² [6] Agamemnon suggests that Teukros continue what he is already doing; [7] the Trojan horses stand beside their chariots as they wait for dawn, with obviously aggressive intention.³ Yet their participation on the following day, metonymic perhaps for the Trojan efforts, proves to be eventually disastrous, and somewhat dependent on constant divine attention. Moreover, this intimation could also refer to Akhilleus' absence as the most important factor in this battle, for *I* is then concerned almost entirely with an attempt to get him back into battle; [8] Odysseus requests Diomedes to stand by him and prevent Hektor from taking the ships. Though they halt the course of his *aristeia*, both of them are shortly wounded, and indeed Diomedes' prior withdrawal leaves Odysseus dangerously exposed (11. 401–2); [9] Eurypylos notices Aias' difficulty, stands to help him, and makes a cast of his own.⁴ He is then wounded in the act of stripping his victim, retreats and urges the Greeks to support Aias; [10] instead of responding to Eurypylos' instructions in this last example, the crowd protect him ('obwohl dieser gefordert hatte: ἀμφ' Αἴανθ'),⁵ and he in any case requires treatment from Patroklos (11. 809–10);⁶ [11] as Nestor and Makhaon stand towards the breeze by the sea (and are refreshed by its recuperative power), one might struggle to find any referential significance to their action here. Nonetheless, they have retreated under compulsion and

² There are also indications that Helenos' role may not be entirely straightforward in this scene; cf. esp. C/3 and n. 3; also 142/5; 182/7.

³ Cf. 220/3.

⁴ Cf. 36/4 n. 4. This example is to be related to the typical action *στή δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεννῷ* (4. 496, 5. 611, 17. 347) with variants *στή δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ ἐρείσάμενος βάλε μέσσας* (12. 457) and *στή δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν* (11. 429); cf. Kurz (1966) 89–91. The first hemistich connotes the aggressive attitude of the attacker, usually in response to an enemy success, which is then evinced in a following attack: towards the gates (12. 457), a specific opponent (11. 429), or simply the side being attacked (4. 496, 5. 611, 17. 347). The combination in 9 of the supportive phrase *στή δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἰὼν* with an action (*καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεννῷ*) usually linked with an aggressive move (*στή δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν*) nicely captures the blend of aggression and defence characterizing the Greeks' military successes at this point, and Eurypylos' aims in this particular circumstance.

⁵ Ameis–Hentze (1906) ad loc., 80. Compare their explanation of the crowd's act: 'es genügt die geschlossene Aufstellung neben Eurypylos, da Aias schon ihnen nahe war.'

⁶ Cf. 20/4 n. 5.

returned to the camp (where the poet leaves them until 14. 1), and so their stance still connotes a limitation to their usefulness in the circumstances; [12] the herald goes to fetch the Aiantes;⁷ [13] somewhat like Odysseus' appeal in [8], Hektor responds to Glaukos' rebuke about not facing Aias by inviting him to stand by him and watch his progress.⁸ Glaukos is not mentioned again until 17. 216 in a catalogue of leaders, and plays little separate role in the coming fight; [14] Menelaos returns to the Aiantes and urges them to consider a way of getting Patroklos' body to safety, intimating a continuation of his somewhat ambiguous role in the battle;⁹ [15] Athene's positioning is without issue in this context, for the gods do not join battle until Akhilleus is well into his *aristeia* in Φ , and (for she stood by their trench) the Greeks hardly need protection during this portion of the fight; [17] Iris comes to Priam bearing Zeus' instructions, in the performance of which she will not be present, but Hermes will. One must also remember the uncertainty surrounding the mission, especially when Akhilleus angrily threatens Priam (24. 559–70) that, despite Zeus, the old man would not be safe were it not for Akhilleus' own desires in the same direction.

The only apparent exception to this ambiguity about the aiding character's usefulness is [16] where the dangerous situation itself was uniquely caused by that character, as Apollo was the one who casts *θάρος* into Agenor to face Akhilleus.¹⁰ Though the poet stresses Apollo's protective purpose here (21. 548), Agenor himself does not know that the god has done so, and the narrative is powerfully focused on his motivations and fears in facing Akhilleus (cf. 21. 552–70, 583–9). The disjunction helps to concentrate the audience on Apollo's responsibility for the situation as preparation for his coming conflict with Akhilleus (perhaps even beyond the end of the *Iliad*), as well as to focus upon the bravery of Agenor. Furthermore, the poet suggests that he might (like Aineias in Υ) have to be saved by another figure, which uncertainty would be both exciting and might even suggest for a moment that he would be killed here.¹¹

While those examples occurring in character speech are generally hortative in purpose (as in [3], [6], [8], [13]), those examples in the poet's voice add an intimation about the nature of the relationship in an accompanying speech, usually from the assisting character, which always has some guarantee of benefit: [1] Sthenelos attempts to rescue Diomedes' reputation (and his own as well), but he importantly reminds Agamemnon of the valour Diomedes had already shown, and his superiority to his father in other respects; [2] the removal of the arrow is obviously beneficial for Diomedes; [5] Helenos tells

⁷ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. 76/8 n. 2.

⁹ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; 9/25 n. 26; 16/1 n. 2; also 78/33 n. 21.

¹⁰ Cf. 40/31 n. 15.

¹¹ Particularly as he ends up being killed by Neoptolemos; *Ilias parva* F 18 Bernabé.

Hektor it is not fated for him to die yet;¹² [6] Agamemnon urges Teukros to ‘become a light’ for the Greeks and his father, and also promises material reward; [9] though talking to the crowd of Greeks and not Aias, Eurypylos makes the point that Aias’ safety is in danger (as the herald in [12]; [14] Menelaos broadens this to cover his own safety as well); [17] Iris promises Priam Zeus’ favour and active support in his quest to regain Hektor. Where the speech comes from the assisted character, the idea of benefit is still powerfully present: [2] Diomedes’ following prayer requests revenge on the man who wounded him; [4] Adrestos’ supplication is not only flattering to Menelaos by conceding his greater power, it also focuses on the promise of ransom; [16] Agenor delivers an *ὀχθήσας* speech (21. 552–70) in which he ponders the danger facing him.¹³ There is great irony in this given his later death at the hands of Neoptolemos, and Apollo’s avowed intention here to protect him. Some examples have no speech from any of the characters in the immediate context, but depend on more removed statements for such supportive information: [7] the Trojan hopes for the morrow have already been expressed in Hektor’s end of day speech, in which intimations of his eventual failure were many;¹⁴ [10] Eurypylos’ speech after [9] governs this action as well; [11] the defensiveness connoted by Nestor’s position will shortly be confirmed within his speech to Patroklos; [15] Athene’s attitude looks back to the speech with which Zeus sped the gods down to the battle at the start of *Y*, but it will receive fuller exposition through Poseidon and Here shortly before—and Athene herself during—the *theomakhia* in *Φ*.

‘to [him] [he] spoke a word’ [*πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν*]: 18 examples: [1] 2. 59, [2] 2. 156, [3] 5. 632, [4] 6. 381, [5] 7. 46, [6] 8. 280, [7] 8. 426, [8] 10. 140, [9] 11. 429, [10] 11. 440, [11] 11. 522, [12] 13. 306, [13] 14. 189, [14] 15. 13, [15] 23. 68, [16] 23. 235, [17] 24. 485, [18] 24. 682.¹ 142

Speeches so introduced are directed towards either getting the addressee to do something or convincing him of the truth of the speaker’s opinion, frequently with an explicit or implicit rebuke of the addressee’s failure already to have done so. That character then obeys the instruction or acknowledges the force of the statement: [1] in Agamemnon’s recounting of the Dream’s instructions, the Dream’s typical rebuke (as in [15], [18]) is so introduced. The speaker wants the addressee to get up, as continued rest is unreasonable given his duties and the situation; [2] Here despatches Athene to prevent the premature return of the Greeks from Troy, for such a departure would be a rebuke to them in the scheme of the *Parisurteil*; [3] Tlepolemos abuses

¹² Cf. above, n. 2.

¹³ Cf. Fenik (1978*b*).

¹⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 156, 56. The first hemistich with this unit is extremely varied.

Sarpedon in their pre-combat flyting (as Sokos does Odysseus in [9] and Odysseus in return in [10]). Tlepolemos' paradigm is indeed so powerful that Sarpedon attempts to differentiate its operation,² while Sokos' threat is answered by Odysseus' and confirmed by the result of the combat; [4] Hektor's *ταμίη* replies to his indignant 'where? / whither?' question³ by providing him with the requisite information about Andromakhe's whereabouts. Hektor's identity and status depends to a certain extent on the subordination of his wife and family to his duties to himself as a hero,⁴ and the *ταμίη*'s speech reminds him—and the audience—that Andromakhe is not an entirely submissive wife, and so prepares for the *Homilia*, in which Hektor must persuade her not to be concerned inappropriately with the war;⁵ [5] in tempting Hektor to propose single combat, Helenos introduces his request in such a way as to suggest that the proposal is not entirely straightforward (7. 48),⁶ while his reference to things mantic could be an allusion to Hektor's later rather hasty attitude towards such matters. Certainly Helenos seems to be suggesting that Hektor is difficult to persuade (cf. 12. 210–14, 230–50), hence the insistence on their familial relationship and the fact that he heard the voice of the gods. Hektor then obeys; [6] Agamemnon's speech is in many ways unnecessary, but he acts so as to make the archer continue his work; [7] Here introduces her suggestion of retreat to Athene, and their return home is swift; [8] Odysseus' swift arising and *τίφθ' οὕτως* question focuses on the unusualness of the situation and demands an explanation—indeed, an excuse—for it, which Nestor rapidly supplies;⁷ [11] Kebriones, noting Aias' victorious rampage, rebukes Hektor for their current position and insists that they go to counteract him. Hektor does indeed respond, but studiously avoids confrontation with Aias (11. 542), something for which he is elsewhere rebuked;⁸ [12] the scene between Meriones and Idomeneus is driven by heroic self-justification,⁹ and this theme is continued into the *aristeia* of the latter. Meriones here demands evidence from his leader of his heroic worth, though the answer is not that simple; [13] Here's deception of Aphrodite opens with a question (as [5]) indicating that attitude (and indicating their past antagonism), but her request does not actually come until Aphrodite has agreed to do it;¹⁰ [14] Zeus' anger towards Here needs no explanation here, and she rapidly obeys;¹¹ [16] Akhilleus gives the other chieftains instructions for the funeral mound, which they immediately follow. Here perhaps the sense of rebuke is directed towards himself or arises from the situation itself; [17] Priam requests that Akhilleus respect his supplication, keeping in mind his own

² Cf. 107/5 n. 11.

³ Cf. 45/1 and n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 102/11.

⁵ Cf. 100/1; also (10).

⁶ Cf. 141/5 n. 2; also esp. 210/3.

⁷ Cf. 191/4.

⁸ Cf. 17. 166–8; also 76/8 n. 2.

⁹ Cf. 9/27 n. 11; also 107/9–13.

¹⁰ Cf. 78/28 n. 18.

¹¹ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

father and the precepts of the gods, and Akhilleus accepts both the parallel and the supplication. The tension inherent in the situation and the need to have Akhilleus accept the supplication (not a particularly successful action in the *Iliad*) is acknowledged both by Akhilleus' outburst (24. 559–71) and Hermes' warning in [18].¹²

'to become a light to the Greeks' [αἶ κέν τι φάος Δαναοῖσι γένηαι]: 3 examples: 143
[1] 8. 282, [2] 11. 797, [3] 16. 39.¹

This expression is employed in an obviously desperate situation, and with an intimation of the harm the subject of the verb will thus incur in trying to fulfil its substance: [1] Teukros is almost immediately wounded in his continued attempts to strike Hektor; [2], [3] concern the sending out of Patroklos,² the first spoken by Nestor, the second repeated by Patroklos to Akhilleus. This expression predicts a reversal to be suffered by the hero as he tries to bring that salvation to the Greeks.

'when a little child' [τυτθὸν ἔοντα]: 6 examples: [1] 6. 222, [2] 8. 283, [3] 144
11. 223, [4] 13. 466, [5] 22. 480, [6] 23. 85.¹

¹² Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 16. 297–300, 355–6; also Lossau (1994) 87. One might also compare 18. 102–3 (οὐδέ π' Πατρόκλῳ γενόμεν φάος οὐδ' ἐτάροισιν | ποῖς ἄλλοις), where Akhilleus laments his failure to perform the requisite function in the past; cf. 41/9 n. 2. That he intends to do so now also involves danger for him, given that Thetis has told him αὐτίκα γάρ ποι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἐπίμῳς (18. 96); cf. 8/3 n. 3. For another example in the same speech where he alters the usual temporal associations of a typical unit, cf. 166/4; also 1 n. 3. Someone may also provide light / safety; cf. 6. 6 (ἔθῃκεν), 16. 96 (θήῃς), 20. 95 (πίθει); also 15. 741 (πῶ ἐν χερσὶ φάος). The closest to the current grouping is 17. 615 (καὶ πῶι μὲν φάος ῥήθεν), where the character said to be the light (Koiranos) is immediately killed in the process of saving someone; cf. 17/11 n. 5.

² Cf. 17/10 n. 10; also 9/30 n. 13.

¹ The five examples of this expression in the *Odyssey* support the current interpretation: 1. 435 the poet tells of Telemakhos' special relationship with Eurykleia, obviously conducted in the absence of Odysseus; 11. 67 Elpenor makes a plea to Odysseus by reference to his mother and father, the latter especially (ῥ) as the source of his upbringing; 20. 210 Philoitios' memories of being sent by Odysseus while a little child to mind the cattle. His parentage is never mentioned, but he is an obvious doublet figure for Eumaios, whose separation and analogous career is mentioned (15. 366–70); he is sent out as a young man after being raised in the household itself; cf. Fenik (1974) 172–4; 23. 325 during the recapitulation, Odysseus tells of his meeting with his own mother who raised him; 15. 381 (τυτθὸς ἔων) Odysseus laments at Eumaios' story about how he was sent away from his parents while a child. Of these examples, the two references to Odysseus himself seem somewhat anomalous, for his parentage is otherwise quite clear. Though it might be more interesting to see this as a covert reference to the apparently post-Homeric tale that Antikleia was pregnant by Sisyphos when Laertes married her (cf. Aiskhylos F 175 Radt; also Stanford (1979) on Sophokles, *Aias* 189, 84) or to some other hint about his genealogy (cf. *ibid.* 8–24, 103), Andromakhe's relationship in 5 provides a less spectacular explanation, i.e. in the *Odyssey* itself there is a disruption because of Odysseus' absence from Ithaka, during which period Antikleia has died and Laertes himself been reduced to an almost death-like state.

These expressions are applied to disrupted or otherwise unusual parental relationships: [1] Tydeus leaves the young Diomedes in his halls and dies before they meet;² [2] Telamon raises Teukros νόθον περ; [3] Kisses is Iphidamas' μητροπάτωρ; [4] Alkathoos is Aineias' γαμβρός; [6] Menoitios leads Patroklos to Akhilleus' house, where he is then brought up. [5] is the only case where the phrase is used of a relationship with no dislocation during childhood (also the only father–daughter relationship). Andromakhe here relates the disruption to the very fact of her birth, which she goes on to wish had never taken place. This is to be connected both with her description of being born ἰηι αἴσῃ (22. 477) with Hektor, but also with her earlier definition of Hektor as πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ | ἥδ' ἐκ κασίγνητος (6. 429–30)—all of whom are now dead. In other words, the extinction of her previous familial relationships renders her reliance on her husband all the greater.

In each case, the fact of dislocation is a powerful source of motivation: [1] Diomedes' relationship with and fidelity to Tydeus' memory renders Glaukos his guest-friend and so inviolate. In spite of Tydeus' absence, Diomedes attempts to keep the usual obligations alive; [2] Agamemnon implies that Teukros' honouring of Telamon would repay the fact of his raising; [3] Iphidamas' departure from the household of Kisses is motivated by his search for κλέος. Whilst not necessarily a violation of that relationship, it is at a tangent to the obligation, and his coming death is surely not insignificant;³ [4] Deiphobos uses Aineias' relationship with Alkathoos to induce him to join the fight for his body, which he does;⁴ [5] the 'new' displacement of Andromakhe's youth is linked with her wish never to have been born and her complete reliance on Hektor; [6] Patroklos calls on the fact of his displacement to bolster his claim on Akhilleus' fidelity because it was to his house that he was brought by Menoitios. Characters seem to be expected to respect this relationship despite its anomalousness, so situations in which they do not are self-evidently difficult or desperate.

145 Bastards: 10 examples: [1] 2. 727, [2] 4. 499, [3] 5. 70, [4] 8. 284, [5] 11. 102, [6] 11. 490, [7] 13. 173, [8] 13. 694, [9] 15. 333, [10] 16. 738.¹

Whilst they are not explicitly condemned or spurned in the poem, νόθοι are hardly conspicuous, and in fact Teukros is the *only* such figure not killed during the course of the battle, the usual context for such parental comments (as in [2], [3], [5]–[7], [9], [10]). Only Medon is specifically labelled a νόθος

² Cf. 9/16 n. 9; also 11a/1 n. 3.

³ Moreover, the relationship between them is the result of an 'unusual alliance' (Hainsworth 1993 ad loc., 249).

⁴ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

¹ Cf. Σ bT on 8. 284 against Σ A; cf. van Leeuwen (1912) on 8. 284, 286; Strasburger (1954) 23–4; Fenik (1968) 18; Ogden (1996) 21–6; Latacz (2003) on 2. 727, 234.

more than once (in [1], [8], and then [9], when he is killed), but others are mentioned without being so labelled: Kebriones [10] appears a number of times,² as Antiphos [5] (4. 489) and, of course, Teukros.

Several of these names are found applied to more than one figure: Antiphos [5] is a Greek at 2. 678, and a leader of the Maionians at 2. 864 (not the same figure as the son of Priam in [5]), Medon [1] is also the name of a Trojan in a catalogue roused by Hektor at 17. 216, whilst Pedaios [3] is the name of the place where Imbrios [7] lives. Priam is quite often the father of these characters (as in [1], [5], [6], [10]; also of Imbrios' νόθη bride [7]), as are other Trojan nobles (Antenor [2]); Medon is the son of Oileus, and Teukros of Telamon. This unfortunate series of connotations therefore sits ill, from a number of sources, with the hortatory context of [4].³

'I will speak | it will be completed' [ἐξερῶ | τετελεσμένον ἔσται]: 7 examples: 146
[1] 1. 212, [2] 2. 257, [3] 8. 286, [4] 8. 401, [5] 9. 310 (ἦι περ κρανέω τε καὶ ὥς τετελεσμένον ἔσται),¹ [6] 23. 410, [7] 23. 672.²

These predictions are frequently associated with threats (as in [2], [4], [6], [7]), where the speaker's greater knowledge and authority is particularly appropriate, though it may be applied wherever those qualities require reinforcement: [1] Athene predicts Akhilleus' honouring if he restrains himself;³ [2] Odysseus puts his own reputation on the line should he fail to keep Thersites under control in the future;⁴ [3] Agamemnon articulates his certainty in honouring Teukros; [4] in the context of his relay instruction, Zeus' prediction (significantly altered by Iris at 8. 415) encapsulates perfectly the seriousness of the situation and its threat to his authority as he expresses to Iris his threat towards Athene and Here;⁵ [5] Akhilleus' response to Odysseus' speech is particularly important, for he expresses his desire to speak in order that they not waste their time babbling; [6] Antilokhos' threats to his horse-team are all predicated on the treatment Nestor will give them should they fail to perform, for they are after all his father's horses; [7] in making his challenge, Epeios acknowledges inferiority in battle whilst asserting his supremacy at boxing.⁶ In effect, a speaker who makes this type of prediction is confident in the eventuality itself, and thus in the statement's persuasive power.

² Cf. 24/25 n. 2.

³ Cf. also Commentary on 8. 284, n. 192.

¹ A verb of speaking is supplied from the previous verse.

² Cf. Martin (1989) 209–10; Latacz (2000) on 1. 212, 94; Richardson (1993) on 23. 410, 217; also Commentary ad loc., and (18) for Zeus' alteration (for other examples of which, cf. 5/1 n. 2) of ἔσται to ἦεν at 8. 454.

³ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 6/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Appendix B.

⁶ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

The centrality of authority to this expression's connotative scheme may also be observed from the related expression *εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἔστιν*, employed as a sign of conditional agreement to an unspecific request from a figure who has a position of influence over the speaker (14. 196, {18. 427}). In the first case Aphrodite responds positively, but with caution, to Here's introductory request (which then concerns the *κεστός*),⁷ whilst in the latter Hephaistos affirms his debt to Thetis as reason for him granting any request.⁸ In each example, the action so specified is seen as a matter of personal power and divine licence.

147 Promise of reward: 16 examples: [1] 1. 127–9, [2] 1. 213–14, [3] 4. 97–9, [4] 7. 172–4, [5] 7. 363–4, [6] 8. 289–91, [7] 9. 119–61, [8] 9. 574–80, [9] 10. 212–17, [10] 10. 304–7, [11] 13. 364–9, [12] 14. 238–41, [13] 14. 267–9, [14] 19. 140–4, [15] 20. 184–6, [16] 24. 429–31.¹

Material reward is a central heroic consideration, and heroes often refer to previous gifts or favours (particularly in prayers) as an incentive for present action (e.g. 4. 257–64). The current type of offer, where a specific item is proposed in exchange for an action, is often accepted: [2] Akhilleus is persuaded by Athene's prediction of three times the number of gifts should he restrain himself;² [3] Pandaros is persuaded by Athene's suggestion of remuneration from Paris should he kill Menelaos; [4] Nestor's suggestion of rather indistinct benefit (*δνήσεται* 7. 173) for the one who escapes Hektor leads into the casting of lots, for the volunteering has already taken place (and shame plays no small role); [9] Nestor's offer of a ewe from each of the leaders induces volunteers for the *Doloneia* (as does Hektor's promise of the best chariot and team from the Greek camp in [10]);³ [11] Othryoneus' motivation in coming to the war was to gain Priam's daughter Cassandra in marriage; [13] after an unsuccessful offer [12], Here proposes Pasithea as a bride to Hypnos should he do what she wants;⁴ [15] Akhilleus assumes that Aineias has been persuaded to stand against him by the promise of hegemony in Troy or an allotment of land. Nor is the gift generally isolated, being frequently coupled with *κλέος*.

Equally, however, the gift may be refused, particularly because another factor militates against its acceptance: [1] Agamemnon angrily rejects Akhilleus' advice, i.e. to be stripped of his prize in the hope of future remuneration, for he feels that this would place his honour below that of the other chiefs; [5] the Greeks spurn Paris' rather unsatisfactory offer of restitution, because

⁷ Cf. 78/28 n. 18.

⁸ Cf. 16/5 n. 6.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 131; Ulf (1990) 183; van Wees (1992) app. 4; also Hellmann (2000) 161–4.

² Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

³ Cf. 11/9 n. 4.

⁴ Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

Diomedes persuades them that the Trojans are doomed as oath-breakers; [7] Akhilleus of course rebuffs the gifts listed by Agamemnon and then Odysseus, because he says that the issue is not simply one of material reward anymore; [8] Meleagros likewise refuses gifts to lay aside his wrath whilst the gifts are on offer. His mother's curse somewhat understandably puts the issue beyond mere material compensation; [12] Here initially fails in her attempt to move Hypnos with the offer of a Hephaistian stool, for he remembers all too well what almost happened to him the last time Here had her way; [16] Hermes declines to take the cup from Priam, who had offered it in order to secure safe passage to the Greek camp, out of a desire to avoid Akhilleus' wrath should he accept the gift.⁵

All these above examples are designed to get someone to do something that he is not doing (though [16] might be seen as a partial exception, given that Hermes' mission is already clear to the audience, as is his disposition to Priam from 24. 370–1); [6] seems somewhat anomalous, in that Teukros is already visibly performing the function for which Agamemnon uses the incentive. The audience, therefore, will infer the unsuitability of the offer in the circumstance of Θ , and [6] is in fact the only such offer made in the midst of the fighting itself.

'to [him] in reply spoke' [τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη]: 38 examples: [1] 1. 84, [2] 1. 130, [3] 1. 215, [4] 1. 285, [5] 1. 560, [6] 2. 369, [7] 4. 188, [8] 5. 764, [9] 5. 814, [10] 6. 520, [11] 7. 283, [12] 8. 292, [13] 8. 469, [14] 9. 307, [15] 9. 606, [16] 9. 643, [17] 10. 42, [18] 10. 382, [19] 10. 423, [20] 10. 554, [21] 11. 316, [22] 11. 607, [23] 13. 76, [24] 14. 242, [25] 14. 312, [26] 14. 341, [27] 18. 187, [28] 19. 145, [29] 19. 154, [30] 19. 198, [31] 19. 215, [32] 20. 19, [33] 21. 222, [34] 22. 182, [35] 23. 93, [36] 24. 64, [37] 24. 138, [38] 24. 299.¹ 148

This responsory hemistich signals a disagreement between the characters, and it is differentiated semantically from the 'to him then replied' (τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα) unit in representing an increased determination to assert the speaker's intention and / or status in the situation.² This disjunction need not stem from actual disagreement (as in [2], [5], [9], [14], [15], [16], [19], [24], [28]–[31]) or the immediate context, and the speaker may only feel that the statement is inappropriate or reveals an inappropriate attitude (as in [12], [20] or [23]), perhaps requiring modification or extension (as in [4], [8], [11], [20], [23], [25], [26], [27], [33], [34], [35], [37], [38]). These categories

⁵ Cf. 45/10 n. 5; also Appendix A (18).

¹ Cf. Edwards (1970), Riggsby (1992), Machacek (1994); D. Beck (2006) 33–41; also Appendix A (2), (3), (5), (9), (11), (17–19), (24), (27–31), (33), (34).

² Cf. 78. For detailed exemplification of that difference, cf. Appendix A.

are not intended to be mutually exclusive, and the poet is not forced to employ this expression when he wishes to express these conditions.

In every case, the speaker views the previous statement in some way as inadequate and then sets forth his own opinion or intention as a response:³ [1] Akhilleus' promise to protect Kalkhas is intended to overcome the hesitations evinced by the seer in his preceding speech (and so he does swear the oath), but is more significantly a clue to the tension between himself and Agamemnon (cf. esp. 1. 90–1; also [22], [32]⁴); [2] in response to Akhilleus' suggestion that he give up the girl and wait for compensation until Troy is sacked, Agamemnon refuses to do so, but leaves open exactly which of the leaders he will seek compensation from. His point here is simply to establish his right to recompense; [3] Akhilleus does go on to agree with Athene's advice, but the audience is given another indication of his previous anger and determination to kill Agamemnon;⁵ [4] though agreeing with Nestor in a qualified way,⁶ Agamemnon directs his speech towards the unreasonable behaviour of Akhilleus which (he feels) makes his concession to Nestor's advice extremely difficult; [5] Zeus' aggression towards Here becomes open in this speech of their exchange;⁷ [6] as one in a series of such episodes consequent upon the *Diapaira*, Nestor's immediately preceding rebuke of the army and his detailed military instructions for the coming fight reveal the delicate position in which Agamemnon finds himself: his chieftains have barely come through the testing, and his army not at all. Thus Agamemnon's coming exhortation mixes praise with threats, as well as a stark admission of his own fault (4. 377–80), and so depicts a man determined to make his mark despite the real difficulties facing him; [7] Agamemnon, though happy enough with Menelaos' report of his injury, does not deem that enough of a guarantee and summons the doctor to look at his brother. The importance of Menelaos to the expedition, as well as Agamemnon's sense of himself (cf. esp. 4. 153–82),⁸ is powerfully represented in this scene;⁹ [8] Zeus' decision to allow Athene to stop Ares is preceded by a speech in which Here sets out her complaints about the situation in which Troy is continually protected by Ares, Apollo, and Aphrodite. Apart from Zeus' dislike of Ares (cf. 5. 888–98), his permission here is not given without an awareness that he is about to do to the Greeks the very thing of which Here complains; [9] Diomedes rejects the imputation of feebleness and instead reminds Athene of her instructions to

³ As Bryan Hainsworth points out to me, this is true of almost every character in the epic, and so the locutionary force of this expression by itself may be somewhat diluted by its very frequency. Appendix A shows, however, that the expression's referentiality is particularly marked when it is used with other speech introduction units.

⁵ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 79/1.

⁷ Cf. Appendix A (3).

⁸ Cf. 81/1.

⁹ Cf. 16/1 n. 2; also 78/17 n. 3.

him; [10] in reply to a fairly non-committal speech from Paris as they are about to rejoin battle, Hektor expresses consternation at his brother's martial inconsistency; [11] in concluding a duel which was marked by Hektor's relatively greater eagerness, and a question mark raised over the motivation of the leading Greek heroes, Aias naturally cannot simply accept such an offer, however much he agrees with it (notwithstanding the fact that the fight has been going his way anyway). The decision must be deferred to Hektor, who accepts it;¹⁰ [12] as a part of Teukros' determination to fight on, and indeed to assert the needlessness of the exhortation, this speech resumes the potential character taint represented by Agamemnon's reference to his parentage, and shows the speaker's awareness of the other inappropriate features in the exhortation;¹¹ [13] Zeus is furiously angry with Here now, and sets out a number of features which connote his authority;¹² [14] (and [15], [16]) Akhilleus replies to Odysseus (and then Phoinix and Aias) in terms which make clear his refusal to be swayed.¹³ Nonetheless, he does give way a little each time, and so the audience are invited to follow the conflict within him between the continued stance of intransigence with which he opens each speech, and the concessions which he makes during them;¹⁴ [17] Agamemnon's reply to his brother's opening query neatly encapsulates their relationship.¹⁵ Menelaos' speech had expressed a fear that no one would volunteer for a spying mission, for he would need to be *μάλα θρασυκάρδιος* (10. 41). Agamemnon goes on to detail the need—for both of them—for a more active and positive approach to their situation, and Menelaos' somewhat hesitant attitude is again evinced in his following question (and also receives a comment from Nestor in his following exchange with Agamemnon).¹⁶ Thus the episode points out Agamemnon's awareness of his brother's shortcomings, and so a heightened awareness of the extra duties this imposes upon him (cf. also [7]); [18] Odysseus has no intention of taking Dolon alive, not only raising not a murmur when Diomedes cuts him off, but also deceiving him with a smile;¹⁷ [19] again Odysseus is in complete control of the exchange, and demands detailed knowledge of the Trojan dispositions. In both these cases, his greater authority in the situation is emphasized not only by his speech introductions, but also those of Dolon, who is allotted less authoritative expressions to open his replies;¹⁸ [20] Odysseus' reply points out to

¹⁰ Cf. Appendix A (5).

¹¹ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹² Cf. Commentary ad loc.

¹³ It is noticeable that only Akhilleus is given responding expressions (and so this scene is not dealt with in Appendix A), and that the poet chooses to use only the unit which emphasizes the speaker's determination to impose his authority in the circumstance.

¹⁴ Cf. 49/34 n. 18.

¹⁵ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; also 9/25 n. 26; Appendix A (6) and (7).

¹⁶ Cf. Appendix A (7).

¹⁷ Cf. 15/3 n. 4; also Appendix A (8).

¹⁸ Cf. Appendix A (8).

Nestor that the capture of the horses was not the result of direct divine provision (Nestor's preferred explanation), but of their entering the host itself and doing some killing. Nestor had proposed either a divine gift or an infiltration into the crowd, the original purpose of the mission. Given that nothing is then said explicitly of that purpose, Odysseus here contests Nestor's apparent implication that they had not done as they ought;¹⁹ [21] in a marked reversal of the situation on the previous day's battle (when Odysseus had ignored or not heard Diomedes' similar exhortation), Diomedes now seems to have learnt the lesson from that previous day, in that any success they may have will be short-lived given Zeus' clear favour for the Trojans—precisely what Nestor had convinced him of in Θ .²⁰ Still, Diomedes is determined to oppose Hektor, and the introduction not only allows the audience to make the connection with Θ but also to ponder Diomedes' remembrance of it; [22] somewhat like his earlier response to Kalkhas [1], Akhilleus' replies to Patroklos' question in such a way as to show not perhaps his disagreement with the questioner (though it is of course Patroklos who persuades him to relent in *II*, which is simply the culmination of the events begun here), but his attitude towards the entire situation. Akhilleus is determined to act, and his speech expresses the hope for Greek supplication which would allow him to rejoin the fighting, but he can only act within certain self-imposed limits, as was made clear in [14]–[16]; [23] though Aias *maior* also acknowledges the increase in strength and vigour, he avoids making the potentially hubristic claim about being able easily to recognize the god;²¹ [24] Hypnos refuses to accede to Here's request, citing a past occasion on which he did as she asked and was only saved by the intercession of Nyx;²² [25] upon being told by Here of her purpose, Zeus demands she put it off until another moment (also [26], where her objections are directly overcome); [27] already cautious over Iris' initial message, Akhilleus has just been told that Here alone sent her along to spur him on, and he now recounts his reasons for feeling slightly suspicious—his mother had told him not to re-enter battle until her return—but he realizes the need for his intervention and is determined to do something. His opening question is therefore marked with a real desperation;²³ [28] and [30] are Akhilleus' negative replies to gift offers made by Agamemnon, each rebutted by Odysseus in [29] and [31];²⁴ [32] Poseidon's question to Zeus, whose reply is introduced by the hemistich, is a reversal of the usual practice that the summoner of an assembly is the first speaker,²⁵ and is to be read in the light of their near-confrontation at 15. 157–219. There is a strong hint of

¹⁹ Cf. 77/15 n. 7. ²⁰ Cf. Commentary on 8. 87–171.

²¹ Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 52.

²² Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

²³ Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

²⁴ Cf. Appendix A (15); also 2/10 n. 11.

²⁵ Cf. 2, 3.

tension between these two, and Zeus' instructions in this case assert his superiority by ordering Poseidon and the other gods to the battlefield whilst he remains at his leisure;²⁶ [33] Skamandros' suggestion of leaving off killing the Trojans in his streams leaves Akhilleus untroubled and he simply leaps into the middle of the stream to continue the slaughter after stating his intention to keep on killing until he meets Hektor;²⁷ [34] Zeus here signals his intention not to save Hektor, which his previous speech had implied, and on which his bluff had been called by Athene;²⁸ [35] not only does Akhilleus agree to perform the funeral rites as Patroklos' ghost asks him to, but he goes on to demand a caress; [36] Zeus shows once more his regret over the death of Hektor despite his careful observance of ritual but, though it could not be prevented, he will ensure he is duly honoured; [37] though the poet deals with the episode and Akhilleus' apparent release of anger very briefly, the introduction to his reply to Thetis' relayed instruction from Zeus shows that Akhilleus is reluctant to let the corpse go, but is aware that he must make the best of a bad circumstance, both in terms of ransom (cf. esp. 24. 591–5) and his own authority; [38] again, though Priam agrees with Hekabe's request for an omen in his prayer before setting out, he has already been somewhat short with her sceptical attitude (24. 217–27), and she has not yet left off her scepticism (esp. 288–9, 296–8).²⁹

'power is present' [δύναμις γε πάρεσσι]: 3 examples (2): [1] 8. 294, [2] 13. 786, 149
[3] 22. 20 (παρείη), [4] *Od.* 2. 62 (παρείη), [5] {*Od.* 23. 128}.

A speaker uses this expression to acknowledge the limitations placed upon his actions by the presence or absence of δύναμις, so that it is in fact an admission of weakness, and often signals a degree of disagreement with its preceding speech. The character in effect depicts his interlocutor's expectation as unrealistic or impossible: [1] Teukros signals that Agamemnon's exhortation was needless, and suggests his suspicion that it is beyond his power to wound or even strike Hektor; [2] in a spirited reply to Hektor's abuse about his qualities, Paris defends himself on the grounds that ever since the battle was begun around the ships, he has been fighting as best he could.¹ The leaders after whom Hektor has asked are dead or wounded, and the desperation of the situation makes his own efforts all the more necessary; [3] after Apollo has revealed himself and denied the possibility of harm, Akhilleus counters that he would have had his revenge were the power in him. The glory

²⁶ Cf. 2/11 n. 12.

²⁷ Cf. 23/7 n. 7.

²⁸ Cf. 15 n. 3; 3/12 n. 13.

²⁹ Cf. 48/17 n. 10; 48/18 n. 11.

¹ Cf. 45/7 n. 7. Janko (1992) ad loc., 142, feels that the amplification in the next verse (παρ δύναμιν δ' οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ἐσσύμενον πολεμίζειν) 'plays wittily on δύναμις γε πάρεσσι', though Paris simply makes explicit what is referentially implicit in the expression.

of which the god has deprived him cannot be replaced, and the tension between them enormous;² [4] in response to a degree of well-wishing from Aigyptios, Telemakhos complains of the suitors' behaviour, which he would seek to counter, if he had the strength. It is of course the purpose of the scene as a whole to underline his impotence, and the responsibility of the community as a whole—and Aigyptios among them, for one of his sons consorts with the suitors—is expressed in it;³ [5] in reply to Odysseus' urging to take thought of the situation now facing them, Telemakhos abjures his right to counsel and entrusts it all in his father, because of his famed *μῆτις*. He nonetheless declares his readiness to follow as far as his inferior skills and qualities allow, perhaps preparing the audience for some of his failures to follow.⁴

150 'from when | from then' [*ἐξ οὗ* | *ἐκ τοῦ*]: 6 examples: [1] 1. 6 (*ἐξ οὗ only*), [2] 8. 295 | 295–6, [3] 9. 105 | 106, [4] 13. 778 | 778–9, [5] 24. 638 | 637–40, [6] 24. 766 | 765–7.¹

Found both in the poet's voice and character speech, these expressions describe a continuous action since a past pivotal moment, thus encouraging the audience to look for the end of that period as the next action in the narrative line. The correlative clause is of variable form (and may even be omitted), as is the manner in which the unit is contrasted with a determination: [1] the pivotal moment of the poem is marked as the quarrel between Agamemnon and Akhilleus, the proem thus forecasting that it is to be concerned with much more than just that quarrel, without specifying that continuation or reversal beyond a deliberately vague association with both the *menis* of Akhilleus and the *Dios boule*;² [2] Teukros summarizes his efforts at killing since the turning of the Trojans (8. 252), and contrasts that success with his inability to strike Hektor, to which the audience looks even as he tries twice more to hit him; [3] Nestor avers the constancy of his opinion about

² Cf. 111/10. ³ Cf. e.g. S. West (1988) 51 (also 128, and ad loc.).

⁴ For other such indications, cf. 188/3, 4; 196/5.

¹ Cf. Pagliaro (1963) 11–12; Redfield (2001) 458. One might also include 15. 69 and 601, in which first Zeus and then the poet uses the expression to refer to future time, the first using as its pivotal action the death of Hektor and as its end point the sack of the city, the second the visible flame from the ships and the turning back of the Trojans from the ships. The poet shows in the first of these examples the continuation of Zeus' control over the world and its stories beyond the scope of the Trojan war, which is thus one element in an ongoing *Dios boule* (cf. 9/29 n. 12 for the episode more generally); in the latter, the expression focuses the audience on the coming end of Trojan superiority, first in the form of Patroklos, then in the far scarier form of Akhilleus.

² In other words, the expression encourages the audience to look forward to the narration of the quarrel and its aftermath, not back into the previous five verses, as Redfield (2001) 458, whose following discussion (470–4) of the reference of the *Διὸς βουλῆς* is far too restrictive.

Agamemnon's earlier action both at the time and ever since, thus introducing his efforts to reverse that action now; [4] *ἐξ οὗ* fixes Hektor's attack on the ships as its pivot, the correlative denotes their continuous efforts since that moment, and the whole unit is contrasted with Paris' willingness that Hektor lead them on.³ The audience is thus prepared for the renewed Trojan offensive forecast in Poulydamas' earlier speech (13. 725–47); [5] *ἐξ οὗ* fixes the death of Hektor as its pivot, and is preceded by a correlative telling the audience that Priam has not closed his eyes (24. 637). This now foreshadows the resumption of normality (as far as that is possible) through the fact of his sleeping, and doing so within the context of hospitality;⁴ [6] Helen summarizes Hektor's previous kindness to her since she arrived in Troy, contrasting this with what is likely to happen *οὐ γάρ τίς μοι ἐτ' ἄλλος ἐνὶ Τροίῃι εὐρείῃ | ἥπιος οὐδὲ φίλος, πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν* (24. 774–5). Her point is that she is now without Hektor's protection, but the poet's point is that her time in Troy is itself soon to come to an end.

'he struck along the chest' [*κατὰ στήθος βάλεν*]: 5 examples: [1] 8. 303, [2] 11. 108, [3] {13. 186}, [4] 13. 586, [5] 15. 420.¹ 151

In contrast to the '*he struck the chest beside the nipple*' type, the current strike seems to be completely undetermined, either with regard to a connection with miscasts of the various types (in [1], [3], [17. 606] but not in [2], [5]), the ability of the killer to follow up the victory (which occurs in [1], [2]) or strip the victim (as in [2] but not in [3]). Furthermore, the strike hits but fails to kill in [4], [12. 204], [17. 606]. The last of these combines the current type with the '*he struck the chest beside the nipple*' strike to foreshadow Idomeneus' failure to press home his advantage, and to undermine that advantage anyway because the strike fails to cause any damage. Finally, [12. 204] denotes the snake's retaliation at the eagle carrying it, which (when dropped) fails to warn the Trojans off their attack.²

This, it seems, is the point of the unit—to denote the strike without connotation, to leave the audience without the direction afforded by the '*he struck the chest beside the nipple*' unit (for which the current strike is a metrical equivalent),³ and so open up the possibilities for the continuing combat.

³ Cf. 45/7 n. 7.

⁴ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

¹ Again, one could also mention 17. 606 (*βεβλήκει θώρηκα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ μαζόν*) and 12. 204 (*κόψε γὰρ αὖ πόν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρήν*), though I would class them with the *βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν* type of strike; cf. 59, and below, n. 3; also (14).

² Cf. 128/4; also 26/17 n. 2.

³ *κατὰ στήθος βάλεν ἰώι* / *βάλε δουρί* and *βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν* 59 both fall at the trochaic caesura. The latter unit is always preceded by a participle, but this does not seem a determinative factor in the poet's choice between the two; cf. e.g. 13. 186 and 15. 420; also (14).

152 Goddess similes: 6 examples: [1] 3. 158, [2] 8. 305, [3] 11. 638, [4] 19. 282, [5] 19. 286, [6] 24. 699.¹

Though it is undoubtedly true that ‘through this device the poet calls attention to a minor | character who will have a small part in the narrative’,² this does not seem to be the whole story with such comparisons, for the description is only applied to women whose marital status is disrupted or uncertain: [1] compared to unspecified goddesses, Helen is the *casus belli* and a source of much anxiety to the Trojan old men who look at her as she comes to the wall; [2] though Kastianeira is said to have been *ὀπυιομένη* by Priam, which implies actual marriage, Hekabe is the primary wife in the household of Priam, as her sons are the principal defenders of Troy (cf. esp. Priam’s emphasis on the nineteen children *ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος . . . | τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες* 24. 496–7);³ [3] like Briseis, Hekamede is a spear-won gift for Nestor taken by Akhilleus when he sacked Tenedos; [4], [5] Briseis is first compared to Aphrodite as she sees Patroklos and then, as she begins her lament, to unspecified goddesses. She is, of course, Akhilleus’ prize from the sack of Thebe, and her coming speech focuses on the impossibility of her marriage to Akhilleus now that Patroklos is dead. One suspects that the hope, despite Akhilleus’ protestations (9. 342–3), was not especially realistic; [6] Cassandra is compared to Aphrodite as she spies the return of Priam with Hektor’s corpse and calls the Trojans to come join her.⁴ The audience is told of her intended marriage to Othryoneus in *N*, and the *Odyssey* knows of her death at Klytaimnestra’s hands (11. 421–3).

The information is conveyed in a variety of situations (before the *teikhoskopia* [1], in a genealogical anecdote in an *androktasia* [2], a domestic scene in Nestor’s tent [3], and at the start of a lamentation [4]–[6]), and its connotation of failed or dubious marital circumstance is then explicitly confirmed by either the woman herself or those around her, whether in thought or action: [1] the comparison occurs within the speech of the old men, who wish her to leave Troy; [3] Hekamede has already been described in terms of her allotment to Nestor (9. 624–7), and she now performs servant’s tasks; [4], [5] Briseis laments for Patroklos, initially because she has no other family—all killed by Akhilleus—but also because he had promised to get her married to Akhilleus; [6] Cassandra’s following speech acknowledges the importance of Hektor to the Trojans, and his death puts the seal on her failure to marry as it

¹ Cf. Fränkel (1921) 96–7; Amory Parry (1973) 218–23; Scott (1974) 68–70. 2, 3, 5 are very similar, each being constructed around the verse-end expression *εἰκυῖα θεῶισιν*; cf. Scott (1974) 40–1 n. 27.

² Scott (1974) 69–70.

³ Cf. Kirk (1990) ad loc., 323; also Richardson (1993) on 24. 495–7, 325–6.

⁴ Cf. 130/4 and n. 1.

does on the city's to survive. In all these cases, the disruption is made manifest by actions or words, whilst in [2] there is only isolated information about the victim's mother. Nonetheless, the comparison highlights the impossibility that the female will actually fulfil her 'optimum' or approved function, i.e. that she is like the gods not only in beauty⁵ but also in her failure to have the experiences appropriate to a specifically human existence. Usually the connotation turns on a marital basis, but in [2] on the now destroyed relationship between mother and child.

Flower similes: 10 examples: [1] 2. 87–90, [2] 2. 468, [3] 2. 800, [4] 6. 146–8, 153 [5] 8. 306–8, [6] 14. 499–500, [7] 17. 53–6, [8] 18. 56 (and 437), [9] 21. 257–63, [10] 21. 464–6.¹

Flowers may be linked within their similes with another item, such as trees [7], bees [1] or sand [3], they may not be the primary vehicle of comparison (as in [2], [9], [10]) and the poet may also express the season (as in [1], [4], [5], and after [2]).² Connecting all these examples is a lack of individuation, stemming either from the impermanence of the flower / leaf or their enormous number. This latter feature is brought out most clearly in the run of similes in *B* ([1], [2] before the Greek catalogue, [3] before the Trojan one): [1] the great number of bees presumably matches the great number of leaves they are after; [2] the army is directly compared numerically with the leaves;³ [3] Iris compares the Greeks numerically to leaves or grains of sand.⁴ The former quality is famously evoked e.g. in [4] where Glaukos comments on the transitory nature of mankind by comparing it to leaves which continually grow and die off (as Apollo in [10]).⁵ Therefore, similes containing flowers evoke the inevitable facelessness of mortal existence, whether in life or death.

It is no surprise then that several of these similes are applied to victims in *androktasiai*: [5] Gorgythion is introduced and then killed; [6] Peneleos not only kills but also abuses the corpse of his victim Promakhos; [7] Euphorbos is a young olive shoot covered with flowers and uprooted by a sudden blast of wind.⁶ One should not deny the other qualities in these passages, for the pathos inherent in a young man's death is perfectly captured in [8] as

⁵ Cf. esp. Amory Parry (1973) 64 n. 1.

¹ Fränkel (1921) 38–41; Lee (1964) 70; Moulton (1977) 29–30, 30 n. 18, 57; Herzhoff (1994); Burgess (2001) 117–26, 190–1; Latacz (2003) on 2. 467–8, 136–7. I have not seen Konomis (1995), for the citation in *L'Année Philologique* (in the Bibliography) is incorrect.

² Cf. 154/1, 2, 4, 5.

³ This example is followed shortly thereafter by the poet's disclaimer of his ability to speak of the mass in his invocation to the Muses at the start of the catalogue. Indeed, the application of 2, 3 to the Greek force suggests also the relative unimportance of the mass of the army as opposed to those characters whom the poet and the Muses decide to individuate.

⁴ Cf. 183/2.

⁵ Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

⁶ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

Akhilleus is compared by Thetis (firstly to the Nereides and then Hephaistos) to a young shoot she has raised. She laments his imminent death, that he cannot be permanent as she is, just as Apollo in [10] refuses to fight with Poseidon over mere mortals,⁷ when he invokes much the same consideration as Glaukos in [4]. Both of these latter speakers are in great danger or emotional turmoil, Glaukos claiming that the identity for which Diomedes asked was unimportant given the impermanence of man and the transitory worth of such information, whilst Apollo (like Thetis) sets himself and the other gods apart from mortals as permanently individualized features on the landscape.

Akhilleus once more provides an interesting variation on this scheme: [9] the simile concentrates on a man leading a water rivulet to his plants, and breaking a path with his mattock. Neither of the usual comparative floral purposes seem appropriate here, but the development of the narrative clearly establishes the bond, as the water rushes on ahead of the gardener in precisely the same way as the river wave rushes on Akhilleus and does not allow him to escape. The resumption thus expresses the mortal danger found in the other examples above for, though Akhilleus is rescued from Skamandros, he is no match for the god.⁸

154 Spring similes: 6 examples: [1] 2. 89 (153/1), [2] 2. 468 (153/2), [3] 2. 471, [4] 6. 148 (153/4), [5] 8. 307 (153/5), [6] 16. 643.¹

This season provides the context for simile narratives of flora and fauna: advancing or fighting armies are compared to flies buzzing around the milk pail in spring [3], [6], or going after the spring flowers [1], the army is itself as numerous as the leaves and flowers in spring [2], or the race of men is as impermanent as the leaves which replace the dead ones in spring [4].² They are usually applied to groups, [5] being the only example applied to an individual victim as he falls.

Where the simile is employed without the specification of the flower / leaf image, the poet emphasizes above all the activity of the group, its potential to begin or continue performing the action at hand: [3] though the initial source of the comparison is the number of Greeks picking up on the number of the bees (*ἔθνεα πολλά* 2. 469—*τόσσοι* 472), the specification of spring is then resumed by the army's description as *διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες* (473); [6] the armies *αἰεί* throng around the corpse. Therefore, activity stemming from the idea of growth inherent in spring seems to be central to the image's

⁷ Cf. 99/21 n. 11. ⁸ Cf. 1 n. 3; also 119/58.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 471, 137: 'Jahreszeit der Vitalität und des Überflusses'.

² Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

signification. As with the previous unit, I do not deny other types of meaning, such as the contrast inherent in the deployment of a peaceful image in a violent situation. The frequent combination with flower / leaf similes is then readily explicable (as in [1], [2],³ [4], [5]), and they are together powerful sources of connotative meaning, juxtaposing the idea of vitality with the eventual facelessness of mankind's existence.

Divine protection: 10 examples: [1] 4. 127–33, [2] 5. 662, [3] 7. 272, [4] 8. 311, [5] 11. 437–8, [6] 12. 402–3, [7] 13. 554–5 (and 562–3), [8] 15. 461–4, [9] 15. 521–2, [10] 20. 438–41.¹ 155

In these circumstances, a deity intervenes with no warning or preparation to prevent someone from being harmed (or further harmed). The god acts either from a special connection with the individual (as in [2], [5], [6], [9], [10]) or—as far as such differentiation can or should be made—his side (as in [1], [3], [4], [7]–[9]) and may also have caused the individual to be in danger in the first place or initiated the action (as in [1], [3], [6]–[8], [10]), though Zeus' actions may all be ascribed to his overarching personal responsibility for the general state of affairs.

These criteria may of course be combined: Athene is the appropriate intervener in [1] because she is pro-Greek but also the one who persuaded Pandaros to shoot at Menelaos in the first place; [3] Apollo straightens Hektor after he has been laid flat not only because of his affiliation but also because he suggested the duel to Athene;² Apollo is an appropriate deity in [4] firstly because of his continued favour to the Trojans, but then as the god of archery, in which role he deprives Teukros of the prize during the Funeral Games (23. 863); [5] Athene protects Odysseus both because he is Greek and because he is her favourite, as again in [10] with Akhilleus; [6] Zeus protects Sarpedon not only out of paternal feeling but also because Sarpedon's death seems to be ordained in *II*, and Zeus of course had impelled him into the current attack at 12. 292–3;³ [7] beyond his general support for the Greeks, Poseidon's close relationship with the Nestoridai is made clear in *γ*; [8] Zeus prevents Teukros' attempts at Hektor because the honouring of that figure is now his immediate aim, which he had initiated by sending Apollo down to the battlefield with the aegis (15. 220–35);⁴ [9] Apollo protects Poulydamas once again because he is Trojan, though there is also some evidence that he was a seer;⁵ [2] Athene's

³ Though this is little more than preparation for the expansion of the image in 3.

¹ This grouping does not include those occasions when a god removes an endangered individual from battle; cf. 160 n. 1 and 43 n. 1; cf. Fenik (1968) 67. One might also consider Athene's pulling of Akhilleus' hair (1. 197–8), for he had already determined to harm Agamemnon.

² Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

³ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. 40/20 n. 8.

⁵ Cf. Wathelet (1988) 904–6; Janko (1992) ad loc., 285.

protection of Sarpedon does not answer either of the main motivational criteria, for the poet tells the audience that οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ μεγάλητορι μórσιμον ἦεν | ... ἀποκτάμεν ... | τῷ ῥα κατὰ πληθὺν Λυκίων τράπε θυμὸν Ἀθήνη (5. 674–6). In this case, it could be argued that she removes Odysseus from danger by deflecting him from a course of action which would bring him into conflict with that larger order.⁶

The actions so undertaken range from standing a character on his feet [3], breaking a bowstring [8], preventing an attack from hitting its target (as in [1], [5], [6]), deflecting a shot from one's favourite [4], [10], generally preventing one's favourite from being hit [7], and turning someone away from an attack [2]. In every case the divine protection emphasizes the importance of the frustration and the figure so favoured or frustrated, and is of course successful. The figures so favoured are either destined to play a role beyond the *Iliad* (Poulydamas [9], Odysseus [5], Antilokhos [7] and Menelaos [1], Akhilleus [10]) or reserved to be killed at a later stage in the poem (Sarpedon [2], [6]; Hektor [3], [4], [8]). These interventions are therefore part and parcel of the *Dios boule* (requiring no explicit link from the poet) and an integral element in the Homeric theology, keeping the narrative headed in its traditional direction.

156 '*smerdalea shouting*' [σμερδαλέα ἰάχων]: 8 examples: [1] 5. 302, [2] 7. 479 (κτυπέων), [3] 8. 321, [4] 16. 785, [5] 19. 41, [6] 20. 285, [7] 20. 382, [8] 20. 443.¹

There is a typical notion of threat to this expression: [1], [3], [4], [6]–[8] all denote aggressive cries by an advancing hero in battle, whilst [2] is the thundering from Zeus before the second day's play; [5] falls during the summoning of the assembly in *T*and, though not threatening to the addressees directly, refers obviously to the coming battle and the unresolved conflict to be addressed in the following gathering. In every case, that threat is then enacted and / or an attempt is made to avert or answer it: [1] (and [6]) the lifting and casting of a stone answers the call;² [2] the armies' libations respond to Zeus' thundering; [4] Apollo's opposition prevents Patroklos' further success; [5] Akhilleus' cry causes the gathering even of those who were wont to stay behind at such moments; [8] Apollo's rescue of Hektor is initiated immediately. Where there is no reaction (as [3], [7]), the agent is allowed to proceed with the threatened behaviour (the wounding of Teukros and the catalogue of slayings respectively). Note that Akhilleus is the subject of this expression many more times than anyone else: [5]–[8].³

⁶ Cf. 20. 291–340, where Poseidon saves Aineias 160/11.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 5. 302–4, 91; Kaimio (1977) 62–3; also 44.

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 1 n. 3.

The success of the action accompanied by *σμερδαλέα ἰάχων* is not guaranteed, neither is the response (where that is a consideration). The libations poured by the Greeks after [2] are noticeably ineffectual, whilst Aineias' lifting of a stone after [6] is interrupted by Poseidon.⁴ Thus the mere fact of reply, particularly in a martial context, does not guarantee the success of the counteraction: after [1] Aineias is defeated and then rescued, whilst in [4] Patroklos is effectively stymied by Apollo.⁵ Where there is no reply, however, the aggressor simply continues on his winning way (as in [3], [7]), showing that this figure's connotative significance is its requirement of a response.

The lifting of the stone in [1], [3], [6] closely connects these three examples, with the expression *ὁ δὲ χέρμαδιον λάβε χειρὶ* completing the second half of the line; cf. below.

'smerdalea shouting; and he took a stone in hand' [*σμερδαλέα ἰάχων ὁ δὲ χέρμαδιον λάβε χειρὶ*]: 3 examples: [1] 5. 302 (156/1), [2] 8. 321 (156/3), [3] 20. 285 (156/6).¹ 156a

This expression is reserved for combats between prominent characters, and the issue of the fight is always inconclusive in that the wounded (or inferior) figure is rescued (*δὲ* is disjunctive in [1], [3], conjunctive in [2]): [1] Aineias, though badly wounded, is rescued by Aphrodite and then Apollo before eventually being restored to the battle;² [2] Teukros is removed from the battlefield after Aias goes to protect him; [3] Aineias is whisked away from the advancing Akhilleus by Poseidon. In each case, the audience rely on the associations of the *stone weapon*³ to guide them through the encounter: [1] Diomedes will be the victor, as will Hektor in [2], but Aineias' frustrated deployment of the weapon (which would have been unsuccessful anyway)⁴ is individual in [3]; yet again, Akhilleus' presence distorts the usual actions and their referential directions, but this disruption is more significant given Aineias' survival of the war. His seizure of the stone is therefore unsettling, for it suggests that he might win the coming encounter. This is, however, immediately denied by the poet in the shape of the following contrafactual, but that contrafactual is designed to acknowledge connotative tension inherent in the situation before introducing its resolution.⁵

Furthermore, if there were more examples of this action, it could be surmised that Aias' emergence to rescue Teukros in [2] is significant in that this function is usually reserved for gods (Aphrodite and Apollo in [1],⁶ Poseidon in [3]); it might be another indication to the audience of the

⁴ Cf. 9/39 n. 18. ⁵ Cf. 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

¹ Cf. further Kirk (1990) on 5. 302, 91; Fenik (1968) 33–5.

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8; also 20/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 157.

⁴ Cf. 40/29; also 9/39 n. 18.

⁵ Cf. 9/39 n. 18; also 1 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. 20/1 n. 2.

decreased level of participation of the other deities in this phase of the battle, which theme is prominent in Θ .

157 Stone weapon: 15 examples: [1] 4. 517–26, [2] 5. 302–10, [3] 5. 580–3, [4] 7. 263–7, [5] 7. 268–72, [6] 8. 321–9, [7] 12. 378–86, [8] 12. 445–62, [9] 14. 409–13, [10] 16. 411–14, [11] 16. 577–80, [12] 16. 586–7, [13] 16. 733–44, [14] 20. 285–6, [15] 21. 403–8.¹

These weapons are generally decisive, employed usually against mortal foes but once against Ares [15] and once the gates of the Greek camp [8]: [1] Peiros kills Dioreus with a strike on his ankle followed by a sword thrust; [2] Aineias is disabled by Diomedes; [3] Antilokhos disables Mydon with a strike on his elbow and then a sword thrust; [6] Hektor's strike removes Teukros; [7] Aias kills one of Hektor's comrades Epikleus;² [8] the gates of the Greek camp fly open and Hektor storms inside; [9] Aias hits Hektor and disables him; [10] Patroklos kills Erylaos; [11] Epeigeus is killed by Hektor, whereon [12] Patroklos kills Sthenelaos; [13] Patroklos kills Kebriones;³ [15] Athene lays Ares out flat.⁴ The precise nature of the success is not predetermined: in [7], [8], [10]–[13] the casts are immediately fatal, whilst the other examples are not, in [1], [3] the incapacitated victim being despatched with a sword thrust, whilst non-fatal wounds leading to rescue are to be found in [2], [4]–[6], [9], [15]. Only in [14] is the cast prevented entirely.

There are two occasions where the poet departs from his usual practice, but these examples are purposeful and effective only because of the associations of the weapon. The first is the duel between Hektor and Aias in *H* [4], [5]: Hektor's cast [4] is unsuccessful and met by Aias' [5], which is the decisive moment in the duel (but for Apollo's intervention).⁵ This sequence is dictated by the duel's basically tripartite structure. In the first exchange, Hektor's spear-cast (7. 245–8) is balanced by Aias' cast (248–54); in the second, Hektor's lunge with his spear (258–9) is once again answered by Aias' lunge (260–2); in the third, Hektor's cast of a stone (263–7) is matched by Aias' more successful cast (268–71).⁶ In each exchange, Hektor's first attack is always countered by a more powerful, more successful attack by Aias. Notice also that the poet generally spends more time in describing Aias' replies, and that they tend to inflict more damage. Thus, Hektor's stone cast would generate a certain amount of expectation of his victory in the audience, but the fact that his first two attacks were ineffective and countered by Aias' greater physical strength (and the poet does stress the relative imbalance in physical power between the two; cf. *πολὺ μέζονα λαῶν* 268) would lead to a conflicting

¹ Cf. Nagy (1979) 274–5; also 156a for 2, 6, 14.

⁴ Cf. 7/5 n. 6.

⁵ Cf. 155/3; also 26/3 n. 5.

² Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

³ Cf. 24/25 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. also Kirk (1978).

expectation that his cast would fail to be decisive, and that Aias would in reply hurl a stone and be victorious. The interplay of the generic and the specific adds greatly to the audience's excitement during the course of the combat.

A similar factor is at work in [14]: Aineias picks up a stone in response to Akhilleus' charge, but is prevented from throwing it by Poseidon's intercession. The point of this combat would seem to be to create an associative conflict between Akhilleus' interminable victories and Aineias' chance of winning in order to create excitement in the audience. Already suggested by the comparison of Akhilleus to Ares as he advances on the Trojans,⁷ this conflict is then quickly resolved by a negative *contrafactual*⁸ stating the impossibility of Aineias' victory, thus returning the audience to more familiar territory.⁹

'[he] stood leaning on [his] knee' [σπῆ δὲ γνὺξ ἐριπών]: 4 examples: [1] 5. 309, [2] 5. 357, [3] 8. 329, [4] 11. 355.¹ 158

This reaction is typical of a wounded major character who is subsequently rescued or reaches safety under his own steam: [1] wounded by a stone cast from Diomedes, Aineias is snatched up by Aphrodite;² [2] hit on the wrist by Diomedes, Aphrodite is rescued by Ares and Iris;³ [3] struck by a stone from Hektor, Teukros is protected by Aias before being carried off the field;⁴ [4] incapacitated by Diomedes, Hektor retreats into his own army as Diomedes retrieves his spear.⁵

In no case is the wound itself permanently incapacitating, though the character is successfully removed from the fighting (but not necessarily the narrative forefront): [1] Aineias is picked up by his mother, but she herself is wounded [2] and the narrative follows her retreat to Olympos. Aineias is eventually successfully rescued by Apollo, and is then put into his temple *Περγάμῳ εἰν ἱερῇ* (5. 446) before being restored to the battle;⁶ [3] of Teukros the audience hear no more until *M*; [4] Hektor becomes irrelevant

⁷ Cf. 114/25.

⁸ Cf. 40/29.

⁹ Cf. 156a/3; also 9/39 n. 18 for the episode as a whole. Differently Anderson (1997) 70 n. 17: 'the poet is strongly influenced by the eventual survival of Aineias on contrast to the death of Achilles. Since Aineias is the real victor in the long run, he can therefore be allowed to initiate the victory pattern of rock-throwing.' This takes too little account of the contrafactual's substance, but draws on the same sort of connotative interpretation as mine.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 5. 309–10, 92. The poet also uses *γνὺξ ἔριπ' οἰμώξας* twice (5. 68, 20. 417) of a fatally wounded figure who perishes immediately; cf. W. Friedrich (1956) 48 n. 5, 76. 2 is unusual in that there is no verb of standing, as Aphrodite searches for Ares after being struck and finds him on the right side of the battle. This is presumably something to do with the fact that she has already been removed from the place where she was hit, and led to Ares' horses (where she leans on her knee). It adds tremendously to the pathetic indications in the scene; cf. 17/2 n. 8.

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8; also 20/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. 160/4; 17/2 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 160/6.

⁵ Cf. 120/7 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. 20/1 and n. 2.

for the next 150 verses (11. 502–3), as first Diomedes (who had wounded him) and then Odysseus are wounded and removed from the field. This is to be read in the light of his questionable effectiveness in this section of the battle, beaten first by Diomedes and then avoiding Aias in the fighting (11. 521–30, 542).

- 159 ‘and there fell from him’** [δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε]: 7 examples: [1] 2. 266, [2] 3. 363, [3] 4. 493, [4] 8. 329, [5] 15. 421, [6] 15. 465, [7] 22. 448.¹

The item or object is of various sorts, from a bow [4], [6], a torch [5], a corpse [3], a broken sword [2], a shuttle [7], and even a tear [1]. The action represents the cease of an activity or state for which the object is a symbol: [1] Thersites’ tears now represent the end of his recalcitrance and indeed role in the *Iliad*;² [2] after his sword shatters and falls from his hands, Menelaos’ attack on Paris is brought to a determinative end by Aphrodite’s rescue of the latter;³ [3] Odysseus’ companion Leukos is killed whilst trying to claim a corpse; [4] Teukros drops his bow (as again in [6], though there Zeus breaks the string himself)⁴ after Hektor’s strike breaks the bowstring and wounds his hand. On both occasions, he then ceases to have a major role, in [4] being carried from the field, in [6] because the poet simply removes the focus from him once he rearms;⁵ [5] the torch drops from the dead Kaletor’s hand, necessitating a *Leichenkampf* and much fighting before Hektor actually manages to fire a ship at 16. 112–23. The attempt is not interrupted, but its success most certainly is; [7] Andromakhe drops the shuttle she had been using in her weaving. This is a typical female activity in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (and other early hexameter poetry), and represents the security of a domestic life which has now been destroyed.⁶

- 160 Rescue:** 14 examples: [1] 3. 374–82, [2] 5. 311–18, [3] 5. 344–6 | 432–48, [4] 5. 353–66, [5] 5. 663–7 | 692–8, [6] 8. 330–4, [7] 11. 462–88, [8] 11. 510–20, [9]

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 15. 419–21, 275. The clause as a whole usually extends from the penthemimeres to the verse-end, with *χειρός* found at the verse-end and the item dropped in the nominative at the caesura; in 1, 7 this is altered, the subject now at the verse-end and either an adjective or adverb at the caesura. This is caused in 1 by the fact that a tear cannot be dropped from one’s hand, and in 7 by the poet’s desire to open the verse with an expression (*τῆς δ’ ἐλελίχθη γυία*) which runs to the trochaic caesura. There are two similar examples where an individual charioteer drops dead from his chariot (5. 585 = 13. 399), where Antilokhos is the victor and he immediately claims the deceased’s chariot and horses. One could also consider 21. 492 (*παχέες δ’ ἐκπιπτον οὔστοι*), where Artemis’ bow has become the very thing with which Here beats her, abusing her for that weapon before Artemis flees and leaves her bow there (496); cf. 7/6 n. 7. ² Cf. 6/1 n. 2; also S. West (1988) on *Od.* 2. 81, 136. ³ Cf. 125/4 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 40/20 n. 8. ⁵ Cf. 177/18.

⁶ Cf. Kakridis (1971) ch. 3; Wohl (1993).

13. 533–9, [10] 14. 424–32, [11] 20. 291–340, [12] 20. 443–54, [13] 21. 416–17, [14] 21. 596–8.¹

In these sequences, one character removes a wounded (or severely endangered) character from the battle. The rescuer is frequently a deity (as in [1]–[4], [11]–[14]), and the character may be enclosed in a cloud (as in [1], [3], [12], [14]) or protected by a piece of divine garment [2]; in [13] Aphrodite leads Ares by the hand (also found in [7]), and in [11] Poseidon simply whirls Aineias over everyone's head after putting a mist before Akhilleus' eyes.² Mortal rescues comprise [5]–[10], and protection is effected by a shield (as in [6], [7], [10]), while in [9] Polites puts his arms around Deiphobos' chest, and the rescuers in [5] and [8] move immediately to the actual removal with no previous protective act. This is accomplished by carrying the victim off the field (as in [5], [6]) or carrying / leading him to a chariot and thence to safety (as in [7]–[10]).

Certainly in mortal rescues, the victim's side is generally on the defensive and will continue to be so: [5] the Trojans have the worse of the fighting during this period of the first day's battle, and Hektor's brief *aristeia* after this episode is immediately countered by the intervention of Here and Athene; [6] the Greeks are now penned back into their camp; [7] Aias briefly counter-attacks after rescuing Odysseus, but the poet moves to another Greek rescue [8] on the other side of battle before returning to Aias' retreat;³ [9] since Zeus has turned his eyes away from the battle at the start of *N*, the Trojans have not been having a good time, and the absence of Deiphobos will be angrily regretted by Hektor at 13. 769–73; [10] the Trojans without Hektor are definitely a less imposing force.

It is also notable that the figure so removed in mortal rescues is usually not simply returned to the battle at the nearest possible juncture: [5] Sarpedon does not reappear until *M*, as Teukros in [6], Odysseus does not play any role until the council of leaders at the start of *E* [7], which is also the next occasion on which Nestor has an impact on the fighting (though the narrative stays with him in the Greek camp) [8],⁴ Deiphobos plays no further part in the fight [9], and Hektor will have to wait until *O* for the battle to be inclined again in his favour [10].

The rescue's success is usually immediate, but on several occasions the poet plays with this association in divine rescues to create individual effects: [2] is

¹ Rescue by a third party is closely related to the *battlefield assistance* in which the poet dispatches a character to the aid of an unwounded but endangered figure, and which generally does not end with the removal of the character from the field of battle; cf. 43 and n. 1; also Fenik (1968) 33, 128, 160. On the relationship between 8. 330–4 and 13. 419–23, cf. (15). I do not class 17. 619–25 as a rescue because the hero retreats under his own steam; cf. 17/11; also 19/6 n. 8.

² Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

³ Cf. 17/8 n. 16.

⁴ Cf. 52/3; also 17/8 n. 16.

connected with [3], [4] as a sequence of delayed rescues.⁵ The unusual (i.e., mortally caused) failure of a god to rescue a favourite augments the individuality of the hero's success, and was in any case guaranteed by Athene (who will act again to the same effect in [13]; cf. below). Aphrodite is herself rescued by Iris (and Ares) [4],⁶ after Apollo has caught up Aineias [3]. In sum, the original character is eventually rescued, and the poet uses the interruption and combination of three separate such sequences in order to emphasize the brilliance of Diomedes in *E*; [12] once again, Akhilleus is the most stirring exception on the mortal plane, for Apollo's rescue of Hektor merely postpones the inevitable;⁷ [13] in an obvious parody of the sequence, Athene prevents Aphrodite from leading Ares out of the battle.⁸ The episode is hardly subject to the serious consequences of mortal battle, and the disjunction serves to highlight this difference, as well as the martial superiority of the pro-Greek deities during the *theomakhia*.

- 161 'he did not fail to care' [οὐ | ἀμέλησε]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 330, [2] 13. 419, [3] 17. 9, [4] 17. 697.¹

This expression signals an intervention which is always concerned with the claiming of a fallen (usually dead) warrior: [1] Aias moves to cover his wounded and semi-recumbent brother; [2] in response to a vaunt from Deiphobos, Antilokhos protects the dead Hypsenor;² [3] despite Menelaos' stance over the corpse, Euphorbos moves in to claim Patroklos' body;³ [4] Antilokhos' action is not to protect the corpse itself, but he has concern, *Μενελάου ἐφημοσύνης*, to summon to its defence the only figure who can now succeed. As such, this is a highly significant adaptation of the unit designed to signal Akhilleus' coming importance in the process.⁴

If there were more examples of this figure, one might conclude that there was an association of success for this action (as in [1], [2], [4]), so that in [3] the poet was suggesting that Euphorbos might claim the corpse in spite of Menelaos. However, this is also the only example in which the expression is applied to someone trying to claim or protect an *enemy's* corpse, so the audience could well infer that something was amiss from that fact alone.⁵

- 162 'heavily groaning' [βαρέα στενάχοντα]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 334 (160/6), [2] {13. 423}, [3] 13. 538 (160/9), [4] 14. 432 (160/10).¹

⁵ Cf. 20/1 n. 2; also 9/15 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. 17/2 n. 8.

⁷ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁸ Cf. 7/5 n. 6.

¹ Cf. Italie (1965); Fenik (1968) 33.

² Cf. (15).

³ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3; also 9/33 n. 15.

⁵ As with his following 'no one | before' claim; 130/3.

¹ Cf. Kaimio (1977) 41–2. The examples in the *Odyssey* all show the same twin implications of helplessness and long-term removal as those in the *Iliad*, but with a changed focus appropriate to

This expression is confined to the departure of a helpless figure from the battlefield under the assistance of others. Figures so carried include Teukros [1], the dead Hypsenor [2], Deiphobos [3], and Hektor [4]. The exceptional case here is [2], where the corpse of a minor dead character is carried back to the ships.² The removal of that character spells the end of his prominence in the battle narrative (though this could also be related to the *rescue* in which these expressions generally occur):³ Teukros next appears in *M*, Hypsenor cannot reappear, Deiphobos does not (though Athene takes his form in *X*), and Hektor only emerges from his faint after an imposing intervention from Zeus in the following book.

‘in strength raging’ [σθένει βλεμεινών]: 6 examples: [1] 8. 337, [2] 9. 237, [3] 12. 42, [4] 17. 22 (βλεμεινεί), [5] 17. 135 (βλεμεινεί), [6] 20. 36.¹ 163

Frequently connected with similes, whether applied in (as [3]–[5]) or before them [1], this expression denotes the aggressive actions of characters which are or will turn out to be imprudent or inappropriately purposed: [1] though Hektor is dominant on this day, the poet is at pains generally to indicate that the confidence he gains herein is misplaced, and in this passage specifically to qualify his success in several ways;² [3] Hektor is unable to cross the ditch, and requires the rally suggested by Poulydamas to achieve any further gain.³ The simile narrative tells of a lion killed by his own ἀγνορίη,⁴ though one might of course reflect that all Hektor’s military activity in the *Iliad* brings him to his doom; [4] in his ‘*not so much | as much as*’ condemnation of the Panthoidai,⁵ Menelaos implies that their aggression is unwise, as it has already proved for Hyperenor;⁶ [5] Aias strides

the change in type of story: 4. 516 in Menelaos’ tale, Proteus tells him of Agamemnon’s homecoming. As he was about to come to the Μαλειάων ὄρος αἰπύ a storm took him to the furthest part of the land, where he was ambushed by Aigisthos. This removal from the safe path marks the violent end of his own *nostos* story. The other examples are all spoken by Odysseus, and denote his fear that he too would be removed from the *nostos*: 5. 420 in character speech, Odysseus fears another storm carrying him off course and out of his narrative; 10. 76 Aiolos sends Odysseus away from his house; 23. 317 Odysseus tells the same story to Penelope. Thus he speaks of his fear that he would never return home, each expression occurring either as a storm takes him away from his journey or from a host with the ability to help him home. For another example of an Iliadic unit altered by its Odyssean context, cf. 170 n. 1.

² This example has been marked as spurious, though it is not so marked in West’s edition, as a concordance interpolation; cf. (15).

³ Cf. 160/6, 9, 10.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) on 8. 337, 63; Voigt (1982); Kirk (1990) on 8. 337, 325–6; also Patzer (1996) 122–3; Clarke (1995) 138, 149–52.

² Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also esp. 114/9.

³ Indeed, Poulydamas suggests that the Trojans are in danger at this point in the fighting (12. 60–81); cf. 204a/4 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Graziosi and Haubold (2003) esp. 64.

⁵ Cf. 183/11.

⁶ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

to protect Patroklos, a role which will place him in considerable danger, as he says at 17. 237–45 when the battle is rejoined.⁷ This does not mean that he had any other choice, of course, merely that such action necessarily exposes him to great risk, and could be a hint at the story that Aias' protection of Akhilleus' corpse will not be enough to earn him the armour;⁸ [6] Hephaistos limps to the *theomakhia*, during which he will blast the waters of Skamandros in favour of Akhilleus at Here's request. In fact, he will go too far in his intervention and necessitate an unusual intercession from Here again to prevent serious damage to the river.⁹

Characters may utilize the figure for a rhetorical purpose: [2] in attempting to persuade Akhilleus to rejoin battle, Odysseus paints the darkest possible picture of Hektor's victorious progress across the field, and applies the phrase to him to underline his incautious belief in his great prowess. This is why he closes his tempting of Akhilleus with *νῦν γάρ χ' Ἑκτορ' ἔλοις, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι | λύσσαν ἔχων ὀλοήν, ἐπεὶ οὐ τινά φησιν ὁμοῖον | οἱ ἔμμεναι Δαναῶν* (9. 304–6);¹⁰ [4] in his plaint to Zeus about Euphorbos' excessive boasting, Menelaos reckons his adversary's estimation of *menos* as above that of a leopard, lion, or boar, *οὐ τε μέγιστος | θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περὶ σθένει βλεμεαίνει* (17. 21–2)—even these reckless animals are not so reckless as the sons of Panthoos. Both of these passages imply that the subject is misguided in this confidence.¹¹

164 Dog similes: 24 examples: [1] 3. 23–8, [2] 5. 476, [3] 8. 338–42, [4] 10. 183–8, [5] 10. 360–4, [6] 11. 292–5, [7] 11. 324–7, [8] 11. 414–20, [9] 11. 548–57, [10] 12. 41–9, [11] 12. 145–52, [12] 12. 299–306, [13] 13. 198–202, [14] 13. 471–6, [15] 15. 271–80, [16] 15. 579–83, [17] 15. 586–9, [18] 17. 61–9, [19] 17. 109–13, [20] 17. 281–5, [21] 17. 657–66, [22] 17. 725–34, [23] 18. 577–86, [24] 22. 189–93.¹

The only similes to use dogs are pursuit similes, where the animals are usually portrayed as working in a pack, whether with men (as in [1], [4], [6],

⁷ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

⁸ There may be a reference here to the death of Aias after the contest for the arms of Akhilleus, for it was precisely in this role that Aias rescued the corpse from the Trojans but was adjudged unworthy of the arms themselves; cf. 9/75 n. 5.

⁹ Cf. 186/3.

¹⁰ Cf. 47/1 n. 7 for his rhetorical skill.

¹¹ Cf. Clarke (1995) 150.

¹ Cf. Fränkel (1921) 67–9; Faust (1970); Krischer (1971) 52–8, esp. 55; Redfield (1975) 193–202; Lilja (1976) 13–36, esp. 22–3; Lonsdale (1990) 77–8; also Graver (1995). The ambiguous status accorded to the dog in Homeric epic is detected by Σ AbT, where they interpret the image *οὐ πρὸς ἰσχύν, ἀλλὰ πάχος*, though this is probably not unconnected with the fairly constant denigration of Hektor found in the scholia. For reasons not to class 3 a lion or boar simile as well, cf. Scott (1974) 73 n. 13. I include 23, though a scene from Akhilleus' shield, because it is obviously related to the animal narratives such as those found in similes.

[8]–[12], [14], [15], [17]–[23]) or not (as in [2], [3], [7], [13], [16]). Hence the dogs generally represent the group against whom the emphasized individual is reacting: [4] the guards remain awake waiting for the Trojans as dogs for a beast; [6] Hektor (hunter) sets the Trojans (dogs) on a lion or boar (Greeks);² [9] Aias (lion) put to flight by Zeus and the Trojans (dogs and hunters); [13] the Aiantes take Imbrios as lions take the prey from dogs; [15] Hektor (lion) puts Greeks to flight (dogs and hunters); [19] Menelaos (lion) retreats from Patroklos' body under Trojan pressure (dogs and hunters); [20] Aias (boar) charges forward and puts the Trojans (hunters and dogs) to flight; [23] the dogs and young men shrink from facing the lion.³ Sometimes it is not possible to make a straightforward identification of the party within the narrative being compared to the dog or its pack: [1] on seeing Paris, Menelaos rejoices like a lion defying the dogs and hunters. Is Paris to be equated with the latter group?; [13] the equation of the dogs with the Trojans is very oblique;⁴ [14] Aineias is apparently the dogs and hunters for whom Idome-neus (boar) awaits;⁵ [17] is Hektor the crowd of men and dogs whose onset causes Antilokhos to retreat?; [21] though pressured by the Trojans, the simile really focuses on Menelaos' movement to find Antilokhos.⁶ Thus the idea of connotation rather than direct comparison or identification between simile and narrative becomes a suggestive way of moving forward.

When the dog acts in co-ordination with humans, their success is indeterminate, and the power or strength of the animal against which their efforts are directed is still emphasized: [1] the lion manages to eat its prey despite the attentions of the hunting party, and Menelaos has the upper hand in the coming duel and its preliminary challenges;⁷ [4] it is unclear whether the beast is kept away from the flock, though the application of '*great clamour arose*' adds an element of constraint to the actions of the men and dogs;⁸ [6] Hektor enjoys a brief *aristeia* before being removed by Diomedes; [8] the wounded Odysseus is compared to the boar hunted by the young men and dogs who await his onset for all his violence. He then embarks on a killing run before being rescued by Aias and Menelaos; [9] Aias (lion or boar) is indeed put to flight by the hunters; [10] in the simile narrative the animal (Hektor) is killed,⁹ but he ends this book having broken into the Greek camp; [11] in the introduction to their *aristeia*, Polypoites and Leonteus are beasts hounded by dogs, though the audience are left in no doubt about the failure of Asios' attack;¹⁰ [12] the Greeks are compared to the pack trying to prevent Sarpedon (lion) from fulfilling his desire for food yet, though his attack is dangerous,

² Cf. 96/5 n. 2.

³ Cf. 134/15.

⁴ Cf. 119/30.

⁵ Cf. 18/7 n. 9.

⁶ Cf. 54/26 n. 14.

⁷ Cf. 71/1 n. 2.

⁸ Cf. 23/5.

⁹ Cf. also 163/3; also 53/5.

¹⁰ Cf. 48/8 n. 12.

the poet leaves the possibility of his success open (12. 305–6);¹¹ [14] Idomeneus awaits Aineias' onset, but his success in this passage has already been severely qualified;¹² [15] the lion turns the hunters, and Hektor's advance makes the Greek drop their *thumoi* at their feet; [17] the men and dogs cause the lion to retreat, as Antilokhos does; [19] Menelaos retreats as a lion from the pack; [23] the young men and their hounds dare not intervene.

However, when there is no such link, the dogs are uniformly unsuccessful: [2] Sarpedon's abuse is directed at the fact that Hektor and his family have scattered as dogs around a lion; [7] Odysseus and Diomedes scatter the Trojans (hunting dogs); [13] the Aiantes easily take possession of Imbrios, as lions take their prey from dogs. Furthermore, it is only in [3], [5], [16], [24] that the dog image is applied to an emphasized and aggressive individual: [5] Diomedes and Odysseus chase Dolon (hare or doe);¹³ [16] Antilokhos attacks Melanippos (fawn); [24] Akhilleus chases after Hektor (fawn). In all those cases, the warrior is facing a single enemy, and the dog attacks a clearly weaker animal. Thus, the connotation represented in [3] is an ambiguous one, intended to reinforce previous intimations about the delusion under which Hektor labours.

165 'always killing' [*αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων*]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 342, [2] 11. 154, [3] 11. 178 (= 8. 342).¹

This expression denotes a hero in full attack and is always linked with pursuit similes (usually closing them): [1] Hektor is so described shortly before Here sees him and tries to intervene; [2] is linked with [3] as an obvious doublet.² It opens a pursuit simile for Agamemnon comparing him to fire before Zeus draws Hektor out of the fighting (11. 163–4), then another passage of general description and pursuit simile (172–6) which is closed by the expression, and Zeus now sends Iris down to Hektor to draw him away from Agamemnon once more in a much larger episode (181–213). This type of coda to a passage of pursuit falls shortly before the dominant hero is to be challenged by a deity's intervention.

166 'many were slain' [*πολλοὶ | δάμην*]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 344, [2] 12. 14, [3] 15. 2 (15. 1–2 = 8. 343–4),¹ [4] 18. 103 (*πολέες*).

¹¹ Cf. 37/5 n. 3.

¹² Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹³ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) on 8. 342, 64. This expression is of course an excellent candidate for specific referentiality, though the significance of that would be traced more easily between 2 and 3 than with 1.

² Cf. 32/9.

¹ Cf. Commentary ad loc., n. 229.

These summary verses occur when a pursuit passage is over, and a divine counteraction about to begin:² [1] Hektor wheels about before the Greek fortifications, and Here then notes and attempts to intervene; [2] after the end of the war, Poseidon and Apollo destroy the camp wall; [3] this time it is the Trojans who are driven back to where their chariots were kept before Zeus wakes up and intervenes;³ [4] in the only example outside narrator text, Akhilleus *post eventum* attempts to employ Hektor's slaughter of the army as one of his motivations.⁴ The appropriation of divinity in this way is characteristic of his extraordinary status within the poem, and not without foundation in the narrative.

'[they] were kept back staying' [ἐρητύοντο μένοντες]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 345, 167
[2] 15. 3 (~ 8. 345),¹ [3] 15. 367 (15. 367–9 ~ 8. 345–7).²

Like the '*many were slain*' figure, this description of the furthest extent of a side's retreat falls shortly before an intervention by a deity: [1] Here attempts to intervene with a '*seeing* | *she pitied*' reaction;³ [2] Zeus wakes up and reacts angrily to the situation;⁴ [3] forced back by Apollo, the Greeks are penned back into the camp, calling forward a specific prayer from Nestor. This is granted and then (uniquely) misinterpreted by the Trojans as a sign of favour.⁵

'seeing | [she] pitied' [ἰδοῦσ' | ἐλέησε]: 7 examples: [1] 8. 350, [2] 15. 12, [3] 168
15. 44, [4] 16. 431, [5] 17. 441, [6] 19. 340, [7] 24. 332.¹

This collocation introduces divine interventions of which the prior stage is a speech expressing that emotion and a counteractive intention, to which [3] is a partial exception, falling within Here's self-exculpation and detailing her understanding about the cause of Poseidon's intervention. The speech is not of fixed form, and may be either a statement of intention to intervene (as in [5]) or an instruction / suggestion to another character to that end (as in [1],

² That not every pursuit passage is so closed is not an argument against the definition; the poet simply chooses not to give that kind of information. ³ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

⁴ For Akhilleus' alteration of the '*to become a light*' unit in this same speech, cf. 143 n. 1; also 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Commentary ad loc., n. 229.

² Cf. ibid. One might also compare 15. 723 (ἐρητύοντό τε λαόν), where Hektor criticizes the old men for keeping him back from a proper pursuit of the war. Now, however, this period is over and Zeus is explicitly urging him on (724–5); cf. 98/7. ³ Cf. 168/1.

⁴ Cf. 9/29 n. 12. ⁵ Cf. 126/16; also 29/12 n. 7.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 8. 350, 327. One could also compare 6. 484 (ἐλέησε νοήσας), where Hektor pities his weepily smiling wife and then seeks to console her. There is another, somewhat similar expression (τὸν δὲ πέσοντ' ἐλέησεν) used in two doublets (5. 561, 610; 17. 346, 352) when the character responds to the death of a comrade with an advance and retaliatory cast.

[2], [4], [6], [7]), and there may be a reply (as in [1], [2], [4]). In other words, though the use of direct speech to elucidate the emotion is common enough to be a constant, there is considerable flexibility in its nature and extent.

There is no predetermination of success: [1] Athene and Here fail to intervene; [4] Zeus' suggestion is immediately refuted.² On every other occasion the instruction / suggestion is acted upon (and successfully): [2] Zeus immediately sends Here on her way;³ [3] Here explains Poseidon's intervention in the battle as the result of his own pity towards them, and her purpose—to avoid Zeus' wrath—is successful;⁴ [5] Zeus indirectly removes Akhilleus' horses from the battle;⁵ [7] Zeus despatches Hermes to Priam's aid. This does not allow a conclusion that success is part of this expression's associative range, although it would certainly make the Θ episode [1] more exciting.⁶ Nonetheless, the desire of the character to intervene is not to be doubted, especially in [4] where Zeus' expression of regret for Sarpedon's impending doom and implicit suggestion of rescue is contradicted by Here. The exchange is emphasized by the intimation that he could well intervene, which in turn stresses the importance of his restraint, as Here outlines in no uncertain terms (16. 439–57).⁷

These speeches represent the culmination or resumption of prominent themes hitherto in the narrative: [1] Here and Athene's concern mirrors almost exactly those expressed by Athene in the assembly at the opening of Θ , and resumes the suggestions made by Here at 8. 198–211; [2] the sight of Hektor on the plain resumes the description of his retreat at 14. 414–32, was the very purpose of the *Dios apate* itself, and Hypnos was dismayed at the thought of Zeus' reaction (14. 242–62); the exceptional nature of [3] has already been mentioned, but it draws on the same type of associations as the previous example, in this case Poseidon's surreptitious intervention from *N–O* which becomes overt once Zeus is otherwise occupied during the *Dios apate*;⁸ [4] that Zeus should pity his own son is understandable, but recalls his earlier prediction of Sarpedon's death (15. 67) at the very moment at which he is to die; [5] Zeus pities the immortal nature of Peleus' horses as they weep for Patroklos, which has been emphasized by itself at 16. 387 and 867 (not to mention 10. 321–3 and esp. 401–4) and is surely part of the wider range of symbols indicating Patroklos' mortality during his *aristeia* (the failure to take Akhilleus' spear etc.), and by extension that of Akhilleus as well;⁹ [6] Zeus moves to counteract Akhilleus' earlier refusal (esp. 19. 209–14

² Cf. 54/23 n. 12.

³ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

⁵ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. Commentary *ad loc.* for other indications to this effect in this episode.

⁷ Cf. 54/23 n. 12.

⁸ Cf. 17/9 n. 13.

⁹ Cf. 17/10 n. 10; also 40/24 n. 10.

and 319–21) to take food before erupting into battle;¹⁰ [7] Zeus' pity of Priam's mission has everything to do with the fact that he sent him on it (cf. 24. 143–58, esp. 152–3).¹¹ The resumption is not of fixed type or pattern, merely that the audience is directed back to those earlier suggestions as a means of interpreting the present divine intervention and its place within the action's progress.

The progression in the action is ubiquitous: [1] Here and Athene now attempt to act upon their earlier statements; [2] Zeus initiates the final Trojan advance to the burning of the ships; [3] is a partial exception, in that the intervention has already taken place, but is intimately bound up with Poseidon's surreptitious aid and the course of the *Dios apate*; [4] the thwarted suggestion of saving Sarpedon is the hero's last chance, as the two champions leap at one another; [5] the removal of the divine prize of the horses is a symbol of the limits of honour granted to Hektor and which he details at 17. 453–5; [6] the sustenance of Akhilleus with divine food serves the double purpose of showing the gods' favour to him as he is about to fulfil the *Dios boule* (and such favourable actions are common at the start of *aristeiai*; cf. e.g. 5. 1–8, 11. 45–6), and underlining the necessity for food in these circumstances (pointed out at length by Odysseus during the assembly in *T*), and so, inexorably, his mortality, at the very moment at which he seals his own fate (cf. 18. 94–6); [7] the necessity for Hermes' presence as a guide reinforces the awesome nature of the journey undertaken by Priam here, and is set in train precisely when he is needed, as night falls (24. 351).¹²

'at [her] in turn spoke' [τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν]: 42 examples: [1] 1. 206, [2] 3. 58, [3] 5. 179, [4] 5. 229, [5] 6. 332, [6] 6. 440, [7] 7. 33, [8] 7. 37, [9] 7. 233, [10] 7. 287, [11] 8. 357, [12] 9. 114, [13] 9. 676, [14] 10. 64, [15] 10. 119, [16] 10. 168, [17] 10. 248, [18] 10. 412, [19] 11. 837, [20] 13. 774, [21] 14. 64, [22] 14. 211, [23] 14. 263, [24] 15. 205, [25] 15. 253, [26] 17. 560, [27] 18. 94, [28] 18. 183, [29] 18. 196, [30] 19. 184, [31] 20. 103, [32] 21. 461, [33] 21. 511, [34] 22. 177, [35] 22. 232, [36] 22. 238, [37] 24. 217, [38] 24. 378, [39] 24. 389, [40] 24. 410, [41] 24. 432, [42] 24. 668.¹

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This expression is a signal that the responder will or wants to align himself in a co-operative relationship with the prior speaker. The range of situations in which these responses are found is great, and the following categories should not be considered mutually exclusive. There are agreements with

¹⁰ Cf. 49/42.¹¹ Cf. 107/16 n. 16.¹² Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 121, 70; also 78 n. 1 and Appendix A, esp. n. 33 on 20. 86 (πὸν δ' αὖτε Αἰνείας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπεν), where the poet apparently combines πὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν and πὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη.

requests for information or instruction (as in [1], [7], [13], [14], [18], [21], [25], [28], [29], [33], [39], [40]), with rebukes which may directly or indirectly suggest action (as in [2], [3], [5], [12], [15], [16], [20], [26], [32]), and with direct or indirect requests for assistance or action (as in [19], [22]); there are also agreements with and modifications of proposals or statements of opinion / intention (as in [4], [17], [23],² [27],³ [30], [31], [34], [36], [38]), and even situations in which the responder disagrees with the prior speaker but still expresses the need for a co-operative relationship between them (as in [6], [9], [34], [37], [41]).

It is noticeable that these responses are often clustered around one event, and even more often used in conjunction with the responsory formula τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα:⁴ [3] and [4] occur during Pandaros and Aineias' preparation to attack Diomedes,⁵ [7] and [8] between Apollo and Athene before the truce, [9] and [10] frame the duel between Hektor and Aias,⁶ [28] and [29] between Iris and Akhilleus as he prepares to show himself at the trench, [35] and [36] between Athene (as Deiphobos) and Hektor, [38]–[41] during the meeting on the plain between Hermes and Priam.⁷ Such clustering tends to occur before significant episodes when the alignment between the characters is of profound import for the narrative: Pandaros will be killed and Aineias wounded in defending his body, and his horses claimed by Diomedes; the neutrality of Athene and Apollo make the duel an exciting episode, in which Hektor strives to assert his heroic status against the clearly superior strength of Aias, whilst at the same time making it clear that no one will die; Akhilleus' appearance at the trench allows the Greeks finally to claim Patroklos; the deception of Hektor is vital in making him stop to face Akhilleus; Hermes' protection of Priam sees him safely to and from the camp.

The 'sympathy' must be understood as a connection of broad agreement between the two speakers which is to become manifest in, or is a precondition of, the ensuing narrative: [1] Athene's following speech establishes a supportive relationship with Akhilleus which lasts for the rest of the poem;⁸ [2] Paris acknowledges the rightness of Hektor's rebuke (similarly [5]⁹ and [20];¹⁰ cf. [15]) and asserts his desire to act accordingly;¹¹ [11] Athene agrees to undertake the journey proposed by Here; [12] Agamemnon acknowledges his fault in the argument and details restitution; [13] Odysseus gives Agamemnon the bad news, but his desire to remain on the king's side of this argument is clear throughout the embassy; [16] Nestor agrees with the humorously

² Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

³ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 78 n. 1 and Appendix A for discussion of 1, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21–4, 27–31, 34, 38–41.

⁵ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. 26/3 n. 5.

⁷ Cf. 45/10 n. 5; also Appendix A (18).

⁸ Cf. 9/2 n. 2.

⁹ Cf. 9/18 n. 23.

¹⁰ Cf. 45/7 n. 7.

¹¹ Cf. 71/1 n. 2.

annoyed Diomedes about the specifics of his complaint before enlisting his aid;¹² [17] though concerned to avoid excessive praise, Odysseus accepts the challenge to go on the mission and suggests their immediate departure; [19] Patroklos accedes to Eurypylos' request to assist him, despite his need to go to Akhilleus;¹³ [21] after Nestor's catalogue of woe and request for instruction, Agamemnon suggests flight as the only proper response to the situation and attempts to have the *boule* agree on this course of action; [25] Apollo reassures and encourages Hektor before promising his aid;¹⁴ [26] Menelaos expresses to Athene in Phoinix' shape his desire to fight as she had suggested, were it not for Hektor's favour from Zeus; [31] after Aineias has refused to respond to the exhortation of 'Lykaon' to face Akhilleus, Phoibos successfully creates a dovetailing between their perspectives by appealing to Aineias' superior heritage and making the Trojan appeal to the gods (i.e. himself);¹⁵ [32] Apollo backs down in the face of Poseidon's challenge, citing the uselessness of divine *stasis* over such an ephemeral creature as man;¹⁶ [33] in response to Zeus' query about the source of her injury, Artemis complains (in much the same circumstance as Ares in *E*) of Here's activity as a general source of strife amongst the gods, something of which he is not unaware;¹⁷ [35] overjoyed at Deiphobos' apparent presence, Hektor promises greater honour in the future for his bravery, and then [36] Athene in character expresses a desire to stand with Hektor and fight; [40] in response to Priam's question about Hektor's corpse, Hermes constantly evinces an intention to assist the old man;¹⁸ [42] having prompted Priam for information about the length of time required for Hektor's burial, Akhilleus confirms that for this period there will be a truce.¹⁹

When the responder disagrees with the prior speech, the response employs the assumed necessity of the relationship as the reason for disagreement: [6] Hektor concedes that his thoughts on his safety are much the same as Andromakhe's, but he denies that he has any choice in the matter (6. 441–6), and is attempting to persuade her of the need to accept her lot as he has accepted his (447–65);²⁰ [9] Hektor's reply to Aias' invitation to begin the contest aims to set himself on the same level as Aias as a worthy foe, something he feels has been questioned by the latter's peremptory tone and rather dismissive invitation ἀλλ' ἄρχε μάχης ἣδὲ πολέμοιο (7. 232).²¹ It also prepares for the peaceful conclusion of the duel, where there is another such responsory formula [10], and Hektor not only compliments his foe but also

¹² Cf. 79/4 n. 4.

¹³ Cf. 20/4 n. 5.

¹⁴ Cf. 98/6, 7.

¹⁵ Cf. Appendix A (16).

¹⁶ Cf. 99/21 n. 11.

¹⁷ Cf. 7/6 n. 7.

¹⁸ Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

¹⁹ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

²⁰ Cf. 101/3 and n. 1; also 45/1 n. 2.

²¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 7. 232, 266; also Poseidon's similar invitation to Apollo on the grounds of his own superior age and knowledge (21. 439–40) before 32 (and 99/21 n. 11); cf. also 88/4.

proposes an exchange of gifts to seal their pact;²² [34] Athene does not wish Hektor to be saved, but she points out that it is vital for Zeus not to go against the will of the gods in this matter. She is in effect requesting that Zeus regard the divine *homophrosyne* whilst simultaneously acknowledging his power to act as he will;²³ [37] Priam demands from his wife a more propitious send-off (24. 218–19), given that he had received in person the instruction to go to the camp (223–4) and is prepared to accept his fate;²⁴ [41] Hermes refuses the gift proffered by Priam, but asserts that it has nothing to do with his willingness to guide the old man; their relationship is settled in his eyes without any recourse to the reciprocity suggested in the prior speech.²⁵

170 ‘in his paternal land’ [ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ]: 3 examples: [1] 3. 244, [2] {8. 359}, [3] 22. 404.¹

This expression is only applied in the *Iliad* to describe death, and in circumstances where there is a powerful sense of separation between a character (usually the one so described) and his φίλοι: [1] the poet tells the audience that the Dioskouroi, whose absence from the host Helen had noted and attributed to shame over her behaviour, were already dead. The expression thus focuses attention on *Helen’s* isolation in Troy, a fact already heavily stressed in the *teikhoskopia*; [2] Athene hopes for Hektor’s death, which in her eyes would hand him over for dishonouring to his enemies (given the stress she lays at the end of her speech on his despoliation),² making χερσὶν ὕπ’ Ἀργείων (8. 359) an even more sinister opening hemistich for the current expression; [3] the poet summarizes the dishonouring of Hektor as he is dragged back to the Greek camp. Zeus gave him over δυσμενέεσσιν | ἀεικίσισασθαι ἐῆμι ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ, contrasting specifically his head πάρος χαρίεν with its current befouling in the dust. Thus Hektor’s

²² Cf. Appendix A (5); also 26/3 n. 5.

²³ Cf. Appendix A (17); also 3/12 n. 13.

²⁴ Cf. 48/17 n. 10.

²⁵ Cf. 45/10 n. 5; also 147/16.

¹ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 22. 404, 149. In the *Odyssey* the expression’s connotation of separation turns on the fact of being at home, but always with a similar element or suggestion of separation and distance (of several sorts): 8. 461 Nausikaa expresses the hope that Odysseus will remember her when he is home; 14. 143 Eumaios says that he does not grieve so much for his parents—to see them with his own eyes being at home—as he does for Odysseus; 17. 157 Theoklymenos tells Penelope that he thinks Odysseus is home in his native land. Of course Odysseus is not rehabilitated yet (and Penelope remains unconvinced), and one could argue that this is precisely what the poet is trying to stress. However, I think it represents Theoklymenos’ own separation from his φίλοι (somewhat like Helen in 1), and his inability (linked with his status as *metanast*; cf. Martin 1992) to replace Odysseus—or replicate his own lost relationships; 24. 266 in his false tale to Laertes, Odysseus recounts an example of hospitality when he entertained Odysseus at ‘home’. These examples reflect the change in focus between the *Iliad* as a poem about dying in defence of one’s home (or far from it away from one’s parents), and the *Odyssey* as one about the desirability of returning home and dying there; cf. 162 n. 1 for a similar example of a traditional unit as change of focus; also (16). ² Cf. 176a/1.

isolation from the Trojans is all the more poignant, considering where he has lost his life, and intimates not only the spectacle the poet provides in the following scene as the Trojans look out over the scene, but also the difficulty which will arise in countering that separation.

Given that [2] is the only example to be applied to a wish rather than a fact (also the only example in character speech), the audience would infer the vehemence of Athene's desire (already emphasized by the '*lost his life*' expression)³ and agency in effecting that wish.

'wretched' [σχήτλιος]: 13 examples: [1] 2. 112, [2] 3. 414, [3] 5. 403, [4] 8. 361, 171
[5] 9. 19, [6] 9. 630, [7] 10. 164, [8] 16. 203, [9] 17. 150, [10] 18. 13, [11]
22. 41, [12] 22. 86, [13] 24. 33.¹

Characters apply this judgement to those whose actions exhibit an unsupportable obstinacy. The speaker usually elucidates a past situation or future ramification with which the current action is to be unfavourably compared: [1] Agamemnon uses the term of Zeus because his past promise that Troy would be sacked seems now to have come to nought (though this of course has a rhetorical purpose, cf. also [5]); [2] Aphrodite uses the expression as a threat, where she contrasts her past and present favour for Helen with the future in which that favour would no longer apply; [3] Dione condemns Herakles for his wounding of Here and Hades, for this is not what mortals ought to do;² [4] Athene finds Zeus' current behaviour inexplicable in the light of her support for Herakles and her confidence that he will again show her his favour;³ [6] Aias so labels Akhilleus because he pays no heed to the φίλότῃς of his comrades who used to honour him; [7] Nestor is σχήτλιος to Diomedes because, despite his age and the presence of many others to perform the onerous task of rousing the leaders, the old man continues to do his bit. The younger man humorously compares his own need for sleep with the older man's energy;⁴ [8] Akhilleus imagines the Myrmidons rebuking him for his previous intransigence and refusal to let them fight, for all their willingness to do so;⁵ [9] Glaukos rebukes Hektor's failure to fight for losing Sarpedon's body in spite of his great benefit to the Trojans;⁶ [10] Akhilleus speaks thus of Patroklos because he has clearly gone against the instructions he was so careful to give; [11] Priam applies the term to Akhilleus because he is too strong to be opposed, and has already killed or ransomed many of his sons. The audience might reflect not solely on Akhilleus' killing spree here

³ Cf. 41/4.

¹ Cf. Vanséveren (1998); also Kirk (1985) on 2. 112, 130; Hainsworth (1993) on 9. 19, 62; Latacz (2003) on 2. 112, 42.

² Cf. 86/3 n. 5; also 33 n. 8.

³ Cf. 172/5; 174/4.

⁴ Cf. 79/4 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. also 83/4; also 17/10 n. 10.

⁶ Cf. 76/8 n. 2.

(though his invincible quality is certainly brought out in the consideration that ‘*he is by far stronger*’),⁷ but also the emotion of the older man, for Priam’s perturbation contrasts powerfully with the more sanguine attitude evinced during the *teikhoskopia*; [12] Hekabe exhorts Hektor not to continue in his current stubbornness because of its ramifications (or, alternatively, she applies this term to Akhilleus because he will fail to observe the proper customs when Hektor is dead);⁸ [13] Apollo finds the other gods’ attitude towards Hektor’s corpse incomprehensible given his previous diligent piety.

There is frequently an element of persuasion here, whether directed towards the addressee (as in [1], [2], [5], [9], [11]–[13]) or the speaker himself (as in [4]), though some examples have no obvious purpose of this sort: [3] Dione seeks only to soothe Aphrodite; [6] Aias has already given up on persuasion, though he continues to speak about Akhilleus’ unreasonableness; [7] Diomedes simply voices exasperation, as Akhilleus imputes to the Myrmidons [8] and expresses himself with regard to Patroklos in [10].

172 Herakles stories: 13 examples: [1] 2. 653–70, [2] 2. 679, [3] 5. 392–404, [4] 5. 628–54, [5] 8. 362–9, [6] 11. 689–93, [7] 14. 249–66, [8] 14. 323–5, [9] 15. 18–30, [10] 15. 638–40, [11] 18. 117–19, [12] 19. 95–133, [13] 20. 144–8.¹

The poet frequently uses past figures and events to provide a continuous current or background to his narrative,² and Herakles is a particularly suggestive figure for comparison, as his career is characterized by a complex of intertwined themes important for the current story, including the divine hostility and discord associated with his servitude and previous sack of Troy, as well as a general reputation for violence and destruction of cities. Indeed, his achievements were as marked by heavenly conflict as the current course of the *Dios boule*, and so the parallels do not simply augment the audience’s appreciation of Akhilleus’ worth (though that is certainly his intention in [11])³ or predict the second destruction of the city (as Tlepolemos in [4]). They recall previous instances of divine insurrection against the

⁷ Cf. 77/26 and n. 20. The same interpretation offered here for 11 also holds for 12 if one follows M. L. West’s punctuation; cf. Richardson (1993) on 22. 41, 110; on 22. 86, 115.

⁸ Cf. 176/19.

¹ Cf. Nilsson (1932) ch. 3; Kullmann (1956) 25–35; Lang (1983); Gantz (1993) ch. 13; Alden (2000) 38–42; Schein (2002a) (on Herakles in the *Odyssey*); Haubold (2005); Martin (2005). Perhaps one could also include 2. 594–600; cf. Kirk (1985) ad loc., 216; Latacz (2003) on 2. 596, 192–3. That the poet could make reference to a series of actions surrounding a particular figure does not imply the existence of written texts or fixed versions of these tales; cf. Introduction, p. 12 n. 41.

² Cf. e.g. Taplin (1984) (on Eetion). On the use of these narratives generally, cf. Austin (1966); Gaisser (1969); Andersen (1990); Alden (2000); Scodel (2004).

³ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

Dios boule as prolepsis for the present tale and its future, and lead the audience to infer again that Zeus will be opposed, but once again eventually unsuccessfully.

Both gods and mortals are fond of relating Herakles' tales (as in [3]–[9], [11], [12]), and usually with an explicit rhetorical purpose: [3] Dione invokes the wounding of Here and Hades by Herakles as examples of gods who had to endure suffering at the hands of mortals, as she tries to soothe the outraged Aphrodite;⁴ [4] Tlepolemos reminds Sarpedon of (his own father) Herakles' previous sack of Troy as part of the pre-combat flyting. Sarpedon acknowledges that event but seeks to differentiate its efficacy on the basis of Laomedon's transgression;⁵ [6] Nestor explains the contemptuous treatment afforded his people by the Eleoi on the basis that they had been rendered weak by Herakles;⁶ [8] in an interesting catalogue of his lovers, Zeus makes pointed reference to Herakles as the offspring of his union with Alkmene. The fact of Here's constant hostility towards Herakles (prominent in [3], [7], [9], [11], [12]) is an obvious referent for an ongoing sexual and personal struggle between these two;⁷ [9] Zeus reminds Here of her previous attempt to thwart his will with regard to Herakles after the last sack of Troy (referred to also by Hypnos in [7] in the course of his initial refusal to accede to her request,⁸ and probably Hephaistos at 1. 590–4)⁹ in order to make the point that she risks great harm by so acting.¹⁰ Hypnos of course refers to the story in order to avoid acceding to her request, whilst Hephaistos' point is obviously to persuade her to avoid the anger of Zeus; [12] to excuse his own *ate*, Agamemnon invokes that which overcame even Zeus himself with regard to his son at Here's doing.¹¹

In these cases, the speaker is often relying upon Herakles' paradigmatic status in order to make his rhetorical point, but the references may also form an intertwined complex, connecting themes and scenes in a more oblique way: [2] the leaders of the contingent from Kos are called *ὡς δὲ Ἡρακλείδαο ἄνακτος* (2. 679), an apparently innocuous reference. However, the poet informs his audience in [7] and [9] that Here drove Herakles to Kos after his previous sack of Troy, and so this brief mention at an early stage in the poem already summons Herakles' ptoliportic career to the performative present. Similarly indirect is [10], where Periphetes is located within the toils myth through his father Kopreus, who used to serve as Eurystheus' herald. In this case the paradigm connects Hektor with Herakles as the opponents of the

⁴ Cf. 33 n. 8. ⁵ Cf. 107/5 and n. 11; also 134/5.

⁶ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 5. 396–7, 101–2, on the relationship between this episode and 3.

⁷ Cf. Appendix B.

⁸ Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Janko (1992) on 15. 18–31, 229.

¹⁰ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

¹¹ Cf. 101/14 and n. 11; also 4/11 n. 4.

father-son pair; that Hektor manages to kill this man alone (15. 638–52) and only after he has tripped up could be seen as ambiguous, for all the fact that Periphetes is better than his dungsome father (641–3).¹²

This complex of Here's hostility and the first sack becomes explicit in [4], [7], [9], [10], [13], and this last example particularly (though cf. also [4]) extends the referential umbrella to Poseidon and Apollo's service and dishonouring at Laomedon's hands (7. 452–3, 20. 146–8, 21. 441–57),¹³ which in turn resonates with the more general idea of divine *stasis* and imposed servitude *παρ Διὸς* (21. 444),¹⁴ this time linking the deities with Herakles himself. Herakles is also related to violence and the sacking of other cities (cf. e.g. [1], [6]), but the almost ubiquitous reference is to the divine discord, particularly figuring Here, resulting from his actions: [3] Here and Hades are wounded by him; [7] (as [9]) reference is made to previous punishments inflicted upon Here for interfering in Herakles' career; [12] Agamemnon reminds his audience that Here had tricked Zeus into making Herakles the slave of Eurystheus; [5] Athene reminds Here of all the troubles she undertook on his behalf during that period, and so on. The reminiscence of a shelter in [13] is particularly apt as a place for the pro-Greek gods to situate themselves (though note that it was made by *both* the Trojans and Athene) because it calls to mind not only the sack itself, but also Poseidon's previous hostility to Troy after his servitude.

- 173 '[he] does not | remember' [οὐ | μέμνηται] 5 examples (1): [1] 8. 362, [2] 15. 18 (70/4), [3] 20. 188 (70/9), [4] 21. 396 (70/10), [5] 21. 441–2, [6] *Od.* 24. 115.

Always falling in character speech, these reminders focus on the object's failure to remember a past event from which to draw the appropriate behavioural conclusions, and they are generally followed by the object's immediate concession: [1] Athene draws an erroneous lesson from her past favour to Zeus, and it places her on a similar footing to those characters who complain about his inscrutability in spite of their due observance.¹ Zeus' concession is not connoted here, for this is the only case where the rebuke is not addressed to its object (and so his absence is again underlined), but Athene is certainly convinced that he will relent later (cf. esp. 8. 373); [2] Zeus calls to Here's mind previous punishment for a similar transgression, whereupon she immediately disavows participation;² [3] Akhilleus reminds

¹² Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 298–9.

¹³ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 21. 441–57, 91–2.

¹⁴ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 21. 444–5, 92.

¹ Cf. e.g. speakers who complain of Zeus' behaviour in 125; also 109.

² Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

Aineias of the last time they fought (cf. also 20. 89–93) as reason enough for the Trojan to avoid a second encounter. Aineias had already drawn Apollo's attention to this event, who had nevertheless impelled him into the combat, and he ends up being rescued by Poseidon;³ [4] the point of Ares' reminiscence is that Athene has already (τίπτ' αὖτ' 21. 394) roused strife among the gods and come off unscathed when she aided Diomedes. She should therefore have left it at that, as he now expresses his intention ἀποτεισέμεν (399). Athene does not of course comply, because she has drawn another lesson from that past event, as she goes on to point out (409–14);⁴ [5] Poseidon rebukes Apollo for his participation on the Trojan side, given his previous treatment at Laomedon's hands.⁵ The two do not come to blows because the younger deity feels shame in facing his uncle (21. 468–9), but Apollo continues to protect Troy;⁶ [6] Agamemnon anticipates Amphimedon's reply (which he readily gives) or perhaps more accurately a potential unwillingness to reply to his question, by reminding his interlocutor of the guest-friendship between them. The dissatisfaction need not point only or even mostly to the relationship itself (though it is not surprising Agamemnon should be protective of his *τιμή* even among the dead), but from the prior episode's circumstances, when Agamemnon came to Ithaka to bring Odysseus to Troy. This is the lesson Amphimedon should have understood—that Odysseus was a man of considerable status.

‘[there] will be | when’ [ἔσται | ὅτε]: 6 examples: [1] 4. 164–5, [2] 6. 411–13 174 (ἐπεὶ ἄν), [3] 6. 448–9, [4] 8. 373, [5] 21. 111–13, [6] 21. 322–3.¹

This expression is employed by dissatisfied characters to invoke the future as a contrast (happy or not) with the cause of their annoyance in the present. The prediction is usually accurate and frequently paradigmatic, in that the speaker feels its probative force has not been properly observed: [1] Agamemnon contrasts his certainty of Troy's fall (and Zeus' determination to this end) with the grief and loss of *time* he should suffer had Menelaos received a mortal wound, for the Greeks would return home and the expedition would fail. His dissatisfaction, therefore, is with what he has done οἶον προσήσας πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν Τρωσὶ μάχεσθαι (4. 156), perhaps not unreasonably given the ambiguities about Menelaos' capabilities elsewhere in the poem;² [2] Andromakhe's dissatisfaction is caused by what she sees as Hektor's dangerous behaviour, for its future ramifications have become magnified by her utter

³ Cf. 9/39 n. 18.

⁴ Cf. 7/5 n. 6.

⁵ Cf. 172/13; also Richardson (1993) on 21. 441–57, 91–2.

⁶ Cf. 99/21 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 4. 164, 348; also Richardson (1993) on 21. 111–13, 63. I include only those examples of the future indicative of εἰμί describing a circumstance which is then qualified with a temporal clause.

² Cf. 78/17 n. 3; also 16/1 n. 2.

dependence on him, which he seems not to grasp; [3] in reply, Hektor employs the same prediction about Troy's fall as Agamemnon in [1], though with somewhat less enthusiasm.³ Interestingly, he then describes his grief in terms of what will happen (i.e. also in the future) to Andromakhe, although this is of course related to a present behaviour (6. 441–6) and situation which he cannot avoid.⁴ The bind in which he is caught is powerfully illustrated by his manipulation of the expression's usual contrast, so that the ineluctable future becomes as bleak as the present (cf. also [5] for a similar contrast); [4] Athene expresses herself assured of Zeus' future favour, and so is quite prepared to intervene in the battle now despite his recent unpleasantness; [5] Akhilleus acknowledges the inevitability of his own death as reason for Lykaon simply to accept his fate, given his far inferior qualities. He finds Lykaon's attachment to his life slightly odious;⁵ [6] in predicting that Akhilleus will have no need of a tomb constructor when he is buried (i.e. the waters will claim his corpse), Skamandros sees his efforts towards that end as the only solution to his anger at Akhilleus and his own distress at the destruction of the Trojans. This is the sole example in which the speaker is incorrect about the future, for the stories of Akhilleus' magnificent funeral were certainly traditional, and the misuse of the figure marks Skamandros' entire attempt as fundamentally mistaken.⁶

- 175 'causeways of war' [*πτολέμοιο γέφυρας*]: 5 examples: [1] 4. 371, [2] 8. 378, [3] 8. 553, [4] 11. 160, [5] 20. 427.¹

This striking expression for battle is employed in a variety of situations, but always in contexts where the issue is separation from battle: [1] Agamemnon rebukes Diomedes for avoiding the fighting; [2] Athene talks about the prospective situation when she and Here have not yet departed; [3] the Trojans look forward to the fighting tomorrow;² [4] the empty chariots are obviously not participating directly in the fighting as they have no masters; [5] Akhilleus admits that Hektor and he used to avoid one another in the melee. In every case the conflict so denoted is prospective (or even impossible [4]) from the view of participant and / or speaker. Nonetheless, all of these characters see participation as a desirable thing; Agamemnon (and Diomedes) [1], as Athene and Here [2], the Trojans *μέγα φρονέοντες* [3],³ the horses desiring their masters (and so, presumably, further participation) [4], and, finally, Akhilleus and Hektor in [5].

³ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 81/2.

⁵ Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

⁶ Cf. 23/7 n. 7.

¹ Cf. Mader (1982*b*); Kirk (1990) on 5. 87–8, 63; Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 160, 242; Fenno (2005) 490 and n. 29.

² Cf. (21).

³ Cf. 216/1.

Prospective mutilation by animals: 26 examples: [1] 2. 392–3, [2] 4. 237, [3] 8. 379, [4] 11. 454, [5] 11. 817–18, [6] 13. 233, [7] 13. 831–2, [8] 15. 351, [9] 16. 836, [10] 17. 241, [11] 17. 255, [12] 17. 557–8, [13] 18. 179, [14] 18. 271, [15] 18. 283, [16] 21. 122–7, [17] 22. 42, [18] 22. 66 (and 75), [19] 22. 89, [20] 22. 335–6, [21] 22. 339, [22] 22. 348 (and 354), [23] 22. 509, [24] 23. 21, [25] 23. 182–3, [26] 24. 211.¹

The threat or fear of mutilation by animals is a very common and particularly vicious instantiation of the mistreatment of the corpse theme, but it is almost never fulfilled, and only once explicitly.² This is not to deny that the poem takes the possibility very seriously (e.g. 1. 3–4—which actually says that it did happen), for on many occasions the idea is employed successfully to persuade someone to act so as to avoid it (as in [1], [6], [8], [10]–[13]) and unsuccessfully with no less feeling (as in [14], [19], [21]).

Nonetheless, though the characters might assume ‘that anyone who dies on the battlefield will be a prey for the dogs and the birds’,³ threats or fears of this eventuality are usually unfulfilled: [1] Agamemnon threatens whoever hangs back from the battle with this dire punishment (as again Hektor in [8] and Poseidon in [6]), yet the poet never tells his audience of anyone who does do this;⁴ [3] Athene is not yet allowed to go to the battlefield and cause someone to suffer in this way but, if $\eta\pi\varsigma$ refers to Hektor, she is simply incorrect; [4] Sokos is of course killed, but the Trojans generally have the better of the fighting and are still in the field at the end of the day. Can it be assumed they do not take up their corpses?⁵ [5] Patroklos erroneously thinks that the Greek

¹ I include here all those cases where this theme is expressed either as a threat or a fear for the future; cf. Faust (1970); Segal (1971) esp. 9–10; Redfield (1975) 200–2; Macleod (1982) 16 nn. 4 and 5; Lilja (1976); Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 450–5, 273; Vernant (2001).

² As Hainsworth (1993) 276, says, ‘none were actually put into effect’; cf., however, 16 below. This may seem less strange if it is remembered that in earlier stages of the war, i.e. those not so characterized by the viciousness of the *Iliad* (or its latter half), the return of the corpse was not unknown: Akhilleus was involved in the funeral of Eetion, and did not take his armour (6. 416–18), while Hektor promised to return the corpse of his victim *sans* armour (7. 84–6). Furthermore, it seems not untypical for a truce after a period of fighting to recover the dead; cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 4, 18; 75/4 n. 5; *contra* Rosivach (1983) 197–8. Perhaps the very fact of these threats or fears is a sign of the *Iliad*’s increased violence under the influence of Akhilleus’ wrath; one can certainly see an intensification from the relative frequency of such threats in the first and second halves, and indeed the way in which they particularly festoon the period of Akhilleus’ re-emergence (as in 13–26). Moreover, the fact that heroes in the *Iliad* are generally not subject to this type of humiliation may simply be the converse of the ‘beautiful death’ ideal; cf. Vernant (2001) esp. 340–1.

³ Macleod (1982) 16; also Rosivach (1983) 197.

⁴ Cf. also 5/2 (and 4), where this connotation is added to another unit intended to show the speaker’s blustering delusion.

⁵ Cf., however, 10. 199–201; also Σ' bT ad loc. for an explanation as to why these corpses were not taken up after the second day’s battle. However, as I argue above 5, the poet does not detail this activity at the end of the third day because Patroklos’ corpse is the focus of the poem’s and

leaders (11. 816) are doomed to suffer this dishonouring.⁶ In fact, all of those who have been wounded until that point (and even later on that day) will survive the war and, of the major characters involved in the battle, only Aias and Antilokhos die in Troy, neither of whom suffers mistreatment of this sort.⁷ On the other hand, if his address is intended to apply to a wider group, it should be remembered that the Trojans are at the end of the next day shut back up in their city, and Odysseus' words at 19. 227–9 most naturally mean that some provision was taken for the dead, though admittedly at quite a remove from the killing on the second and third days. However, the post-battle activities of the Greek army on that third day focus on the tending of Patroklos' corpse (as the Trojans for Hektor in Ω), which seems likely to be metonymic for the dead as a whole, in much the same way that individual combats are for the activity of the mass;⁸ [7] Hektor will not even be able to kill Aias;⁹ [9] Hektor wrongly predicts Patroklos' mistreatment,¹⁰ as does Aias in [10],¹¹ Menelaos in [11], Athene in disguise in [12], and Iris in [13];¹² [15] Poulydamas is mistaken about the fate of Akhilleus' corpse when he does try to storm the city, as is Priam in his impossible wish in [17];¹³ [19] Hekabe makes the same mistake about Hektor (and again in [26]¹⁴), as Akhilleus about the same matter (in [20], [22],¹⁵ [24], [25]), along with both Hektor himself [21] and Andromakhe [23].¹⁶ Of course, the poet does also say explicitly that the expected mutilation was not allowed by the gods to happen (17. 272–3 for Patroklos' corpse, and 23. 184–91 for Hektor), but the fact remains that in all of these cases there is either direct proof that the mutilation does not take place, or good circumstantial reason to doubt it.

There are, of course, several cases where the prediction's fulfilment could be reasonably envisaged: [2] Agamemnon is correct that Troy will eventually be taken and destroyed, and the Greeks will remove the women and children. However, mutilation is not stressed in later accounts of the sack (cf. below [18]), and Agamemnon's point is surely that this current phase of the battle

the Greeks' attention, and no truce has been called at the end of either day which would make the activity safe.

⁶ Cf. 20/4 n. 5.

⁷ Cf. *Od.* 24. 78–9 for Antilokhos; also *Ilias parva* F 3 Bernabé for the story that Aias was buried and not burnt because of Agamemnon's anger, which does not, however, imply mutilation by animals; also Jebb (1896) xiv–xvii.

⁸ To extend the analogy, simply because the audience is not told of any other Greek killing a named opponent once Akhilleus enters the battle does not mean that the poet intended his audience to assume it did not happen.

⁹ Cf. 85/3 n. 4.

¹⁰ Cf. 10/11 n. 7.

¹¹ Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

¹² Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

¹³ Cf. 213/11; also 77/26 n. 20.

¹⁴ Cf. 48/17 n. 10.

¹⁵ Cf. 213/12.

¹⁶ Priam also asks Hermes whether this has happened yet at 24. 408–9, to which Hermes replies negatively (411).

will see the taking of the city. His error is thus analogous to Athene's in *Θ*; [14] the large-scale killing envisaged by Poulydamas does in fact happen (once again the fate of the corpses being left unrelated, but it is hard to imagine that during the truce of *Ω* the Trojans would not gather them along with the wood), but his point is to dissuade the people from the action which would result in this eventuality, which he then corrects with [15] above. That his fear is in fact correct is another of the referential reversals and indications in this scene that his advice should have been accepted;¹⁷ [18] Priam's fear of being mutilated by his own dogs is a unique adaptation of a theme found also in Tyrtaios and Hesiod,¹⁸ but in none of the later sources is Priam specifically depicted as outraged by his table dogs.¹⁹ Though it is reasonable to suppose that some mutilation could be countenanced in these cases, keep in mind the emotional perturbation of the characters when they utter these predictions or threats, and the fact that twenty-one other examples of this theme do not thus eventuate.

The only real counter-case, once again, concerns Akhilleus; [16] he threatens Lykaon with the particularly gruesome fate of the fish nibbling away at him.²⁰ Though this is not narrated explicitly, Skamandros then becomes angry and sends Asteropaios to face him. When he is killed (without a preceding threat of this current sort) he is attended to by the eels and fish (21. 203–4).²¹ The nature of the exception is thus already qualified, with the eventuality not explicitly applied to the person threatened, and another example of the way in which Akhilleus distorts the poet's usual practices.²²

'[he] will glut the dogs and birds of Troy' [*Τρώων κορέει κύνας ἥδ' οἰωνούς*]: 176a
3 examples: [1] 8. 379 (176/3), [2] 13. 831 (176/7), [3] 17. 241 (176/10).

As a formal subset of the larger grouping, this expression is only applied to predictions or threats which do not eventuate: [1] Hektor (if he is implied by *ἦ τις*) is not despoiled because the gods tend his corpse after his death, but (if he is not) in this episode Athene and Here are prevented from interfering in the battle and causing the havoc here envisaged; [2] Hektor's threat is

¹⁷ Cf. 2/9 and n. 6; also Segal (1971) 26–7.

¹⁸ Tyrtaios F 10. 21–30 W (cf. Burgess 2001: 115); Hesiod F 217A. 4 M–W; also Richardson (1993) ad loc., 112–13.

¹⁹ Cf. Bernabé (1987) on *Iliou persis* arg. 13–14, 88. I have found no other example of this specific theme in early epic but the story of Aktaion (Hesiod F 217A. 4 M–W), nor indeed of the more general theme of mutilation at all, even where by later accounts it might be expected (cf. Bernabé 1987 on *Thebais* F 10, 28, adducing Pindar, *Olympian* 6. 15–17; also Collard 1975: 3–8), though of course the remains of early epic are too exiguous for a secure argument. Priam's death was usually depicted at the altar of Zeus Herkeios specifically (*Iliou persis* arg. 13–14 Bernabé) or more generally at his house (*Ilias parva* F 16 Bernabé); also Anderson (1997) 28–38, 44–8.

²⁰ Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

²¹ Cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 64, 70; also 23/7 n. 7; 33 n. 7.

²² Cf. 1 n. 3.

spectacularly unimpressive, for he does not get to kill Aias nor does his corpse suffer mutilation,¹ nor do the animals rend Patroklos in [3].²

177 Personal preparation: 25 examples: [1] 2. 42–6, [2] 2. 183–6, [3] 3. 141–5, [4] 3. 328–38, [5] 5. 733–47, [6] 8. 382–91, [7] 10. 21–4, [8] 10. 29–31, [9] 10. 131–5, [10] 10. 177–8, [11] 10. 254–72, [12] 10. 333–5, [13] 11. 15–45, [14] 13. 240–1, [15] 13. 295–6, [16] 14. 9–12, [17] 14. 170–86 (223), [18] 15. 478–82, [19] 16. 130–44, [20] 18. 203–14, [21] 18. 412–17, [22] 19. 364–91, [23] 23. 683–4, [24] 24. 93–4, [25] 24. 340–4.¹

Itemized personal preparations of this type signal the importance of the character for the succeeding narrative, by directing the audience towards him as a focal point in the action for which he is being prepared, and encouraging contemplation of the relationship between the individual and the item(s).

Items so enumerated may not actually be mentioned or even used in the sequel (e.g. the spear taken by Agamemnon as he sets out to find Nestor [7], or Athene's spear in [5], [6]), although that can certainly happen (Hermes and his wand [25]),² but they will often have a symbolic importance for the type of action. Spears are the kinds of things heroes routinely carry around with them, as e.g. the sceptre picked up by Hephaistos as he receives Thetis [21], though that too may symbolize his freedom to make the armour and his authority within his own home.³ Thus Agamemnon's dressing and carrying of the sceptre in [1] prepares the audience for the influence he is to have in the coming scenes,⁴ whilst the sceptre in [2] represents Odysseus' authority (and Agamemnon's lack of it) and is not just an opportune weapon against Thersites;⁵ [3] Helen's shining veil is the natural compliment to her extreme beauty, which is the aspect of her person most emphasized in that scene and its successors; [14] Idomeneus' brief arming scene is not so small only because he is assumed already to be fighting, for it has already been seen that the poet goes out of his way to qualify the hero's effect on the battle,⁶ and the same

¹ Cf. 176/7 and n. 7; also 85/3 n. 4.

² Cf. 10/12 n. 6.

³ The arming scene is a sub-group of this category, 4, 13, 19, 22 being the most famous; cf. Arend (1933) 92–7; Armstrong (1958); Nagler (1974) 117–18; Griffin (1980); Tsagarakis (1982) 95–9; Danek (1988) 203–29; A. B. Lord (1991); de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 2. 3–4, 44–45; Latacz (2003) on 2. 42–7, 23. I exclude from this list single-verse summary descriptions of this process (e.g. 3. 339) primarily for reasons of space. It is, however, to be noted that two of these summaries represent two examples of the equipment element in the *chariot journey* sequence (8. 43, 13. 25); cf. 17 n. 3.

² Cf. 119/69.

³ An intriguing notion, given Demodokos' second song in *θ*; cf. Garvie (1994) ad loc., 293–4; also M. L. West (1966) on *Theogony* 933 (where Aphrodite bears children to Ares), 415. Could the *Iliad* be asserting the priority of this version?

⁴ Cf. 119/6.

⁵ Cf. 6/1 n. 2; 119/7; also 2/2 n. 15.

⁶ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

goes for Meriones' turn [15];⁷ [20] that Athene is the one to place the aegis on his shoulders is as significant as the item itself, and obviously links into what happens next;⁸ [23] Euryalos' preparation for the boxing match is already preceded by a unit connoting his failure,⁹ and contrasted with the powerful boast of Epeios.¹⁰ The various warm clothing picked up by the Greek leaders along with their spears before the *Doloneia* emphasizes the time of night, but the fact that Agamemnon picks up a lion skin [7], Menelaos a leopard skin [8],¹¹ Nestor a fleecy purple coat [9], Odysseus a shield (10. 149), and Diomedes a lion skin [10]¹² may not be insignificant given the length to which Menelaos' questionable motivation and strength is emphasized throughout this episode, and the fact of Nestor's age.¹³ Certainly Dolon's equipment [12] seems to reflect some of the unease about his chances of success and the nature of his mission.¹⁴

The poet may use the opportunity to describe an item's qualities and / or provenance: Agamemnon's breastplate and shield in [13], the aegis in [5], the helmet given Odysseus in [11], and the spear carried by Akhilleus in [22] but left behind by Patroklos in [19].¹⁵ This information is frequently significant: [13] the shield's description reflects the savagery of the fighting in Agamemnon's *aristeia*, and the corselet's provenance the political power he wields (perhaps also his love of possessions; cf. 1. 122);¹⁶ [5] the aegis summons the importance of Athene's connection with Zeus and foreshadows his permission for their intervention; [11] the helmet's unusual nature, not to mention the story of its theft by Autolykos (10. 266–70) emphasizes the singularity of the slaughter in the *Doloneia*; [22] the spear is another sign of the difference between Akhilleus and his comrade.¹⁷ On one occasion, the sequence is largely repeated between two episodes ([5], [6]), the point being that Athene's participation in the battle is in the first place permitted by Zeus, but in the second not. Thus she takes the aegis in [5] but not in [6]. This is somewhat analogous to Patroklos' failure to take Akhilleus' spear [19], but in this case the parallel is made by comparison between two scenes rather than an explicit declaration; [21] somewhat like Athene in both the previous examples, Hephaistos first puts away his tools and washes before taking up his sceptre (cf. also Teukros in [18] below); [16] Nestor's shield, and the fact that it comes from his son, perfectly matches the defensive situation to which he reacts and his own absence from the field.

⁷ Cf. 114/13, 14; also 9/27 n. 11.

⁸ Cf. 92/8 n. 9.

⁹ Cf. 110/6.

¹⁰ Cf. 11/10 n. 5.

¹¹ Cf. 119/10.

¹² Cf. 79/4 n. 4.

¹³ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; also 9/25 n. 26; also Danek (1988) 218–20.

¹⁴ Cf. Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 189; Reinhardt (1961) 247; cf. 11/9 n. 4; 135; 15/3 n. 4.

¹⁵ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

¹⁶ Cf. Hainsworth (1993) ad loc., 218–22.

¹⁷ Cf. 17/10 n. 10.

Preparation generally halts the narrative and encourages the audience to pause on a figure as a preliminary for the action about to occur. The focus on Paris' preparations before his duel [4] reflects not only that he made the easily frightened challenge, but prepares the audience for his eminence in the following scenes wherein his relationship with Helen, Aphrodite and the rest of the Trojans is illumined, a nexus of attitudes surrounding Paris and his role in the war; [13] Agamemnon is the first Greek leader to be seriously wounded on that second day, and his fortunes are intertwined with that of the army as a whole on that day, with initial success always followed by serious setback;¹⁸ [17] Here's following attempt to divert Zeus' purpose recalls almost every one of her actions within the poem and quite a few outside it as well. Most immediately, the consequence of her current action is previewed by Hypnos (14. 243–62) and then threatened by a parallel with the past made by Zeus (15. 18–24). It is, in fact, her last hurrah against the *Dios boule* in the poem;¹⁹ [22] the preparations of Akhilleus prepare for the re-emergence which has been the point of much of the *Iliad*.

Only once is the preparation followed by the complete disappearance of the character: [18] Teukros, after a brief period of success *as an archer*, is forced to put his bow away and re-equip to fight as a spearman. Although he is represented as being good at such fighting, his Iliadic prominence is derived from skill with the bow. When this is broken (15. 461–5), it signals that he can no longer turn the fight, and he becomes submerged in the mass, in fact playing no further individuated role in the battle.²⁰ In this case the arming scene would strike the audience as highly unusual, being used here for closure, but would lead them to expect that Teukros will keep on fighting.²¹

178 '[she] seized the [spear]' [λάζετο δ' ἔγχος]: 8 examples: [1] 4. 357 (μῦθον), [2] 5. 365 (ἡνία), [3] 5. 745 (ἔγχος), [4] 5. 840 (μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία), [5] 8. 389 (ἔγχος), [6] 16. 734 (πέτρον), [7] 17. 482 (μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία), [8] 24. 441 (μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία).¹

The individual (frequently a deity, as in [2], [3], [4], [5], [8]) grasps the item with the intention of using it more or less immediately, or engaging in

¹⁸ Cf. 22/3; also 138 n. 1.

¹⁹ Cf. Appendix B; for the former episode, cf. 40/18 n. 7; for the latter, cf. 9/29 n. 12. Forsyth (1979) connects 3 and 17 as example of the 'allurement' typical scene.

²⁰ Cf. also 40/20 n. 8.

²¹ Cf. also Janko (1992) ad loc., 280.

¹ ἐλάζετο is also used at 5. 371, a trifle unusually for the connotations uncovered below, to denote Dione's protective grasping of Aphrodite before her lengthy reassurance about the un wisdom of Diomedes' actions and the good precedent for the hurt she now suffers; cf. 33 n. 8. Apart from the continuation and success of the soothing (and healing) process so begun, the poet's use of this verb is strange, though I suggest its purpose is to focus the audience on the calming (?) paradigms now offered, instead of the somewhat novel figure delivering them.

the action so represented, and usually successfully. A sub-group is formed by [2], [4], [7], [8] in that they are all concerned with the actions of a replacement charioteer as the journey is undertaken: [2] Iris grasps the reins of Ares' chariot (as Athene of Diomedes' chariot in [4] before attacking Ares, and Hermes of Priam's chariot in [8] before getting him inside the Greek camp) in order to remove Aphrodite from the fighting; [7] Alkimedon takes over the reins of Akhilleus' chariot whilst Automedon leaps down to participate in the battle. All these actions are undertaken to assist a character whose role becomes more prominent in the coming narrative: [2] Aphrodite becomes the nucleus of the scene on Olympos; [4] though Athene's presence is crucial, Diomedes' wounding of Ares is attributed by that god to the mortal alone (5. 881–7) for she had concealed her part in the episode;² [7] fighting now as a typical chariot-borne warrior, Automedon exhorts the Aiantes and enjoys an *androktasia* which he says is partial compensation for the death of Patroklos (17. 537–9); [8] Priam is of course the more important character in the coming scene, though Hermes returns at its end to guide him home.

The other four examples locate the object after the verb in the verse-end position, and the act itself encourages the audience to look both for success and a similar alteration in prominence: [3] though she will use Diomedes' spear when Ares is wounded, Athene is armed for her coming intervention in the battle. The audience is thus prepared doubly for the prominence she affords the hero in [4]. She does the same thing again in [5], increasing the expectation that she will in fact engage in the fighting in Θ, but this time the alteration is directed towards Here, whose desire to intervene has been evident since 8. 198, and who takes the more prominent role in both their decision to return and in the confrontation with Zeus in the divine *agore* later in the book. Thus the chances of success are tempered even as they are raised; [6] Patroklos picks up a stone with which he then kills Kebriones. This leads the audience to focus in an unusual way on Kebriones' body as the *locus* for the final *Leichenkampf* in Patroklos' *aristeia*, and to intimate a change of focus or alternation in victory consequent on this episode;³ [1] is an individual usage, in that Agamemnon 'seizes' his *μῦθος πάλιν*, which I take to mean he has a second go at it.⁴ The point about immediate and successful engagement is the

² Cf., however, 21. 397–8. He seems since to have seen through the ruse.

³ Cf. 24/25 n. 2; also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3; 10/11 n. 7.

⁴ Cf. 10/3 n. 3. This hemistich (*πάλιν δ' ὃ γε λάξετο μῦθον*) is used in the same sense at *Od.* 13. 254 to introduce Odysseus' false tale to Athene, i.e. his following *μῦθος* was seized *πάλιν* or 'in a reverse direction' from his previous joyful, and honest, reaction (13. 250–1) to her information that this was in fact Ithaka. Hoekstra (1989) ad loc., 179 (citing Ameis–Hentze–Cauer 1940) takes it to mean 'he took back the word (he was about to say) before it could cross the fence of his teeth', which does not fit 4. 357 quite as well.

same, as is the general transferral of importance from Agamemnon in the *Epipoleis* to the other *basileis* at the beginning of the fighting.

- 179 'he was terribly wroth' [χώσατο δ' αἰνῶς]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 397 (χώσατ' ἄρ), [2] 13. 165, [3] 20. 29 (χώεταί).¹

In each case, the character observes something amounting to a personal failure on his part which requires (and receives) immediate counteraction: [1] seeing them intending to break his express order, Zeus straightaway sends Iris to stop the confrontation with a naked threat; [2] after the poet specifies that he was angry about the missed victory as well as the broken spear, Meriones returns at once to the camp to replace the spear. He is, subsequently, clearly sensitive about his presence in the camp when speaking with Idomeneus, and very aware of the need for their utmost effort in the current circumstances;² [3] when speaking of Akhilleus (and the only example inside character speech), Zeus tells the other gods to intervene now that Akhilleus *θυμὸν ἐταίρου χόεταί αἰνῶς*.³ Thus he shows both that he is aware of Akhilleus' responsibility in the matter of Patroklos' death, and imputes that awareness to Akhilleus himself.

- 180 Iris' missions: 10 examples: [1] 2. 786–806, [2] 3. 121–40, [3] 5. 353–69, [4] 8. 398–425, [5] 11. 185–210, [6] 15. 157–219, [7] 18. 166–202, [8] 23. 198–212, [9] 24. 87–99, [10] 24. 143–88.¹

Iris' actions are either impelled by another figure (as Zeus in [1], [4]–[6], [9], [10], Here in [7]), or she is fortuitously on hand to participate (as in [2], [3], [8]).

Common to all these examples is her facilitation of the desires or instructions of others, yet this does not preclude an individual ability to effect those commands or messages. In fact, her choices about which form to take (if

¹ Cf. Adkins (1969*b*) esp. 17; Kirk (1990) on 8. 397–8, 330; Janko (1992) on 13. 165–8, 66. One might also consider the inclusion (as examples of the verse-end structure *χώσατο* –) of 14. 406 and 22. 291, in both of which Hektor *χώσατο* when his casts against Aias and Akhilleus fail to strike their targets (in the first case he is then wounded by Aias, in the second he calls for another spear from Deiphobos / Athene). That these are his two major opponents in the latter half of the poem is not insignificant, the one standing in the way of firing the ships (and then capturing Patroklos' body), the other being the greatest opponent facing the Trojans (22. 287–8). Given Hektor's personal investment in this phase of the fighting, he feels his failures as deeply significant lost chances.

² Cf. also 9/27 n. 11. Note that Meriones wounds Deiphobos, the character he failed to wound here, after his rearming and return to the battle (13. 528–30). This places an intriguing construction on the interchange with Idomeneus, because Meriones has a good reason for being in the camp, and feels in any case that his action is a personal failure on his part, quite apart from any goading he may receive from his elder.

³ Cf. 2/11 n. 12.

¹ Cf. Hentze (1903); Arend (1933) 54–61; Erbse (1986) 54–65.

speaking with mortals) and how to shape the message are often important factors in the success of her mission.

To deal first with the examples where she acts on others' behalf: [1] as Polites, Iris embarks on an individual exhortation of the Trojans which begins with a criticism of chattering old men and fires Hektor to lead the army out. A certain generational opposition is to be a theme throughout the poem,² and so 'Polites' is not only contextually apposite as a figure naturally sympathetic to Hektor, but also keys the audience into one of his major faults;³ [4] she readily encapsulates Zeus' indignation towards Here and Athene, and adds some of her own;⁴ [5] Iris details to Hektor Zeus' explicit instructions; [6] calling on Zeus' authority from the outset, she combines his imperatives with a respectful caution towards Poseidon's ebullience which wins his approval and assent, and plays the 'perfect diplomat';⁵ [7] she persuades Akhilleus to save Patroklos' corpse, but gives therein the unique information that Here sent her without Zeus' knowledge (mirrored by the poet at 18. 168). This revelation of sources is not strange, for she divulges that information to immortals (in [4], [6], [8], [9]) and mortals (in [5], [7], [10]), but this episode should be read in the light of the fact that Here has acted in accordance with her husband's wishes. Just as she unsuccessfully abrogates other actions usually associated with her husband, so her apparent usurpation of his messenger only works because she effects something he himself eventually intended;⁶ [9] Iris' message is a somewhat terse ὄρσο Θέτι· καλέει Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδώς (24. 88), and Thetis' following question seems to intimate a reluctance to comply, but no further offering from the messenger is required. In this case, the status of the addressee and the moment of the initial request is such that Zeus needs to give the instruction himself; [10] Iris reassures Priam by revealing the source of her mission and convincing him of the gods' attention and care for his son. This is in fact the crucial ground in his reply to Hekabe's doubts (24. 220–4).⁷

Secondly, she can simply be on hand to act, but the poet is still keen to give her the range of diplomatic qualities one associates with the divine herald: [2] she impersonates Priam's fairest daughter Laodike to get Helen to the walls before casting the desire into her to do as she says, and her speech swiftly introduces the possibility that she might return with Menelaos. Whereas

² Cf. e.g. Antenor's opposition to Paris' continued retention of Helen in *H*, and Hektor's vehement criticism of the elders at 15. 718–25.

³ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 786–808, 256; on 2. 791, 257.

⁴ Cf. (17).

⁵ Janko (1992) on 15. 201–4, 248; cf. also 77/16 n. 8.

⁶ Cf. Appendix B; also 12/3 n. 3; 92/8 n. 9. Notice also that Zeus employs Here as his messenger to Iris and Apollo in *O*, surely not an insignificant demonstration of her subordination to him.

⁷ Cf. 48/17 n. 10 and 48/18 n. 11.

Helen will see through Aphrodite's disguise at the end of this episode, by Iris she is completely fooled. One might also consider that the Antenorid connection (Laodike is Helikaon's wife) prepares the audience for Antenor's interjection in the *teikhoskopia* (3. 203–24), and that her description as the fairest seems to intimate some danger for all the males associated with her⁸—which would make her on several levels a particularly suitable speaker to Helen; [3] she assists Aphrodite in getting her out of battle, though without speaking. Nonetheless, Zeus approves of the removal of Aphrodite from battle, as he will do later in *E* with regard to Ares;⁹ [8] she hears Akhilleus' prayers and conveys them herself to the winds. Iris refuses their hospitality with tact, on the grounds that she is on her way to join the other immortals, before informing them of the sacrifices which Akhilleus has promised them. In these cases Iris seems to be the poet's facilitator: he needs Helen on the wall for the *teikhoskopia*, he wants Aphrodite on Olympos for the exchange with Dione but in such a way that Zeus' assent is foreshadowed, and he augments Akhilleus' importance by having the divine messenger convey his prayers. Nonetheless, the ultimate agency of Zeus should not be precluded from these examples, for in no case does she act against his will either in general or specific terms, and every one of her missions proves successful, with only a temporary question in [6] coming anywhere near undermining that.¹⁰

181 'up, go!' [βάσκι' ἴθι]: 6 examples: [1] 2. 8, [2] 8. 399 (180/4), [3] 11. 186 (180/5), [4] 15. 158 (180/6), [5] 24. 144 (180/10), [6] 24. 336.¹

These commands are limited to Zeus, [2]–[5] being addressed to Iris, [1] to the Dream, and [6] to Hermes. On every occasion but the last, where Hermes is told simply to accompany Priam, not to relay any instructions, the substance of Zeus' mandates is relayed almost verbatim.² In such circumstances, the authority of the instruction's originator is the central issue, and Zeus' is always immediately influential: [1] Agamemnon awakes and puts the instructions into effect; [2] Here and Athene return immediately to their starting point; [3] Hektor does await his chance for Agamemnon to leave the field; [4] Poseidon initially resists, but his example is obviously deliberately exceptional in that regard;³ [5] Priam straightaway sets in train the mission to Akhilleus, though his wife shows some reticence;⁴ [6] Hermes departs to

⁸ Cf. 123a/3. ⁹ Cf. 17/2; also Kirk (1990) ad loc., 280.

¹⁰ Cf. Hentze (1903); Erbse (1986) 56; cf. 77/16 n. 8.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 2. 8, 116; Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 186, 245–6; Latacz (2003) on 2. 8, 14. That this instruction is absent from the *Odyssey* indicates the decrease in Zeus' direct involvement in the narrative of that poem, but not his overall responsibility for the narrative.

² Cf. 182/1, 9, 14, 17, 21.

³ Cf. 180/6; 77/16 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 180/10.

guide Priam to and from the Greek camp. The lack of the relay here would be noticeable after such an instruction, and allows for the intriguing encounter between the two characters, in which both Priam and Hermes show their rhetorical abilities, and Hermes in particular seems to be entertaining himself in a manner somewhat apt after the rather riddling description of his abilities by Zeus at 24. 334–5.⁵

Relay instructions: 22 examples: [1] 2. 11–15 | 28–32 // 2. 23–33 | 60–70; [2] 2. 158–65 | 174–81; [3] 3. 69–73 | 90–4; [4] 4. 66–7 | 71–2; [5] 4. 195–7 | 205–7; [6] 6. 92–7 | 273–8 // 274–6 | 308–10; [7] 7. 40 | 51; [8] 7. 362–4 | 389–93 // 373–5 | 386–8 // 375–8 | 394–7; [9] 8. 402–8 | 416–22; [10] 9. 122–57 | 264–99; [11] 9. 417–20, 423–4 | 684–7, 680–1 // 618–19 | 682–3; [12] 10. 208–10 | 409–11; [13] 10. 308–12 | 395–9; [14] 11. 187–94 | 202–9; [15] 11. 658–64, 794–803 | 16. 23–9, 36–45; [16] 12. 344–50 | 357–63; [17] 15. 160, 165–7 | 176–8, 181–3; [18] 16. 454–7 | 671–5; [19] 17. 692–3 | 18. 20–1; [20] 24. 113–15 | 134–6; [21] 24. 146–58 | 175–87 | 195–6; [22] 24. 292–5 | 310–13.¹

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These relays generally follow a fairly straightforward pattern, with the relevant elements from the original speech delivered verbatim (cf. below for the opportunities therein for significant characterization) by the addressed character (as in [2]–[7], [9], [10], [14]–[22]). Occasionally the relaying character is not the addressee, whether because he is subsumed within a larger group addressed by the original speaker (as in [12], [13]) or he overhears the original exchange [7].

Passages between instruction and relay are usually brief, with a description of the departure, journey, and meeting between the relaying character and the instruction's final object (as in e.g. [1], [5], [17]). The poet may also, however, interpose another episode or series of episodes, allowing the relay to be employed as a binding technique for widely disparate events: [6] Hektor journeys into the city, and then occurs the episode between Glaukos and Diomedes² (which removes the latter from prominence in order that Hektor's exit may not seem utterly strange) before he finally delivers his instructions; [15] the poet delays Patroklos with Eurypylos (11. 807–48)³ until the middle of *O* before he eventually relates Nestor's suggestion to Akhilleus in *II*.⁴ Unlike Iris' examples (i.e. those prefaced by *βάσκει' ἔθι* [9], [14], [17], [21]),⁵ there is generally no signal in the instruction speeches which would alert the audience to the existence of a relay sequence. Thus, when it eventually happens, the audience is drawn back to the original instruction, its author,

⁵ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 333–48, 307–8; also 45/10 n. 5.

¹ Cf. de Jong (1987) 179–85, 241–3; Eide (1999). ² Cf. 9/16 n. 9.

³ Cf. 20/4 n. 5. ⁴ Cf. 9/30 n. 13. ⁵ Cf. 181.

and the place of its delivery: [15] Patroklos' retelling has added weight given the intensity and desperation of the battle in the intervening period, and draws strength by its contrast with the earlier episode for that reason.⁶

There are three sequences more complex than the rest, because the relay is delivered or (narrated) more than once: [1] Zeus' instructions (2. 11–15) are delivered by the Dream with additions at the beginning (23–33) which are then quoted along with the instructions by Agamemnon to the *boule* (60–70) before he suggests the *Diapiera*; [6] Helenos' instructions are delivered by Hektor, but then performed by Theano partially by action, partially in prayer (with a significant alteration; cf. below); [21] Zeus' command to Iris is delivered to Priam in the usual way, but he then asks for his wife's opinion by repeating the kernel of the instruction (24. 195–6 = 175–6 = 146–7). In two further cases complexity is the result of the fact that the relay is derived from more than one speech: [8] Paris' offer of restitution and more from his own stores (7. 362–4) is repeated with amplification in Idaios' speech to the Greeks (389–93). After his son's rather angry outburst, Priam then makes a speech in which he orders Idaios to tell the Greeks Paris' decision (372–4, duly repeated by Idaios at 386–8 *before* the offer) followed by an instruction to deliver another offer (375–8) once again duly conveyed (394–7). Idaios' relay speech thus combines elements of two different speeches from the assembly, with the passage from the first (Paris) contained between those from the second (Priam); [11] Odysseus' report of Akhilleus' reply (or, more accurately, replies) is even more complex. At 9. 680–1 Odysseus repeats Akhilleus' statement to him (423–4), then at 682–3 a threat originally directed at Phoinix (618–19), then at 684–7 another statement from the first speech (417–20).

The crucial issue in these sequences is the authority of the original speaker, for it says much of one's power that commands can be relayed in this form, and generally obeyed. Hence it is no surprise that Zeus is the most common source (in [1], [9], [14], [17], [20], [21]), and other gods are also naturally obeyed by mortals (as in [2], [7]). Surprisingly perhaps, Here is allotted a number of these sequences, in cases where she is very careful to justify her reasons and make room for herself to play in: [2] Here employs the consideration of the promise they both made to Menelaos to impel Athene down to prevent the early departure; [4] Here soothes Zeus by granting him the power to destroy her favourite cities, but at the same time demands the right to have

⁶ This example shows the potential for verbatim repetition even over a large portion of narrative, but does not prove that the poet relies upon writing to do so. Given that such repetition is so common over shorter passages, this represents merely an extension of what appears to be a fully traditional technique; cf. Introduction, pp. 10–12, 12 nn. 41–2.

the effect on the mortal world she envisages, and she argues this by connecting her status as an index of Zeus' own because of their marriage (cf. esp. 4. 58–61). As she concludes, mutual yielding is the only practical course (62–4); [18] she deflects Zeus from saving Sarpedon by a consideration of the consequences.⁷

Authority is not only an issue on Olympos. Agamemnon enjoys the privilege twice, once to summon via Talthybios a doctor for Menelaos [5] and once before the embassy [10]. In the latter example there is no need to demonstrate how his authority is under question and how he seeks to buttress it, but in the former he has already invoked the danger to the mission and his reputation which Menelaos' wounding represents.⁸ Thus the poet can use these sequences to make precisely this kind of point in a range of contexts in the mortal world: [3] Paris is a figure of no great authority relative to Hektor, but this proposal is particularly bound up with the shame Hektor invokes after his brother's rather cowardly retreat; [6] the substance of Helenos' instruction is particularly his province, having been described first by the poet as οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος (6. 76). He also has to make much of his paternal links and direct access to the gods in his addition to the relay in [7] (cf. below); [8] that Priam and Paris are both inserted into the final relay by Idaios shows the pernicious influence of the son on Trojan policy-making;⁹ [11] Akhilleus' reply to the embassy asserts his authority not only in the words he chooses but also the form in which his rejection is conveyed; [12] Nestor's proposal resumes the conciliar authority on which he relies in *I* (but also the start of *K* itself), though he is not at his best;¹⁰ [19] Menelaos' greater authority over Antilokhos will be particularly emphasized in the chariot race of *Ψ*;¹¹ [22] the influence of Hekabe in the Trojan city is considerable, and Priam does go some way towards soothing her anxieties (much as Hektor with Andromakhe in *Z*).¹²

The importance of authority is not unconnected with the fact that the instructions themselves are generally obeyed. Reluctance or refusal to do so on the part of the final addressee is therefore noticeable and significant: [3] the Greeks receive Hektor's relay of Paris' offer with silence before Menelaos accepts (cf. also [8], [11]);¹³ [10] Akhilleus refuses their entreaty outright, but it is the point of this episode that whilst Agamemnon sees an element of compulsion in his first speech (i.e., tries to turn an offer into an instruction), neither Odysseus (by subtle rhetorical alterations to that speech; cf. below) nor Akhilleus views the issue in the same way. The latter, particularly, denies

⁷ Cf. Appendix B; also 54/23 n. 12.

⁸ Cf. 16/1 n. 2; also 78/17 n. 3.

⁹ Cf. 18/2 n. 3; also 2/5 n. 5.

¹⁰ Cf. 77/15 n. 7.

¹¹ Cf. 9/45 n. 20; also 9/33 n. 15.

¹² Cf. 48/18 n. 11.

¹³ Cf. 11/1.

Agamemnon's right to authority;¹⁴ [17] Poseidon briefly suggests his rejection of Zeus' command, before Iris persuades him to accede.¹⁵

Any relay undergoes some alteration, particularly in the introductory passage before the repetition itself, for these sections construct the relationship between the relaying speaker, the instructions and its object. As such, they may express important information about the speaker's opinion and perspective.¹⁶ The introductory passage gives the source of the original instruction where its authority is derived from the original speaker (as in [1], [3], [5], [7] (after the repetition)—[11], [13], [14], [16], [17], [20], [21]), though this information is obviously not conveyed when authority is derived from the relaying character (as in [4], [6], [12], [15], [18], [19], [22]; related is [2], which omits an introduction entirely).

Change in person accounts for a number of alterations, where e.g. the relaying figure adds nothing or very little before the instructions are repeated: [4] Here's command to Zeus, *σὺ δὲ θάσσον Ἀθηναίη ἐπιτείλαι | ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπιν αἰνὴν* (4. 64–5), is altered to *αἰψα μάλ' ἐς στρατὸν ἐλθέ μετὰ Τρώας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς* (70). Even in brief introductions, however, this change may also give the speaker an opportunity to express a personal opinion, and to inform the audience about character and context, though such information may also be conveyed by alterations and additions at any point in the relay: [1] the Dream prefaces his relay with a rebuke of the sleeping man typical of such encounters (cf. 23. 69, 24. 683; also 10. 116, 10. 159);¹⁷ [3] Hektor manages to convey the source of the offer in terms to suggest that he disapproves of Paris *τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν* (3. 87); [6] as the Trojan women deliver the requisite prayer, it is noticeable that the wish simply to keep Diomedes back from the city (6. 96–7 = 277–8) is now altered to a request that she grant Diomedes' death (306–7);¹⁸ [7] Helenos adds *οὐ γάρ πώ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπείν* (7. 52) after the repetition as more reason to issue a challenge, though neither Athene nor Apollo make any such promise. This example is also unusual in that the information about the source of the instruction is not disclosed until well after the relay, the introductory section focusing instead upon Helenos' claim upon his brother's compliance (7. 47–8). This is generally significant of his mantic position and authority, but also of a questionable element to his motivation;¹⁹ [8] already examined in terms of its structural sophistication, Idaios' relay shows considerable individuality, but only in his delivery of Paris' offer.

¹⁴ Cf. 1 n. 3. ¹⁵ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

¹⁶ Cf. generally de Jong (1987) 183–4; also Kakridis (1971) 76–88.

¹⁷ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 69–92, 172.

¹⁸ Cf. 126/9.

¹⁹ Cf. 141/5 n. 2 and esp. C/3.

First, he inverts the order of the suggestions, and inserts between them a wish that Paris should perish (7. 390). Secondly, he adds a comment on the Trojans' desire that Paris give Helen up (393); [9] Iris' opening $\pi\eta\iota$ question expresses the inappropriateness of Here and Athene's actions, whilst her closing attack on Athene is a natural corollary of the dispreferred comparison (8. 423–4);²⁰ [10] Odysseus cunningly replaces Agamemnon's closing demand for compliance (9. 158–61)²¹ with an appeal to pity for his comrades and an attempt to rouse Akhilleus' ire at Hektor (9. 300–6).²² He recognizes, even if Agamemnon does not, that such a demand will have no impact at all and so he sensibly leaves it out;²³ [11] in contrast to this sophistication (and somewhat like Theano in [6]), Odysseus' report of Akhilleus' commands blurs the very deliberate process of concession the poet had constructed from speech to speech.²⁴ The lack of understanding between Akhilleus and the rest of the Greeks is by no means all on one side;²⁵ [13] Dolon tells Odysseus that Hektor inveigled him into the mission, a rather individual retelling of the original offer prefacing the instruction (10. 303–7);²⁶ [15] Patroklos adapts Nestor's rather general suggestion that he could bend the will of his friend (11. 792–3) by focusing on the unbending nature of Akhilleus' will (16. 30–5) before repeating the specific suggestions (16. 26–45). His success is a sign of their special relationship, given that a similar appeal from Aias was unsuccessful (9. 628–42);²⁷ [17] after his troubled reply, Iris requires another speech to ensure Poseidon's retreat; [21] Iris reassures Priam in a manner typical of gods revealing themselves to mortals (24. 171–4; cf. 21. 288) before relaying Zeus' instructions.

Of course, not all additions or modifications are particularly significant, for some of them have nothing to do with the relay itself but simply foreshadow the character's next action: [6] after compressing Helenos' extensive praise of Diomedes (6. 278 ~ 97–100), Hektor expresses his intention to go after Paris (280–5), an episode to which the poet does not return until Hekabe and the other women have completed Hektor's instructions.

'not so much | as much' [$\text{o}\dot{\upsilon}\nu \text{ } \tau\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu \text{ } | \text{ } \delta\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$]: 19 examples: [1] 2. 528–9, [2] 2. 799, [3] 3. 190, [4] 6. 335–6, [5] 6. 450–5, [6] 8. 407, [7] 8. 421, [8] 9. 379–80, [9] 10. 47–9, [10] 14. 394–401, [11] 17. 20–3, [12] 17. 240–4, [13] 17. 410–11, [14] 18. 363, [15] 19. 61, [16] 19. 202, [17] 21. 275–6, [18] 21. 370–1, [19] 22. 424–6.¹ 183

²⁰ Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 45/3; 183; (17).

²¹ Cf. 7/4.

²² Cf. 163/2.

²³ Cf. 47/1 n. 7.

²⁴ Cf. 49/34 n. 18; 148/14–16.

²⁵ Cf. 47/1 n. 7; also Scodel (1989).

²⁶ Cf. 15/3 n. 4; also 11/9 n. 4.

²⁷ Cf. 83/4; also 17/10 n. 10.

¹ Cf. Fenik (1968) 172; Edwards (1991) on 17. 240–4, 86.

The ὄσσον clause may be omitted, with the comparison thus being understood from the context: [2] Iris (Polites) goes on to liken the current Greek army to the leaves;² [6] the focus on Athene comes from the previous verse (8. 406); [14] Here's comparison is obviously with herself, and she expresses that in the following verses (18. 364–7); [15] in a contrafactual wish that Briseis had died before she became the cause of so many deaths, the suppression of the ὄσσον is both natural and could also intimate an embarrassment on Akhilleus' part; [16] the μένος Akhilleus feels now is contrasted with a future period in which he would not feel it so much. Contrast may also be expressed in a number of other ways, the poet using ἀλλά (as in [17], [7]), ὥς [19], and νῦν δέ [16].

Whatever specific form the comparison takes, it is an inevitable effect that the subject of the ὄσσον clause or its equivalent is emphasized, whether in terms of greater size (though cf. [8] below), strength or importance: [1] Aias *minor* is identified by the disparity (οὐ τόσσον) in size with his *maior* namesake. His characterization in the *Iliad* constantly suffers from that and other unflattering comparisons;³ [3] by relating the size of the Amazon army (οὐ τόσσον), Priam magnifies the size of the Greek army before Troy⁴ (as Iris in [2]); [4] in answer to Hektor, Paris denies that he was angry with the Trojans (οὐ τόσσον) as his brother had implied. He offers instead ἄχρει προτραπέσθαι (6. 336) as his explanation, which one cannot help feeling amounts to a particularly unsatisfactory answer;⁵ [5] Hektor emphasizes his concern for his wife and child over the fate of the other Trojans (οὐ τόσσον);⁶ [6] and [7] Zeus focuses the audience's attention on Athene's role in the projected encounter with Here, and this emphasis is then picked up and augmented by Iris in her relay;⁷ [10] the sound of the clash is greater than that of a wave or fire or wind (cf. also [11] for such an extended simile, this time in the mouth of Menelaos, where Euphorbos' vainglory is so compared);⁸ [12] Aias' fear naturally stresses his concern for their own lives over his concern for the corpse of Patroklos;⁹ [13] despite Akhilleus' privileged knowledge, Thetis does not tell him the evil (ὄσσον) which has happened. The importance of Patroklos' death is thus emphasized against the irony of his friend's greater knowledge; [14] in her (reasonable) retort that she should receive her share of honour, Here compares herself with a mortal who οὐ τόσα μῆδεα οἶδε; [15] Akhilleus declares that the slaughter and strife must have been the will of

² Cf. 153/3.

³ Cf. 9/44 n. 29; also 7 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. 197/3.

⁵ Cf. 200/4; also 9/18 n. 23.

⁶ Cf. 45/1 n. 2.

⁷ Cf. 182/9; also (17).

⁸ Cf. 31/3 n. 2.

⁹ It may be right of Edwards (1991) ad loc., 86, to argue that Aias' fear includes both Patroklos' corpse as well as their own lives, but the form of the expression itself suggests greater emphasis on the latter issue; cf. also 10/12 n. 6.

Zeus, else οὐ πόσοι Greeks would have been killed. The power of Zeus to cause such slaughter, and its extent, is thus underlined; [16] Akhilleus contrasts a better time for non-murderous activity when his μένος is not so great as it is now. His present contrast is with the Greeks who lie slaughtered by Hektor (19. 203–4), whom he connects with Patroklos at the end of his speech (211–12); [17] faced with the onslaught of the river, Akhilleus blames his mother (ἀλλά) over all the other gods (ἄλλος οὐ τίς μοι τόσον αἴτιος) for his delusion in embarking upon the battle. He believes that he will die in this way, and ascribes his error to his mother's indications otherwise;¹⁰ [18] Skamandros attempts to beg off the situation by blaming the major divine defenders of Troy.¹¹ Here might have agreed with him, but his behaviour calls for some check; [19] Priam thus emphasizes his grief over Hektor.¹²

Akhilleus is once more the exception: [8] he denies that he would rejoin battle even if Agamemnon were to give ten or twenty times as much as he gives now. This is the only example where the dispreferred member of the comparison (οὐδ' | πόσα) is larger or more important, the effect being to point to the *generic* inadequacy of the gifts in yet another indication of the speaker's extraordinary status (and perhaps also his mistake).¹³

'shameless dog' [κύν ἄδδεές]: 2 examples (1): [1] 8. 423, [2] 21. 481, [3] *Od.* 184 19. 91.¹

A female speaker reproaches another female thus for acting in a manner inappropriate for the relationship between them: [1] Iris speaks on Zeus' behalf, picking up on the greater emphasis placed on Athene's participation in his original speech;² [2] Artemis has not the power to match herself with Here, whilst in [3] Melantho's current behaviour belies the kind treatment she received as a child. On each occasion, the speaker emphasizes that the erring individual has failed to understand her duty in the situation. In *Θ*, the term reinforces the fact that Athene's connection with Zeus makes her actions unsupportable, and makes oblique reference to her potential to overthrow Zeus' rule.³ Caution is required, as the figure is only found these three times, yet the definition responds well to the currents of divine *stasis* found throughout this passage.⁴

Furthermore, it is noticeable that [2] and [3] are both grounded in relationships with pseudo-maternal overtones: [2] Artemis is rebuked by

¹⁰ Cf. 23/7 n. 7; also 130 n. 1.

¹¹ Cf. 23/7 n. 7.

¹² Cf. 64/14.

¹³ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. 164 n. 1; Werner (1955); Rutherford (1992) on *Od.* 19. 91, 142.

² Cf. (17).

³ Cf. Appendix B.

⁴ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

Here, who was in the *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* opposed to the birth of Apollo and Artemis (and is in any case opposed to all Zeus' children by other deities). As the wife of Zeus, but not the mother of the major deities, she occupies a necessarily ambiguous position within the Olympian extended 'family';⁵ [3] Penelope refers to the rearing which Melanthe had received in the household, which makes her allegiance to the suitors all the more appalling; [1] Zeus of course gives birth himself to Athene, which is not the usual process of parenting, even in the divine world. In this light, given Iris' close associations with Zeus, her rebuke allows her to assume his opinion—and not just her own—in this passage.

185 'if truly' [*εἰ ἐτεόν*]: 10 examples: [1] 5. 104, [2] 7. 359, [3] 8. 423, [4] 12. 217, [5] 12. 233, [6] 13. 153, [7] 13. 375, [8] 14. 125, [9] 15. 53, [10] 18. 305.¹

The expression is used to denote an action of whose truth the speaker is with apparently good reason convinced, and thus to reinforce another statement or command: [1] Pandaros' expression of Apollo's favour is apparently justified, because he has struck Diomedes in an area normally vital;² [2] Paris condemns Antenor's proposal in the same terms as Hektor does Poulydamas' in [5]. Priam's following settlement makes it clear that he has every reason not to give her up, for he certainly will not be made to do so;³ [3] Iris is well aware that Athene's journey to the battlefield is tantamount to rebellion, and Zeus himself is threatening direct physical confrontation; [4] Poulydamas is of course convinced that what they have seen is an omen, to which he offers his interpretation of retreat;⁴ [6] Hektor is also, not without some reason, firmly assured of Zeus' favour;⁵ [7] in an ironic reversal of the unit's associations, Idomeneus uses the impossibility that Othryoneus shall complete his marriage promises to underline that contrafactual;⁶ [8] Diomedes' statement about his father's excellence is now turned back on the very man who had impugned his relative worth on these grounds, in order to provide evidence of Diomedes' standing to offer an opinion;⁷ [9] Zeus realizes that Here has yielded to his threat of open violence, and will do as she is told;⁸ [10] Hektor and the other Trojans can be in no doubt about Akhilleus' renewed participation in hostilities, and his confidence in the situation

⁵ Cf. 7/6 n. 7; Appendix B.

¹ Cf. van Bennekom (1987a); Janko (1992) on 13. 149–54, 64; Edwards (1991) on 18. 305, 182. One might compare 2. 300, where M. L. West reads ἦ' ἐτεόν, which *locus* would respond well to this definition, for Odysseus is obviously convinced of the truth of the omen and Kalkhas' interpretation, and employs this reminiscence to strengthen the Greeks' wavering conviction; cf. 9/8 n. 5.

² Cf. 9/14 n. 7.

³ Cf. 2/5 n. 5.

⁴ Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 98/5 (and 2–7, 9); also 4/1 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 123a/6.

⁷ Cf. 86 n. 2; also 11a/1.

⁸ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

seems guaranteed by the people's roared assent, and justified by how close they had come to seizing Patroklos' body—as well as his armour.

These protases allow the audience to observe clearly any disjunction between the character's understanding and their own, especially with regard to how a true protasis may lead to a wrong conclusion: [1] Pandaros may be supported by Apollo, but he cannot kill Diomedes, and his vaunt has in any case been introduced in such a way as to connote his delusion;⁹ [2] Paris is wrong to think that Antenor has lost his wits (as is Hektor in [5]), and also of course in his general attitude; [3] Iris is in this case correct, without qualification, about the ramifications of Here and Athene's actions; [4] Poulydamas is right that this is an omen beckoning them away from the ships; [6] Zeus has sent Hektor on, and the Greeks will withdraw, but he does not question the extent of Zeus' favour; [7] Othryoneus cannot of course fulfil this promise, as Idomeneus sarcastically invites him to do; [8] Tydeus is undoubtedly a great hero, as other speakers have not failed to point out to Diomedes at every opportunity. He is not unaware of this when he makes the claim; [9] Here did not technically deceive Zeus in her reply about Poseidon; [10] Akhilleus has indeed arisen, but Hektor's notion that things will not go well for him should he come out is entirely mistaken.¹⁰

'for mortals' sake' [*βροτῶν ἔνεκα*]: 4 examples: [1] 1. 574 (*θνητῶν*), [2] 8. 428, 186 [3] 21. 380, [4] 21. 463.¹

Deities invoke this consideration when the prospect of suffering at the hands of another god for the sake of mortals becomes a real one. Such reminders are always persuasive, the deity in question always choosing not to push the situation into conflict: [1] Hephaistos labels such an eventuality *λοιγία... οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀνεκτά* (1. 573), should Here and Zeus fall into strife over mortals (574). It takes some physical humour for the gods to feel cheery once again, but the point remains; [2] in the face of a direct threat from Zeus, conveyed by Iris, Here suggests to Athene that they retreat, as they do; [3] under Hephaistos' blazing fire, Skamandros avows *Τρῶας δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς | ἄσπεος ἐξελάσειε· τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἄρωγῆς* (21. 359–60). In

⁹ Cf. 86/1, 2.

¹⁰ Cf. 75/15, 16; also 2/9 n. 6.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 571–611, 176; on 1. 574, 177; Richardson (1993) on 21. 468–9, 94. Such considerations are not limited to this expression; one might also compare the way in which Athene persuades Ares not to become involved in the battle because of the death of his son Askalaphos in *O*. This example responds to the associations uncovered above, for Ares is persuaded not to go down to the battle: *πῶ σ' αὖ νῦν κέλομαι μεθέμεν χόλον νῆος ἑῆος* | *ἥδη γάρ τις τοῦ γε βίην καὶ χεῖρας ἀμείνων | ἦ πέφατ' ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα πεφῆσεται. ἀργαλέον δέ | πάντων ἀνθρώπων ῥύσθαι γενεήν τε πόκον τε* (15. 138–41).

response to a further request, Here agrees and (379–80) tells her son to leave off, for direct conflict between gods for mortals is not seemly;² [4] Apollo decries a confrontation with Poseidon on the grounds that he would not be thought sensible if he were to fight for these people, and they fail to come to blows.³ In every case, the idea of divine strife over mortals is seen as undesirable, and invoked as a salve for the retreating figure.

187 ‘[as is] fitting’ (ὥς ἐπιεικές): 6 examples: [1] 1. 547, [2] 8. 431, [3] 19. 21, [4] 19. 147, [5] 23. 50, [6] 23. 537.¹

Things so labelled are an established fact which cannot be overturned, an agreement established often in a context of dispute: [1] the term is applied to the restrictions upon Here’s rights to disclosure, but only after Zeus becomes angry does Here (at least in the context) acquiesce; [2] Here grants Zeus’ right to control the battle, again in the midst of a difficult marital moment; [3] the obviously divine (and specifically non-mortal) nature and workmanship of Hephaistos’ arms is so described, and their splendour is such that the other Myrmidons cannot even look, whilst Akhilleus revels in them;² [4] Akhilleus concedes Agamemnon’s right to dispense the gifts, but only because he no longer cares for them. It takes a further exchange with Odysseus for Akhilleus’ concession to be put into action; [5] Akhilleus describes the arrangements proper for the dead. There is no quarrel over them in this scene, but Akhilleus’ inability to honour the dead in due proportion is an important theme in this section of the poem; [6] here the judgement is immediately questioned, where Antilokhos denies Akhilleus’ contention that it would be ἐπιεικές for Eumelos to be awarded his second prize. This episode is significant in several ways: it explores the ramifications of heroic achievement and the role of the divine therein, Antilokhos’ relationship with Akhilleus (23. 555–6) and, finally, reflects the poem’s plot, in that the younger man refuses to have his prize taken and given to someone else because of a value system which he questions. All these points serve to highlight Akhilleus’ error and misapplication of the term. The automatic relationship between ‘excellence’ and reward or achievement is an association Akhilleus has not yet learnt to qualify.³

² Cf. 163/6 for a prolepsis of this episode.

³ Cf. 99/21 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Nordheider (1987). ἐπιεικές is always employed in a subordinate clause, usually introduced by ὥς, once by ὅσσα (23. 50), once by οἷα (19. 21) and once by ὅν (1. 547). It should be noted that the majority of MSS, including *I* 13 (s. i BC), read ὥς at 23. 50, against ὅσσ’ as a v.l. in the h scholia and ὅσ’ in MS D. In his note ad loc., M. L. West refers to 24. 595 (ὅσσ’ ἐπέουκεν), presumably because of the similarity in content of the verses in question; cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 171.

² Cf. Scully (2003).

³ Cf. Cairns (2001c).

'sorrowing in the heart' [*φίλον τετιγμέναι ἦτορ*]: 2 examples (6): [1] 8. 437, [2] 11. 556 (*sine φίλον*); [3] *Od.* 1. 114, [4] *Od.* 2. 298, [5] *Od.* 4. 804, [6] *Od.* 7. 287, [7] *Od.* 8. 303, [8] *Od.* 18. 153.¹

This emotion is typical of characters responding to an action or situation over which they have no control, and is intimately related to their belief in the ultimate inefficacy of any counteraction, whether any attempt to do so is made: [1] it has been made abundantly clear to Athene and Here that they are unable to face Zeus down or intervene in the battle directly; [2] Aias is forced by Zeus to retreat, and fears for the ships' safety. His individual virtue in the circumstance is simply not enough to keep the Trojans at bay; [3] and [4] Telemakhos is depicted as powerless in the face of the suitors, and conviction of his incapacity is the source of the frustration in the former case as he waits for his father to scatter the suitors (1. 115–17), and in the latter case it is voiced by Athene herself as she encourages him to get off his arse (2. 267–95);² [5] the phrase is used of Penelope by Athene (Ipthimos) because she feels unable to avert her son's apparently imminent death at the suitors' hands (cf. 4. 806–7), and Penelope further details her helplessness in the following speech; [6] Odysseus depicts himself as utterly overborne by his sorrows, but not only to cast himself in a sympathetic light. He also seeks to disarm his audience of the troubling notion that he might have used unsavoury means to secure the clothes which Arete had noticed before she asked him to account for his presence (7. 234–5). This is part of the fine line between supplication and self-promotion which he treads with such skill throughout the *Phaiakis*;³ [7] Hephaistos is of course powerless in the face of the mutual attraction between his wife and Ares, nor is he able on a more social level to return Aphrodite to her father on the grounds of adultery. His dilemma is humorously encapsulated in the reactions of Hermes and Apollo; [8] Amphinomos senses an evil coming, but he knows not what, nor can he escape, and so he simply returns to his seat.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 8. 437, 332; Slatkin (1991) 98–9; Garvie (1994) on *Od.* 7. 287, 223. The phrase is also employed of Demeter in the *Hom. Hy. to Dem.* (98, 181) to express her sorrow over the theft of Persephone, as she is received by Keleos' daughters. Her reception is an important step in the process of her withdrawal from Olympos, and represents an attempted counteraction to her daughter's rape, but one in whose efficacy she in the end has not much faith. Thus the audience are prepared for the failure of her action to replace her daughter and to alienate herself permanently from the Olympian community, and for her realization of that fact even as she withdraws. Zeus' will cannot be overborne; *pace* Richardson (1974) *ad loc.*; cf. also 18 n. 2.

² Cf. also 149/5 n. 4.

³ The ability of Akhilleus to use poetic devices in individual ways has long been noticed; cf. 1 n. 3. It should come as no surprise that Odysseus' poem gives him the same ability; cf. 47/1 n. 7.

- 189 'they did [not] ask' [ἐρέοντο]: 3 examples (2): [1] 1. 332, [2] 8. 445, [3] 9. 671, [4] *Od.* 10. 63, [5] *Od.* 10. 109.¹

This denotes an opening statement where a group of people comes within someone else's sphere of authority when there is some unease over that activity. The verb is negated in [1] and [2], for each group is unwilling to begin the exchange because of the awkwardness inherent in the situation: [1] the embassy from Agamemnon arrives to take Briseis from Akhilleus, and he reassures them about their (relative) guiltlessness in the circumstance; [2] on Zeus' return to Olympos, Here and Athene remain silent, and he taunts them with it.²

The other examples all occur in disturbed contexts of reception to denote the first question directed by an assembled group to newly arrived or encountered individuals: [3] Agamemnon is the first to ask about the outcome of the embassy's mission, and the answer does not please; [4] Aiolos' family enquire about Odysseus' renewed presence, given their previous gift to him and discharge of their duties as hosts. His answer does not please either, and he is forced to leave; [5] Odysseus' men encounter Antiphates' daughter on her way to the well and ask her about the situation at hand. Their following reception by the Laistrygonians is not, I think, of the generally approved type.

- 190 'he knew in his *phrenes*' (ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ): 4 examples: [1] 1. 333, [2] 8. 446, [3] 16. 530, [4] 22. 296.¹

This expression denotes a character's awareness of a decisive moment in a process affecting his status or self-determination: [1] Akhilleus notes the arrival of the heralds to take Briseis. His following speech focuses on Agamemnon's guilt, but the moment has now come for Akhilleus to face his relative lack of power;² [2] Zeus recognizes the recalcitrance of Here and Athene as they sit apart and mutter. Their refusal to knuckle under is the

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 332, 122. 8. 445–6 (οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο | ... ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε) is also employed at 1. 332–3, where the mission arrives at Akhilleus' tent to take Briseis. It is difficult to know whether this is a specific reminiscence or simply an underrepresented referential unit. [5] *Od.* 10. 109 (προσεφώνεον ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο) inclines one to the latter conclusion, whilst most of the second verse (ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε) is itself part of a traditional unit; cf. 190; also Commentary n. 291.

² Cf. 3 for the ways in which transitional *assemblies* open either with a question directed at the arriving character, or a speech from him.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 333, 123, who comments 'der Vers wird in sehr unterschiedlichen Kontexten verwendet'; also Richardson (1993) on 22. 295–305, 136; for 3, cf. 140 n. 1. The expression is also used at *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 375, and responds to the definition above. In his quest for a temple location, and after he kills the dragon Pytho, Apollo finally realizes that he has been deceived by Telphousa and proceeds to punish her. The establishment of the temple has of course been his major quest in the Pythian portion of the hymn.

² Cf. 189/1 and n. 1.

greatest threat yet to the *Dios boule*. His response to this, in the following exchange with Here, establishes the course of narrative and is the first detailed statement of his intentions; [3] Glaucos realizes that Apollo has answered his prayer, which had been directed towards allowing him to save Sarpedon's body, and he approaches Hektor with a stinging rebuke for his failure to do so himself. As Sarpedon's retainer and comrade, Glaucos was the natural object of his friend's dying command to save his corpse (16. 491–501), and the resolution of the *Leichenkampf* will be of great concern to Zeus himself; [4] after calling for another spear from Deiphobos (Athene), Hektor realizes that his fate is upon him, and the following magnificent speech expresses his awareness of a long-planned death but a determination nonetheless to fight.³

'why thus?' [τίφθ' οὕτως]: 4 examples (2): [1] 4. 243, [2] 8. 447, [3] 10. 37, 191
[4] 10. 141, [5] *Od.* 10. 378, [6] *Od.* 23. 98.¹

These questions fall in rebuke contexts, describing an action which the speaker feels inappropriate in the circumstance, and they invite a deflective answer: [1] during the *Epipoleis*, Agamemnon's generic rebuke (οὓς τις αὐ μεθιέντας ἴδοι 4. 240) demands to know why they stand off from the fighting like fawns. Because there is no specific addressee to this speech, there is no reply, but notice that all his following specific rebukes are answered with deflective purpose (265–7, 349–55,² 403–10); [2] Zeus' speech to Here and Athene is provocative, and calls forth a response from Here which only serves to produce another angry statement from him; [3] Menelaos' question about his brother's preparations seems an exception to the first criterion, but it has already been shown that this episode and its consequences explore the former's deficiencies in the eyes of some other Greek *basileis*, and this question reveals a certain sensitivity about his own failure to influence events (as Agamemnon acknowledges to Nestor at 10. 121–3).³ It also refers to the need to take some action during the night, which Menelaos perhaps feels will devolve upon them because of the unwillingness of the other chieftains (cf. 38–41). Agamemnon's reply focuses on this latter issue, the need for them to come up with some good counsel, and their reliance on other *basileis*, particularly Nestor; [4] Odysseus' question implies that a journey through the night alone is a suspicious action,⁴ and Nestor replies μὴ νεμέσῃα (10. 145) on the grounds that his action is required by the army's dire straits; [5] Kirke demands to know the reason for Odysseus' unhappiness, now that he

³ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

¹ Cf. van Leeuwen (1912) ad loc., 294. ² Cf. 10/3 n. 3.

³ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; also 9/25 n. 26. ⁴ Cf. 45/4, 10; also 78/21.

has just been received hospitably. His reply cautiously denies the implication of ingratitude, and relates his demeanour to a concern for his men.

- 191a ‘why | thus?’ [τίη | οὕτως]: 3 examples: [1] 6. 55, [2] 13. 810, [3] 21. 106.¹

Like the previous examples, these questions also occur in contexts where the described action is seen by the speaker as unreasonable or unjustified. Unlike them, however, these questions brook no deflection, for the suggestion or attitude contained in the speech as a whole is either enacted or there is some guarantee that it will be: [1] Agamemnon’s demand for Adrestos’ death finds immediate agreement, though the actual killing is performed by Agamemnon himself; [2] Aias’ challenge to Hektor, though it gets a response from Hektor, is approved by an omen sent from Zeus,² and was in itself a response to Hektor’s attempts to force in the Greek line. Aias reminds the Trojan of Zeus’ role in bringing about this situation (13. 811–12) and cautions him against (a somewhat typical)³ overconfident contempt for his foes; [3] Akhilleus’ pitiless reply to Lykaon focuses on the ineluctability of death, given that it took Patroklos and will take even Akhilleus himself.⁴ When such great characters are subject, why should Lykaon grieve at his own destruction? He then kills him.

- 192 ‘unbeatable hands’ [χεῖρες ἀπποῖ]: 11 examples: [1] 1. 567, [2] 7. 309, [3] 8. 450, [4] 11. 169, [5] 12. 166, [6] 13. 49, [7] 13. 77, [8] 13. 318, [9] 16. 244, [10] 17. 638, [11] 20. 503.¹

χεῖρες are only ἀπποῖ when they belong to ascendant figures, the expression being more commonly used by characters than the poet *in propria persona*: [1] Zeus threatens Here once again with laying his hands on her (as in [3]); [2] Hektor’s comrades are overjoyed to see him escaping from the unbeatable hands of Aias; [4], [11] Agamemnon and Akhilleus in their *aristeiai* are so described by the poet; [6] Poseidon says that he fears not for the hands of the Trojans elsewhere, but only where they accompany Hektor. The Trojans are in the ascendant all over the line, having thrown down the wall as Poseidon admits (13. 50), but his real concern is for Hektor himself. Thus the concentration on his sector of the battle-line is established well

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 810, 145. This group, in particular, could be dramatically extended to include all questions introduced by τίη, for the examples in the *Iliad* all answer to this referential definition (1. 365; 6. 145; 10. 432; 11. 407 = 17. 97; 12. 310; 14. 264; 15. 244; 17. 170; 20. 251, 297; 21. 436, 562; 22. 122, 385; 23. 409). I do not discuss them here, as my purpose is only to show by contrast the integrity of the τίφθ οὕτως questions in 191.

² Cf. 85/3 n. 4.

³ Cf. 4/1 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

¹ Cf. Erbse and Laser (1955); Eide (1986); Hainsworth (1993) on 12. 166, 335; Janko (1992) on 13. 318, 87; Latacz (2000) on 1. 567, 175.

before Idomeneus and Meriones begin their somewhat embarrassed conversation;² [7] Aias comments on his increased strength after revitalization from Poseidon, as a prelude for the Greek holding of Hektor before Zeus allows himself to be completely distracted from the battle in Ξ ; [8] Idomeneus describes for Meriones the difficulties Hektor will have in overcoming the strength and hands of Teukros and Aias, who do succeed in keeping him out of the camp. Keeping in mind Poseidon's earlier statement [6] and the situation in which the Greeks find themselves, perhaps Idomeneus is trying to justify his avoidance of conflict with Hektor;³ [10] Aias quotes the opinion of other Greeks that they will not be able to hold back Hektor's ascendant hands, in order to persuade Menelaos to find someone to deliver the crucial message to Akhilleus.⁴

On several occasions, the figure is used by characters who are simply wrong, and the disjunction helps to point out their error: [5] Asios underlines his expectation of victory (earlier undercut by the poet) with the statement that he thought the Greeks would not hold back his hands;⁵ [9] Akhilleus, in his prayer to Zeus, asks that Hektor find out whether Patroklos' hands are unbeatable only when he (Akh.) is fighting.⁶

‘[not] before | before’ [οὐ πρὶν | πρὶν]: 20 examples: [1] 1. 97–8, [2] 2. 348, [3] 2. 354–5, [4] 2. 413–14, [5] 4. 114–15, [6] 5. 218–19 (πᾶρος), [7] 5. 288, [8] 7. 481, [9] 8. 452–3, [10] 8. 473–4, [11] 9. 650–1, [12] 14. 46–7, [13] 15. 72–4, [14] 16. 839–40, [15] 18. 189–90, [16] 18. 334, [17] 19. 170, [18] 21. 224–5, [19] 21. 294–5, [20] 24. 781.¹ 193

These sentences are usually employed by characters (except [5], [8]) to make predictions or other expressions of futurity (though cf. below) from a negative perspective, and are usually correct. The negative (‘this will not be the case before ...’) falls in the main clause, and the subordinate πρὶν clause is depicted as a necessary precursor to the first: [1] (Kalkhas) Apollo will not stop his anger until the return of Khryseis and propitiatory sacrifice; [3] (Nestor) let no one depart before violence has been perpetrated on the Trojan women; [7] (Diomedes) I will not stop before the issue is decided (as Aineias in [6]²); [11] (Akhilleus) I will not think of war until Hektor gets to the ships; [13] (Zeus) I will not cease from my wrath or allow any interference before Akhilleus' prayer is completed;³ [17] (Odysseus) a refreshed man's limbs do not weary until the battle is over;⁴ [20] (Priam) Akhilleus said he would do no

² Cf. 8, 9/27 n. 11.

³ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

⁴ Cf. 54/26 n. 14.

⁵ Cf. 48/8 n. 12.

⁶ Cf. 9/31 n. 27.

¹ Cf. J. Wilson (1991); Latacz (2000) on 1. 97–100, 63.

² Cf. 90/2; also 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

⁴ Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

harm before the twelfth dawn would come. There are only two examples lacking an explicit negative: [2] before the first *πρίν* clause (348) Nestor denies its success (*ἀννυσις δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται αὐτῶν* 347), supplying at least a negative context. The point of the prediction is that it is not to be fulfilled, on pain of death; [9] also unusual in applying the expression to past time, Zeus' point similarly is that their original intention was thwarted before the issue came to a decisive moment.

The success of the action so described is almost universal: [1] Apollo does give up his anger when Kalkhas' measures are adopted; [3] no one departs before the city is sacked; [5] Pandaros is allowed to complete his shot without interference; [6], [7] the combat eventuates in Pandaros' death and Diomedes' possession of Aineias' horses; [10] Hektor does not cease until he causes Akhilleus to rise;⁵ [11] Akhilleus only begins to think of war when, or shortly before, Hektor gets to the ships; [13] Zeus does indeed keep the other gods out (at least insofar as they can affect the narrative) for as long as he wishes; [15] Akhilleus does not arm until his mother returns;⁶ [16] Akhilleus buries Patroklos after he has killed Hektor and brought his spoils to the camp; [17] is a *gnome*, and so generally accepted as true; [18], [19] Akhilleus does not cease until he kills Hektor; [20] Akhilleus' promise of a truce holds good.

The exceptions, once again, draw great significance from this general connotation of success: [2] Nestor's prediction is that those who intend to leave before they find out if Zeus promised them truthfully or not, shall perish. They do not leave, the point of the sentence's association being to underline the force of the threat; [4] Agamemnon's prayer is of course denied, as the audience knows, but that he employs the sentence emphasizes his rather understandable delusion; [12] Agamemnon's report of Hektor's deluded threat similarly stresses both his mistake, and perhaps also an unwarranted quality for his fear; [14] Hektor's version of Akhilleus' instructions to Patroklos also emphasizes his lack of understanding, attributing success in this case to his victim's (and Akhilleus') delusion.⁷

⁵ Diller (1965) 142 feels a difficulty in this sentence, arguing that 'in Wahrheit hat Hektor erst "mit dem Kriege aufgehört" (473), als er fiel, und das war am Tag nach dem Tod des Patroklos.' Di Benedetto (1994) 276 n. 10, proposes that Zeus' anger against Here is sufficient excuse for the discrepancy, but referential analysis of these 'doubled' *πρίν* sentences reveals that the subordinated *πρίν* clause is intended to happen *at some point* before the main *πρίν* clause as its necessary precursor. For example, Nestor's instruction to the Greeks [3] at 2. 354–5 (*πῶ μὴ πς πρίν ἐπειγέσθω οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι | πρίν τινα παρ Τρώων ἀλόχῳ κατακοιμηθῆναι*) urges that the sexual violence (sub. *πρίν*) should take place before their departure (main *πρίν*). In the same way, the reappearance of Akhilleus (sub. *πρίν*) in 9 is the necessary precursor to Hektor's ceasing from battle (main *πρίν*), and the syntax allows for a passage of time between the actions.

⁶ Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

⁷ Cf. 10/11 n. 7.

Only three examples lack any sense of futurity: [8] the poet tells the audience that no one dared drink before they had made libation to Zeus; [9] Zeus recounts Athene and Here's retreat from conflict. It is powerfully significant that Zeus' authority is being stressed in this way, i.e. so as to differentiate it from every other character, at the very moment at which it is challenged. It also gives Zeus the same type of narrative skill for adapting conventional units as the poet;⁸ [14] by contrast, Hektor's misuse of the figure is highlighted not only by the substance of his statement, for he is simply wrong about the instructions Akhilleus was so careful to give, but also by his attempt to emulate the same type of control over the narrative as Zeus and the poet.⁹

'trembling seized the limbs' [τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα]: 4 examples: [1] 3. 34, [2] 8. 452 (φαίδιμα γυῖα), [3] {14. 506},¹ [4] 24. 170.² 194

This reaction comes upon an individual or group after the recognition of a dangerous phenomenon, and may initially best be understood by a comparison with the 'pale fear' unit, for which it is an apparent structural equivalent.³ Unlike that unit, this emotion is caused by threats generally within the same existential order, is not a specifically mortal reaction to something clearly beyond control, is applied to named individuals as well as groups, and does not necessarily require divine intervention to halt the consequent activity: [1] Paris' hasty retreat is compared within the simile to a man leaping back from a snake, is caused by Menelaos' advance, and is reversed immediately by Hektor;⁴ [2] Zeus tells Here and Athene that this emotion prevented them from coming to harm; [3] the Trojans look around for a way to escape in response to a particularly nasty taunt from Peneleos, after his rather unpleasant killing of Ilioneus; [4] Priam trembles upon sensing the presence of Iris, who, however, has no aggressive intent towards him. This is not to say that this expression may not express some of the characteristic qualities of 'pale

⁸ Cf. 5/1 n. 2. ⁹ Cf. 4/1 n. 2.

¹ Cf. (5).

² There are several ways in which τρόμος may have its effect upon someone, but the identity of this unit is suggested by the fact that it could be expanded to cover many of these other cases but is not. For instance, 7. 215 and 20. 44 (Τρώας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἔκαστον) could easily have been constructed πάντας δὲ Τρώας τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαίδιμα γυῖα had the poet wished to do so, while the latter half of 11. 117 (χραιομεῖν, αὐτὴν γάρ μιν ὑπὸ τρόμος αἰνὸς ἰκάνει) could have read ὑπὸ τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα. Furthermore, the common expression ἔχε/ἔλε τρόμος (10. 25, 18. 247, 19. 14, 22. 136) at the trochaic caesura (with the accusative of the individual or group in the first half of the line) could also be replaced by ὑπὸ τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα, though in these cases the poet seems to like having another clause introduced at the bucolic diaeresis. Nonetheless, it should not be considered beyond him to introduce another clause at the start of the next verse. ³ Cf. 31. ⁴ Cf. 71/1 n. 2.

fear, merely that it does not express them all. For example, existential difference is obviously present in [4], though there is no sense of harm or aggression, and divine intervention is required in [3] and [4], but there is no existential superiority in [3].

All this means that, whereas overwhelming helplessness was the consistent connotation of ‘*pale fear*’, with this emotion the danger may not actually be that grave, and an effective counteraction to the situation consequent upon the emotion usually follows more or less immediately: [1] Hektor rebukes Paris into action; [2] Zeus is narrating their reaction *in loco poetae*, but Here does try to mitigate the circumstance in her next speech, which manages nothing but to draw another wrathful explosion from Zeus. His use of the figure indicates first of all his ability to manipulate the usual associations of traditional units,⁵ leads the audience to expect a counteraction from Here (whether confined to her next speech or not) and perhaps suggests that Zeus’ threat does not entail their destruction or permanent exclusion from Olympus;⁶ [3] the Trojan reaction to a killing by a minor Greek of a minor Trojan seems excessive, but it underlines their dependence upon the absent Hektor and the *Dios boule*. It takes Zeus’ almost immediate interference to restore the fighting in the Trojans’ favour; [4] Iris reassures Priam straight away.

- 195 ‘savage wrath seized [her]’ [χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἦρει]: 2 examples (1): [1] 4. 23, [2] 8. 460, [3] *Od.* 8. 304.¹

These expressions are reserved for those situations when the deity feels himself or herself particularly damaged by Zeus’ attitude, but this fact neither seriously challenges his hegemony nor indeed forces any action at all upon him. In fact, this anger is always blunted in the context by an appeal to the inevitable order of things: [1] despite Athene’s wrath and Here’s demand that he concede the destruction of Troy, the audience knows that this event is inevitable, and his words were not seriously intended to suggest that Troy might be saved (cf. esp. 4. 6); [2] again, for all her anger, Athene will be unable

⁵ Cf. 5/1 n. 2.

⁶ This is surely not unconnected with the importance of Athene within the Olympian family, and the fact that Here traditionally opposes Zeus in an eventually unsuccessful manner. In other words, the ramifications of conflict amongst the Olympians are juxtaposed with those pertaining in the mortal world; cf. Appendix B.

¹ Cf. Redfield (1975) 14–16; also Muellner (1996) 97 n. 10; Austin (1999); Walsh (2005) 131–3, 251–2 (group 6c). It is interesting that of all the occasions when χόλος affects someone, only 18. 322 uses this verb (μάλα γὰρ δρυμὺς χόλος αἶρει). I suggest that the simile in 18. 318–22, applied to Akhilleus, is another example of the way in which he puts pressure on the traditional style of composition, for an action usually associated with deities becomes linked with the extremity of his mourning for Patroklos; cf. 1 n. 3.

to prevent the fulfilment of Zeus' promise to Thetis and the current direction of the *Dios boule*; [3] Hephaistos threatens the dissolution of his marriage, along with a rebuke of Zeus as Aphrodite's parent (8. 311–12; 317–20). The ability of Zeus to control the sexual or marital activities of the other gods has been mentioned elsewhere,² and here Poseidon is concerned that a repudiation of the *status quo* should not occur (344–59). In every case, the angry character is presented with that inevitability, and simply has to concede.

'you will see' [ὄψῃαι]: 4 examples (2): [1] 4. 353 (75/2), [2] 8. 470 (75/6), [3] 9. 359 (75/8), [4] 24. 601, [5] *Od.* 24. 511, [6] *Hom. Hy. to Herm.* 181.¹ 196

The speaker predicts a certain course of action in disagreement with the previous speech or speaker ([2], [3], [5] fall within a speech introduced by τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη,² [1] by τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη) in the form of an assertion about how his opinion or intention is to be justified or proved: [1] Odysseus' denial of Agamemnon's charge states emphatically that he will fight among the foremost;³ [2] in response to the series of minor insurrections in Θ, Zeus asserts his power and control over the narrative's future course;⁴ [3] Akhilleus rejects Odysseus' long and complex request, and offers his coming departure as the ultimate proof of his intention; [4] Akhilleus' statement that Priam will see Hektor as he departs in the morning comes after the King had intimated that reception was not his desire and that he wanted to take Hektor and leave (24. 552–8), upon which a threat (559–71). The prediction is a guarantee of his desire to show the old man the full extent of his hospitality in due order, but is also a reflection of their recent disagreement and Akhilleus' need to assert his authority;⁵ [5] after being told by Odysseus not to dishonour his family, Telemakhos avows that he will not. Some tension between father and son has already been evinced, not only in the application of the Orestes paradigm to the current story, but also e.g. in Telemakhos' failure to lock the door during the battle in χ and his misreading of Penelope's intentions and character when she delays her recognition of Odysseus in ψ. He is not quite of age yet, though Laertes feels pride in their contest (24. 515);⁶ [6] to Maia's challenge and warning about Apollo's wrath over his cattle, Hermes (who wishes to leave this dreary existence behind

² Cf. Appendix B.

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 4. 353, 366. I exclude 23. 619–20 (οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀπὸν | ὄψε' ἐν Ἀργείοισι), where Akhilleus presents Nestor with a gift by which to remember Patroklos, for the prediction is negated, there is no disagreement or sense of dispute between the characters, nor indeed any previous speech to which Akhilleus is reacting, and the statement is itself subordinate to a main clause.

² Cf. 148/13, 14; also Appendix A.

³ Cf. 10/3 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. 10/6.

⁵ Cf. 9/46 n. 21.

⁶ Cf. Olson (1995) esp. ch. 8; also 149/5 n. 4.

anyway) replies that she will witness his theft of the tripod from Pytho, amongst other things.⁷

Though the prediction's eventuality is not guaranteed in the sample group, success as a connotation would add considerably to the force of those few examples which remain unfulfilled, once again as an indication of the character's error: [3] Akhilleus may retreat in the force of his refusal to each of the three speakers in the embassy, but his first reply is very stern and taken seriously by Odysseus (cf. 9. 682–3).⁸ Though an impressive speaker, Akhilleus is not infallible;⁹ [6] Hermes' precociousness—and eventual success in being admitted to Olympos—does not stop him from overextending his ambitions. His obvious failure in this threat shows the extent of that quality.¹⁰

197 'on [that] day when' [ἥματι τῷ ὅτε]: 23 examples: [1] 2. 351, [2] 2. 743, [3] 3. 189, [4] 5. 210, [5] 6. 345, [6] 8. 475, [7] 9. 253, [8] 9. 439, [9] 11. 766, [10] 12. 279 (ἥματι χειμερίῳ), [11] 13. 335, [12] 14. 250, [13] 15. 76, [14] 16. 385 (ἥματ' ὁπωρινῷ), [15] 18. 85, [16] 19. 60, [17] 19. 89, [18] 19. 98, [19] 21. 5, [20] 21. 77, [21] 22. 359, [22] 22. 471, [23] 23. 87.¹

This device introduces a comparative narrative, a reminiscence of a usually past event designed to assert the speaker's opinion or attitude in the present. It occurs most often in character speech, but is also found in the poet's voice, where its certainty of fulfilment has an obvious authority: [2] the expression introduces anecdotal information about Polypoites based around his mother's marriage and the famous battle of the Centaurs and Lapithai;² [10] again associated with Polypoites, the poet compares the density of weapons thrown from the wall to the snowflakes sent by Zeus on a winter's day (similarly in [11], where the comparison is to winds on the day when great dust is around the roads,³ and in the famous simile at [14], where the poet speaks of the thickness of the rain poured down by Zeus on those ruled by the unjust kings, as the Trojans retreat across the plain): [19] the poet recounts Hektor's earlier day of triumph just as Akhilleus drives the Trojans over the same territory; [22] Andromakhe casts off the veil given her by Aphrodite on her wedding day. The narrative examples draw out powerful links and contrasts, between Hektor's wedding day and his death [22], the success of the Trojans on the previous day and their current rout [19], and the

⁷ Note that in her preceding speech (154–61), Maia used the expression ἔρρε; cf. 89.

⁸ Cf. 182/11. ⁹ Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Clay (1989) esp. 127–36, for the confrontation between Hermes and Apollo.

¹ Cf. de Jong (1987) 234–6; Latacz (2003) on 2. 351, 106; also Alden (2000) generally.

² Cf. 114/12 nn. 20–1; also Latacz (2003) on 2. 740, 240. The expression links the battle with his birth rather than the day of their wedding. ³ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

memory and application of the earlier battle's related themes of perverted marriage [2].

When characters use this expression, they seek to impose the same certainty on the relationship between the paradigm and their present narrative or purpose, the paradigm almost always drawn from the past. The compared story or action is employed because of its certainty, though the lesson the speaker seeks to draw therefrom may not win the addressee's assent: [1] Nestor mentions the grant of victory on the day they arrived, in order to convince the Greeks to stay and endure;⁴ [3] Priam mentions the army he was a part of the day the Amazons came in order to compare it unfavourably with the size of Agamemnon's current host;⁵ [4] Pandaros regrets his decision, on the day he went to war, to fight as an archer rather than from a chariot;⁶ [5] Helen denigrates herself by wishing for a lack of existence to obviate her current shame;⁷ [7], [8] and [9] Peleus' instructions are invoked in order to persuade Akhilleus to act in accordance with them; [12] Hypnos invokes the consequences of his previous acquiescence as reason for refusal now;⁸ [13] Zeus refers to his promise to Thetis in order to underline the strength of his current resolve, and to persuade Here not to interfere any more;⁹ [15] Akhilleus tells his mother that Hektor has his armour, which was given to Peleus by the gods the day she married him. The paradigm equates the possession of divine armour with his entire situation, for the gods gave him the armour just as they gave him his immortal wife. This equation, whether original or not, effectively leaves Thetis with little option but to fetch a new set, so her suggestion is far from unmotivated when she makes it (18. 136–7);¹⁰ [16] Akhilleus wishes that Briseis had died and never become a cause of conflict; [17] Agamemnon seeks to explain his earlier error by invoking the idea of Ate when he took away Akhilleus' prize (and in [18] when recounting the story of how Zeus was also deceived);¹¹ [20] Lykaon attempts unsuccessfully to recall the last time he and Akhilleus' encountered one another on the battlefield as a binding precedent for his opponent's actions in the present;¹² [23] Patroklos' shade invokes his and

⁴ Cf. 29/1; 94/2.

⁵ Cf. 183/3.

⁶ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁷ Cf. 9/18 n. 23.

⁸ Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

⁹ Cf. 9/29 n. 12.

¹⁰ Cf. 41/9 n. 2; also Edwards (1991) on 18. 84–5, 156–7. The rhetorical purpose and construction of Akhilleus' appeal to this story might add force to Edwards's conclusion that 'Homer altered the story of the gift of armour to Akhilleus in Phthie, attributing it to Peleus instead of to Thetis, in order to allow Thetis, without complaining of a repeat performance, to make a second (and identical) gift after the first panoply has been transferred to Hektor. The familiar tale of the gods' gifts at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and the obvious motif of a father handing on his armour to his | son (cf. 7. 148–9), would provide antecedents for the new version.'

¹¹ Cf. 4/11 n. 4.

¹² Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

Akhilleus' childhood (and his dependence on Akhilleus through mention of his metanastic status) in order to argue for burial together.

There are only two examples where the expression refers to future time: [6] Zeus predicts Patroklos' death, Hektor's withdrawal, and the arising of Akhilleus (i.e. the *Dios boule*); [21] the dying Hektor predicts Akhilleus' eventual death. These are striking occasions concerning the plot of the poem and the fate of its central character, and the fact that the prediction in both cases is correct is signalled in no small way because this device is usually associated with known and established events *in the past*.

198 '[I] do not | care' [οὐ | ἀλέγω]: 9 examples: [1] 1. 160, [2] 1. 180, [3] 8. 477, [4] 8. 482–3, [5] 11. 80, [6] 11. 389, [7] 12. 238, [8] 15. 106, [9] 16. 388.¹

This expression is characteristic of both mortal and divine figures who suffer the consequences for failing to take due consideration before acting: [1] Akhilleus claims that Agamemnon has not properly considered his obligations to the army, and his withdrawal is a direct result of this heedlessness, which is confirmed by Agamemnon himself in [2]; [6] Diomedes, despite his claims of indifference towards Paris' martial skill, has in fact been sidelined by the Trojan for the rest of the fight. His claim sounds a trifle hollow;² [7] in the light of Poulydamas' correct interpretation, Hektor states his lack of consideration for ornithomancy, an obvious symbol of his delusion and coming doom;³ [9] the storms raised by Zeus are directed towards men who drive out justice and do not consider the *ῥπς* of the gods—a constant theme, for example, in Hesiod.⁴

The expression is used of Zeus' relationship with the other gods in terms of his determination to act without regard for their opinions in [3], [4], [5], and [8], in the former pair in terms of Here's putative wrathful withdrawal,⁵ and in the last two linked with the theme of his own physical separation.⁶ One might consider in this regard that Zeus' decision not to inform the pro-Greek deities about his intentions is not necessarily the most constructive way of going about achieving his ends. After all, the poem closes with the death of the figure more than anyone else keeping Troy safe. Certainly Here is able to delay the fulfilment of Zeus' plans, and Poseidon's activities present a considerable obstacle for the human agents of his brother's will. Though Zeus gets his way in the end, the fulfilment of the *Dios boule* is a tortuous process.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 180, 85.

² Cf. 88/6 n. 6.

³ Cf. 26/17 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Janko (1992) on 16. 386–8, 366; also 197/14.

⁵ Cf. 18/4; also 5/1 n. 2.

⁶ Cf. 18/6; also 5/1 n. 2.

‘no | other | more . . .’ [οὐ | comparative | ἄλλο]: 8 examples: [1] 2. 248, [2] 3. 365, [3] 8. 483, [4] 10. 165, [5] 15. 569, [6] 19. 321, [7] 22. 106, [8] 23. 439.¹

This type of comparison links the negative quality with the detriment of both the speaker and the character so described. The imprecation itself is of various sorts: [1] Odysseus links Thersites’ low character and status with his own determination to prevent such a man from interfering in the business of the *basileis* ever again;² [2] Menelaos complains of Zeus’ support for a group of people who have so obviously broken the bounds of decency and right behaviour, at the very moment when his personal vengeance was about to be satisfied;³ [3] Zeus describes Here’s qualities in rather canine terms, a somewhat ambiguous comparison in Homeric poetry;⁴ [4] Diomedes uses the expression in a humorous question, underlining Nestor’s hardihood, which, given his greater age, makes the others seem less diligent in their duty simply by taking their rest after a hard day’s battle, and a harder evening’s embassy;⁵ [6] Akhilleus so names the death of Patroklos as the greatest possible evil he could suffer, greater even than the death of his father; [7] the insult from an inferior would be detrimental not only for its truth but also its source.⁶ The importance to Hektor of avoiding such an episode is heightened by his stance throughout the poem, e.g. his comments to Poulydamas at 12. 230–50;⁷ [8] Menelaos feels that the youth’s reckless driving has cost him his prize and share of honour.⁸

Only in [5], where Menelaos is attempting to get Antilokhos to jump out and make a cast at someone, does this not seem to be the case. However, one needs to remember their conflict in Ψ [8] as well as their general friendship.⁹ The current reference to Antilokhos’ speed and audacity is a constant part of his characterization in the *Iliad*, and could allude to his later death at the hands of Memnon. This may imply the configuration of his death in the *Aithiopis*, but could also simply have been the result of his recklessness and desire always to be in the forefront of the fighting.¹⁰ This quality is emphasized on several occasions throughout the poem as a generic danger to a hero’s life, and characters are elsewhere warned not to range through the front ranks (cf. e.g. 5. 249–50). Antilokhos’ daring leads him deliberately to ignore a cautionary shout from the older man during the chariot race (23. 430), giving rise to [8], and consider also Peisistratos’ description of his brother, *περὶ δ’ ἄλλων φασὶ γένεσθαι | Ἀντίλοχον, περὶ μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἤδ’ ἐμὰ μαχητήν* (*Od.* 4. 201–2). Thus Menelaos in [5] is alluding to the risks inherent in Antilokhos’

¹ Cf. Kirk (1985) on 3. 365–8, 319; Janko (1992) on 15. 568–71, 290; Chantraine (1953) 121 defines a broader group. ² Cf. 6/1 n. 2. ³ Cf. 125/4 n. 5. ⁴ Cf. 164 n. 1.

⁵ Cf. 79/4 n. 4.

⁶ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

⁷ Cf. 26/17 n. 2; also 2/9 n. 6.

⁸ Cf. 9/45 n. 20.

⁹ Cf. Willcock (1983); also 9/45 n. 20.

¹⁰ Cf. 35 n. 1. For other Homeric nods to cyclic material, cf. 62/6 n. 7; 90/6 n. 8; 210 n. 1; also Commentary ad loc.

bravery / daring at the same time as exhorting him to indulge in it. The loss of Antilokhos to the mission would be a cause for great personal sadness on Menelaos' part (cf. esp. 23. 607–8, where he acknowledges his debt to the Nestoridai), but there is a necessity in the current situation overriding that consideration.

200 'to [him] not at all [he] spoke' [τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη]: 6 examples: [1] 1. 511, [2] 4. 401, [3] 5. 689, [4] 6. 342, [5] 8. 484, [6] 21. 478.¹

On each occasion, silence falls in the context of a rebuke, reflecting the inappropriateness of reply because the character is unwilling or unable to concede the speaker's opinion or perspective. The issue at hand, however, needs at least temporary resolution, which usually follows: [1] Zeus is initially silent to Thetis' request because to reply favourably, as he knows, will necessitate divine conflict. Nonetheless, because she continues with what amounts almost to a threat,² he is then forced to concede to her second supplication; [2] Diomedes, though he disagrees with Agamemnon, cannot tell him he is wrong given the taunt about his great rhetorical skill,³ but must prove his worth during the coming fighting, and much of his characterization in the poem reflects that need. Sthenelos then rebukes Agamemnon before being brought back into line by Diomedes. Refutation will come only through deeds;⁴ [3] Hektor fails to reply to Sarpedon's request for aid because it would halt his advance. There seems to have been some tension between the allies and the leading Trojan on this matter,⁵ but it comes down basically to the relative importance of Hektor's heroic *kudos* and military prudence, which choice is hardly happy for him elsewhere. Sarpedon's companions then rescue him; [4] Hektor does not reply when Paris answers his just charge, for Hektor's initial rebuke had assumed that Paris' withdrawal from the battle was caused by resentment towards the Trojans, and Paris in his reply had simply denied it, saying that he was given over to sorrow before his wife turned him to thoughts of war *μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν* (6. 337). Helen's centrality to his motivation is clearly a source of concern to Hektor, whose own marital relationship is not allowed to interfere with his duties (cf. esp. 6. 441, 485–93), and so he is far from convinced by his brother's explanation. The problem is acknowledged in Helen's following speech (343–58), in which she details her

¹ Cf. Kirk (1990) on 6. 342, 204; Latacz (2000) on 1. 511, 165. As Σ bT on 8. 484 perceptively notes, ἐν καιρῷ ἢ ἀποσιώπησις· οὐτε γὰρ ἐπαινεῖν ἔχει πᾶ λεχθέντι οὐτε ἀνπλέγειν πρὸς ὀργὴν ποιούτην. ² Cf. 7/2.

³ Cf. Commentary at n. 87 for the way in which Nestor packs persuasive features into his speech so as to persuade Diomedes. It is perhaps a sign of the latter's apprenticeship, but also his determination, that so many of these rhetorical devices are required; cf. 11a/1 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. also 49/7–10; 11a/1 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 42/3 n. 5.

husband's failings and her own shame at being the cause of the trouble;⁶ [6] Apollo cannot reply to Artemis' reminder of his past promises, because to do so would necessitate a conflict with Poseidon which he has just forsworn.⁷ Here's following rebuke of Artemis amounts to an absolutist, if somewhat humorous, exemplification of precisely why Apollo should not have joined the fight.⁸

In lacking even a temporary resolution of the sort found in the other examples, [5] is exceptional, as the poet simply moves straight to the setting of the sun.⁹ This unique transition says much of the fact that there can never be complete harmony between Zeus and his wife, and certainly not in this poem.¹⁰

Nightfall: 5 examples: [1] 1. 605, [2] 7. 465, [3] 8. 485–6, [4] 18. 239–41, 201 [5] 24. 351.¹

There are only five explicit narrations of sunset in the *Iliad* and (as with *dawn*) there is no repeated or formulaic expression for this action.² One of the commonest expressions for sunset in the *Odyssey*, ἥμιος δ' ἥελιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν (9. 168, 9. 558, 10. 185, 10. 478, 12. 31, 19. 426), is only found in the *Iliad* at 1. 475, where it is obviously and immediately linked with the following ἥμιος | πῆμιος dawn (477–8) (as it is in the *Odyssey*).³ The other common *Odyssey* expression for sunset, δύσετο δ' ἥελιος (2. 388, 3. 487, 3. 497, 6. 321, 7. 289, 8. 417, 11. 12, 15. 185, 15. 296, 15. 471), is found only at *Iliad* 7. 465 [2] (cf. below).⁴

These expressions are all followed, sometimes after appropriate end of day activities, by a nocturnal episode initiating or motivating the next day's action, which is always introduced by an explicit description of *dawn*:⁵

⁶ Cf. 9/18 and n. 23; also 18/2 n. 3.

⁷ Cf. 99/21 n. 11.

⁸ Cf. 7/6 n. 7.

⁹ Even the only example of this expression in the *Odyssey*, 20. 183, shows a temporary resolution. After the abuse delivered by Melanthios, Odysseus remains silent, whereupon the arrival of Philoitios produces a friendly greeting and a wish for Odysseus to return home (185–225). Thus the faithful servant counteracts the effect of the unfaithful one; cf. Fenik (1974) 172–89.

¹⁰ Cf. Appendix B.

¹ de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 1. 423, 42; also, however, Latacz (2000) on 1. 605–11, 182: 'die Nachtruhe signalisiert, dass das Szenen-Ende naht.'

² There are intimations of sunset, as when Idaïos and Talthybios approach Hektor and Aias, urging the end of the duel with the argument νύξ δ' ἥδη πέλεθαι ἄγαθόν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι (7. 282). One may also note the poet's comment καὶ νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισιν ἔδω φάος ἡελίοιο | εἰ μὴ Ἀχιλλεύς αἰψ' Ἀγαμέμνονα εἴπε παρασπῆς (23. 154–5); cf. below.

³ Cf. 1 n. 3; also 27/1. It is not included in this example pool, as it is an example of the ritual-continuative progression represented by dawns of that variety.

⁴ The poet also employs a formulaic expression denoting prospectively the end of the day (δύμη τ' ἥελιος καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ) at 11. 194 = 209 = 17. 455.

⁵ Cf. 1; also 205.

[1] heralds the retiring to bed of all the gods, and then the sending of the dream which sets up the Greek assault (1/1); [2] is followed by the extended meal and thundering of Zeus which foreshadows his hostility towards both sides but particularly the Greeks on the next day (1/2); [3] the immediately consequent Trojan *assembly* sets up the Trojan attitude not only for the next day but also their continued aggression even after Akhilleus' appearance, not to mention the activity in the Greek camp (1/3 eventually);⁶ [4] another Trojan *assembly* seals Hektor's doom, being matched on the Greek side by the mourning for Patroklos and the fashioning of the arms, and is obviously building up to the most terrible day of battle (1/4); [5] this expression is testament to the importance of Akhilleus' nocturnal reception of Priam, but firstly the journey itself and the meeting with Hermes, and predicates the mourning for Hektor which begins on the next day (1/6).

As one can see, the only *dawn* not preceded by a nightfall expression is 1/5 (23. 109–10), which fact calls for some comment here. The poet's construction of Patroklos' Funeral extends (conventionally) over two days,⁷ the first opening at 23. 109 (μυρομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως) and closing with a thematic echo in a nightfall 'intimation' at 154–5 (καί νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισι ἔδν φάος ἡελίοιο). The second day begins at 226–8 with an ἦμος | τῆμος ritual progression signifying the return to social normality,⁸ and does not close before the narrative moves into indefinite time (24. 12–13).⁹ The poet could well have used his conventional *nightfall*—episode—*dawn* progression before the Funeral, particularly as the respective nocturnal episodes at 68–107 and 192–225 do motivate the next day's actions.¹⁰ He did not because he intended to stress the activities of the second day (i.e. the contests) and had to use a transitional dawn expression to open that day (cf. 7. 433–4, 24. 788–9).¹¹ Thus the *nightfall*—episode—*dawn* progression would be too removed from the emphasized events, and so the poet delayed the signpost (*nightfall*) of a coming nocturnal episode to the end of the first day instead of before it. The resulting structure may be represented schematically:

⁶ Reinhardt (1961) 142 argues that the separation between Θ and I should fall after the nightfall at 8. 488, and this has indeed some sense in terms of the structural affinities between the two assembly scenes in the Greek and Trojan camps. The continuity between Θ and I on this point will be stressed in other ways in the following scenes; cf. also Commentary n. 347 for other opinions about the book divisions.

⁷ Cf. Edwards (1986).

⁸ Cf. 27/7.

⁹ Cf. 1 n. 3 ('indefinite' because the iteratives make it clear that these actions were repeated over several individual days).

¹⁰ Cf. 205/14–16.

¹¹ Cf. 27.

<i>Nightfall</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Dawn</i>
	23. 65–108	109–10 (1/5) > 1st day
154–5 (intim.)	161–225	226–8 (27/7) > 2nd day

Hereby the audience is, firstly, surprised by the appearance of Patroklos' shade (for they had not been led to expect a nocturnal episode) and, secondly, prepared for the increased scale of the second day's activities (for it does have a semi-normal *nightfall* signpost as well as a larger nocturnal episode than the first). Again the poet's desire to do something extraordinary is driven by the qualities, actions, and character of Akhilleus, but he achieves his ends by constructing innovative narrative along referential paths.¹²

'I thought' [ἐφάμην]: 7 examples: [1] 3. 366 (125/4), [2] 5. 190, [3] 8. 498, [4] 202 12. 165 (125/13), [5] 15. 251, [6] 17. 171, [7] 22. 298.¹

These rueful outbursts from characters are followed by an eventually unsuccessful attempt to counteract or circumvent an obstacle of which the speaker complains. The frustrated intention or expectation is expressed with ἐφάμην and its negating factor introduced by νῦν δέ *vel sim*: [1] (Menelaos) I thought I should be avenged, but my sword is shattered;² [2] (Pandaros) I believed I should kill Diomedes, but did not;³ [4] (Asios) I thought I should take the ships, but the Lapithai have stopped me; [6] (Hektor) I used to think Glaukos was clever, but I now realize that this is not the case;⁴ [7] (Hektor) I thought assistance in the form of Deiphobos was near, but now it is death.⁵ Hektor's comment in [5] seems an exception, for he simply says that he thought he should die, with no answering negating situation (and it is hardly a frustration in the usual sense of the word). However, that can be assumed from his present state, already summarized by Apollo (15. 244–5), and the situation is still one where the speaker's expectations have turned out to be false.

The counteraction is then expressed by the speaker (as in [3], [6], [7]), exhorted by the addressee (as in [2], [5]), or simply acted upon without further ado [1], whilst Asios' plaint in [4] is designed to persuade Zeus, in which it fails (cf. 12. 173–4), but his contingent continues in its efforts around the gates until the poet returns his focus to Hektor (12. 195). Even though he is not mentioned after this point for quite some time, therefore, his attempt is ongoing.⁶ The character himself may require persuasion for the counteraction: [2] Pandaros' resolution is to break his weapons when he returns

¹² Cf. 1 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1908b) on 17. 171, 70.

² Cf. 125/4 n. 5.

³ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁴ Cf. 76/8 n. 2; also 42/3 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

⁶ Cf. 48/8 n. 12.

home, and Aineias redirects him to another attempt on Diomedes;⁷ [5] after Hektor has explained his withdrawal from the battle, Apollo exhorts him back into the fray.

The failure of the attempt is ubiquitous: [1] Paris is rescued by Aphrodite, initially by breaking his helmet strap; [2] Pandaros and Aineias fail to kill Diomedes, and the latter of the pair only just escapes; [3] Hektor will not of course manage to burn the ships or return to Troy; [4] Asios will not get past the Lapithai; [5] though Hektor does manage to rejoin the battle and drive the Greeks back, he is finally unsuccessful; [6] Hektor does not even manage to face Aias in the ensuing battle (cf. below); [7] despite his courage, Hektor is doomed to failure and death at Akhilleus' hands. Nonetheless, his attempt is indeed *π καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι* (22. 305), and marks this example as singular in that the character is aware that his counteraction is to fail. The magnificence of this speech in no small measure is due to the connotations of its *ἐφάμην* realization.⁸

Moreover, it is intriguing to note that the character's mistaken intention is in itself often traditionally impossible, and so the failure of his intention is inevitable: [1] Menelaos' vengeance on Paris; [2] the death of Diomedes; [3] the destruction of the Greek ships; [4] the destruction of the ships by Asios; [5] Hektor's death at the hands of Aias; [7] the presence and assistance of Deiphobos. This is not obviously so in [6], for the only indication that the thought was impossible (i.e. that Glaukos was not the cleverest of the Lykians) comes from the exchange of armour in *Z*. It must be remembered that Hektor has just received a stinging rebuke from Glaukos, similar in tone (and eventual purpose) to his earlier reproach (16. 537–47) and along the same lines as that delivered by Sarpedon on the first battle day (5. 471–92).⁹ Moreover, despite his rejection, he does not immediately challenge Aias, and indeed offers an equal share of honour to whoever should make Aias yield (17. 229–32). Thus Hektor's *ἐφάμην* would in these circumstances be noticeable to an audience, and perhaps an indication of the speciousness of his reply.

203 Night instruction | morning prediction: 7 examples: [1] 7. 370–1 | 372–8 (*ἡῶθεν*) (2/5), [2] 8. 502–24 | 525–8 (*ἡοῦς*) // 529 | 530–41 (*πρωῖ*) (2/7), [3] 9. 65–8 | {68–78} (2/8), [4] 9. 704–6 | 707–9 (*ἀντάρ ἐπελ*), [5] 18. 273–6 | 277–83 (*πρωῖ*) (2/9), [6] 18. 298–9 | 303–9 (*πρωῖ*) (2/9), [7] 23. 48 | 49–53 (*ἡῶθεν*).¹

These progressions fall within a speech at the end of the day (and so usually within an *assembly*) and deal with the immediate preparations for the night

⁷ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

⁸ Cf. 190/4; also 33/16 n. 4.

⁹ Cf. 42/3 n. 5.

¹ Cf. Lohmann (1970) 20 n. 23, 31–2, 40 n. 65, 119–20.

and the following morning: [1] Priam's speech concerns not only the immediate practicalities for guarding the city, but also the sending of the double proposal to the Greeks on the morrow; [2] is a singular example of the pattern, and a sign of the unusual situation in which the Trojans find themselves.² Firstly, it consists of two night–morning contrasts (8. 502–28 | 529–41) instead of the usual one, and so it is by far the most extensive and complex example.³ This is an obvious indication of the importance of Hektor's decision to remain on the plain, for this is the first time the Trojans have been able to do so. They will stay here until the disastrous final day of battle, and so this determination is a momentous occasion within the plot of the poem;⁴ [3] Nestor is not concerned yet with the next day, but the development of the *boule* and embassy which is to follow. The requisite information is contained in Diomedes' speech in the *boule* which closes those actions [4], where he advises sleep and rest, before urging that they fight bravely in the morning. Every battle day is graced with a consultation scene (*assembly* or *boule*) in which this contrast is effected, and the night of the second day is graced with three such speeches ([2], [3], [4]), all looking forward to the next great central day. Furthermore, the final Trojan assembly before the dreadful last day of battle is graced with two such examples, where first Poulydamas [5] and then Hektor [6] attempt to impose their instructions on the army. In the other cases, the appearance of the instructions identifies the determinative speech and so, even though Poulydamas' suggestions were made in a more tentative way than normal for such commands (cf. 18. 273), it is another symbol of the mistake made by Hektor and the Trojans in not acceding to his advice.⁵

The usual nocturnal instructions in these speeches concern the preparation of a meal, setting the guard and sleep. Only Poulydamas' speech in [5] is as unusual as [2], in outlining an individual course of action (retreating to the city that night) and one which is immediately rejected by Hektor. A quick check of the citations will show the clearly expanded nature of the practicalities in [2], whose example extends for 23+1 verses: [1] 2 verses, [3] 4, [4] 3, [5] 4, [6] 2, [7] 1. The resulting emphasis is to be related to the individual requirements of the Θ episode, e.g. the need to stable the horses temporarily (8. 503–4), and to bring enough wood to light the watch-fires (507–9). Hektor, moreover, bothers to explain his command to collect wood at some length (508–16), as well as the setting of the guard in the city (522). The usual commands as a rule are self-explanatory.

² Cf. e.g. 7. 370, 9. 352–5, 18. 287.

³ This has not always been considered a virtue; cf. e.g. Kirk (1990) on 8. 497–541, 336.

⁴ Cf. esp. Schadewaldt (1966) 103–9.

⁵ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

The performance of the nocturnal instructions may be minimized and omitted: [1] Priam issues instructions for the taking of the meal and a setting of the guard (7. 370–1), but only the meal is described (380); [6] similarly, the setting of the guard is omitted. Omission is not, however, the poet's inevitable practice: [4] the army does indeed libate (9. 705–6 ~712) and then takes its rest, as Diomedes had suggested. The practical instructions of [5] are, of course, denied by [6]. Only in [2] and [3]—which mirror one another—are the performance narratives given any prominence at all: [3] the setting of the guard is narrated at quite some length (9. 80–8), and the *basileis* will check on their performance in *K*; [2] the Trojan army laboriously performs every one of Hektor's commands (8. 543–65), but omits the instructions for the city. The poet thus manages to emphasize the activities of the army in the field.

The actions proposed for the morrow (or the next episode) are always fulfilled: [1] Idaeos does go to the ships and repeat the message; [3] the council is immediately formed; [4] Agamemnon does indeed fight among the foremost at the start of the day; [5] though Poulydamas' suggestions are instantly denied by Hektor, his own determination to fight Akhilleus is eventually realized [6]; [7] Agamemnon gives the requisite orders; [2] Hektor's determination to fight (8. 530–41) is obviously typical, but his earlier projection of further commands to the Trojans ῥοῦς (525) remains unfulfilled. This should not make one doubt the authenticity of this first projection, as the structural duplication throws as much emphasis on the first pattern's practicalities as it does on the second's projection. The neglected member of the dichotomy in each case is thus almost ignored, and its narration becomes as unimportant as that of the usual practical instructions.

204 'let us yield to' [πειθώμεθα]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 502 (νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ) (2/7), [2] 9. 65 (νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ) (2/8), [3] 12. 241 (Διὸς βουλῇ), [4] 23. 48 (στυγερῇ δαιτὶ).¹

The expression is used for commands of usually immediate specificity, which are then straight away overshadowed by a further command or exhortation. The point of the expression is thus transitional, moving the audience from a past / present impasse or situation into the future determination, and so it is naturally found during an end of day *assembly*.² [1] Hektor's commands relate to the nocturnal portion of the first *night instruction* | *morning prediction*

¹ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 48, 170.

² The other two examples come from consultations between characters in front of others, both of which might be termed *boulai* or 'council scenes', one on the battlefield, the other in the Greek camp. They are much like, but also much smaller than, the *assembly*. Space does not permit a full analysis.

sequence in his speech, before moving on to a brief prediction for the morning; [2] Nestor's instructions for dinner and the setting of the guard give way to suggesting a *boule*; [3] Hektor's rejection of the omen and his somewhat paradoxical appeal to yield to the *Dios boule* (which in his terms means fighting now to the utmost) gives way to his abuse of Poulydamas and a warning not to stop others from fighting. Though the transition is not as clear in some of the other examples, this is an obvious contrast between Poulydamas' current suggestion and what Hektor will do now;³ [4] Akhilleus counsels yielding to the idea of hateful nourishment before turning to what is really on his mind—the burial of Patroklos.

'but come, as I speak, let us all obey' [ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες]: 8 examples: [1] 2. 139 (2/2), [2] 9. 26 (2/8), [3] 9. 704, [4] 12. 75, [5] 14. 74, [6] 14. 370, [7] 15. 294, [8] 18. 297 (2/9).¹ 204a

This expression is also used to introduce contrastive commands, as the *'let us yield to'* expression, in that the immediate commands are then overshadowed by another layer of exhortation. A large number of these examples are also located in *assemblies* or council scenes, and several of them occur at the end of the day (as [2], [3], [8]): [1] (= [2]) Agamemnon exhorts his men to leave Troy. It is noticeable that these two instructions, the only ones not to have a clear transition from one exhortation to the next, are also the only ones to remain unfulfilled; [3] Diomedes suggests sleep and then fighting well in the morning;² [4] Poulydamas suggests leaving the chariots at the trench and advancing on foot;³ [5] Agamemnon again makes a suggestion of flight, by dragging one ship down to the sea and then doing the same to the rest at night. It is almost as though, having misused the figure in [1] and [2], he had learned how to deploy it properly (if only to advance a disastrous course of action); [6] Poseidon suggests a redistribution of armaments (already suggested by Diomedes at the start of the book) as preparatory to a renewed effort at resistance; [7] Thoas proposes sending the crowd back to the ships whilst the ἄριστοι prevent Hektor from falling on the ships;⁴ [8] Hektor's end-of-day instructions contrast the usual immediate practicalities with a prediction for the morning.⁵

³ Alternatively, it seems as though this might be of the same order as the two examples of *'but come, as I speak, let us all obey'* 204a/1, 2 below, where the examples which do not have a clear split between two sets of instructions are unfulfilled or in some other way disturbed; cf. 26/17 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 139, 50.

² Cf. 203/4.

³ For other elements in this scene (12. 60–81), cf. 209/4; 212/22, 23.

⁴ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

⁵ Cf. 203/6; also 2/9 n. 6.

205 'all night' [*παννύχιοι*]: 17 examples: [1] 2. 2 (201/1) (1/1), [2] 2. 24 (201/1) (1/1), [3] 2. 61 (201/1) (1/1), [4] 7. 476 (201/2), [5] 7. 478 (201/2), [6] 8. 508 (201/3) (1/3), [7] 8. 554 (201/3) (1/3), [8] 10. 2 (201/3) (1/3), [9] 10. 159 (201/3) (1/3), [10] 11. 551, [11] 17. 660, [12] 18. 315 (201/4) (1/4), [13] 18. 354 (201/4) (1/4), [14] 23. 105 (1/5), [15] 23. 217, [16] 23. 218, [17] 24. 678 (201/5) (1/6).¹

Actions so described are a continuing context for a corresponding episode, and every day graced with a description of sunset (and some that are not) is also bejewelled with preceding actions of this sort.² The continuity of the *per noctem* action is well emphasized in those examples where a character rebukes the addressee for sleeping all night through: [2], [3] the Dream faults Agamemnon and rouses him to battle; [9] Nestor wakes Diomedes for the council.³ When applied in the similes in [10] and [11] (the only examples not linked with a preceding or impending nocturnal period in the narrative), the guardianship of the dogs and men who stay awake is contrasted with the lion's continued, if fruitless, activity.⁴

The figure often allows either a transition of group or a sharpening of focus within it, and two corresponding actions may be labelled *παννύχιος*: [1] the other gods sleep whilst Zeus plots the disinformation; [4] the armies dine whilst Zeus thunders [5]; [6] details the instruction and then [7] the fulfilment of the Trojan guard; [8] the other heroes sleep but Agamemnon is wide awake and thinking of the best course; [12] after the Trojan assembly, the Greeks grieve for Patroklos *per noctem*, then Akhilleus leads off and details his lament, before the poet returns once again to a general picture of grief [13] and an immediate transition to Olympos. The poet thus combines focalization and transition within the same action; [14] Akhilleus speaks *post factum* of Patroklos' visitation as *παννυχίη*, and the episode was itself contrasted with the Greeks going to bed (23. 58–9). It is slightly unusual for the figure to be used in this way, i.e. without a following corresponding episode, but nothing unexpected when one is dealing with Akhilleus;⁵ [15] the fire burns on Patroklos' pyre whilst Akhilleus grieves and libates [16];⁶ [17] the other gods sleep, but Hermes goes to fetch Priam.⁷

¹ Cf. O'Sullivan (2000).

² There are few exceptions: apart from the 'timeless' simile examples of 10 and 11, both 15 and 16 precede one of the *Iliad's* four dawns of the *ἡμους* | *τῆμους* variety (23. 226–8); cf. 1 n. 3; also 201 for the apparent exception of 1/5, and the temporal markers in the construction of Patroklos' funeral. 15 and 16 occur during the *second* night of Akhilleus' mourning, whilst 14 was applied by him to the appearance of Patroklos' ghost on the previous night. The expression for dawn may be altered (as indeed may the *nightfall*—episode—*dawn* progression), but the audience's level of information is constant.

⁵ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. 119/61.

⁷ Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

³ Cf. 79/4 n. 4.

⁴ Cf. 164/9, 21.

'selas to heaven / sky goes' [σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκηι]: 3 examples (1): [1] 8. 509, [2] 18. 214 (αἰθέρ'), [3] 19. 379 (αἰθέρ'), [4] *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 442.¹

This expression denotes a bright flash from a range of objects including watch-fires [1], armour or the hero [2], [3], and the star alike to which Apollo leaps from the ship into his *adyton* [4]. These descriptions are associated with an individual or group in the process of a change of identity or appearance. This change is primarily expressed through a preceding simile, but the transformation should not be limited to that comparison:² [2] after being compared to a city-beacon lit to summon help (cf. esp. 18. 207, 210–12), Akhilleus is so described as he has been equipped by Athene with the aegis and is about to shout over the trench;³ [3] preceded by a simile in which σέλας has appeared to sailors from a beacon,⁴ Akhilleus is in the process of arming himself in his new divine panoply; [4] Apollo disappears like a star and then reappears as a young man to the terrified Cretan sailors, but the transformation is also expressive of the revelation of his powers and the establishment of his cult among men.

Therefore, the import of the expression in [1], which is the only example not to use a simile (though one could argue that it leads the audience forward shortly to the star simile at the end of Θ) and the only one to apply the image to an inanimate object rather than a named individual,⁵ is to show how unusual are these fires by applying this transformative connotation to their circumstance.

Furthermore, σέλας always has an identifiable internal audience, to whose reaction the external audience is therefore directed:⁶ [2] the light from Akhilleus (as again in [3]) may be a sign of the coming avalanche, but in the preceding simile narrative light is a positive image for the inhabitants of the city [2] (though perhaps not so much for the besiegers or those coming to help) and for the sailors [3]. Both these similes, therefore, would seem to be emphasizing the assistance which Akhilleus' intervention is giving to the *Greeks*, who are in the position analogous to that of the city in [2] and the sailors in [3]; [4] Apollo's bright epiphany frightens the hell out of the

¹ Cf. Kaimio (1977) 83–4; cf. also 103 n. 1 (and 103a). 4 shows a superficial variation on the definition offered at 103 for objects which 'to heaven went', in that there is no proximate intervention by a(nother) deity in the action signalled by the expression. However, the settlement of Apollo's province of powers—represented *inter alia* by his epiphany at 442—is an essential element in the establishment of Zeus' reign in the world (and it is conventional in these hymns that Zeus is closely involved in judging, initiating, or guaranteeing the deity's powers; cf. Clay 1989 *passim*), and so the expression perfectly represents the idea of divine notice and interest in the action.

² Unlike the similes so introduced when characters are μέγα φρονέοντες; cf. 216.

³ Cf. 92/8 n. 9; also 12/3 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. also the σέλας that comes from his shield as he puts it on (18. 373–4); cf. also 217/7.

⁵ That may, however, be quibbling; the Trojans are clearly the ones lighting the fires.

⁶ Cf. 217.

obvious internal audience, the Cretans, though it presages positive things for them as well; [1] Hektor's following words would seem *prima facie* to focus the audience's attention on the Greeks, so as to prevent them from fleeing at their leisure during the night, but need not exclude the Trojans.⁷

207 'over the broad back of the sea' [ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης]: 3 examples (7): [1] 2. 159, [2] 8. 511, [3] 20. 228, [4] *Od.* 3. 142, [5] *Od.* 4. 313, [6] *Od.* 4. 362, [7] *Od.* 4. 560, [8] *Od.* 5. 17, [9] *Od.* 5. 142, [10] *Od.* 17. 146.¹

This expression is only used when the journey is seen as particularly desirable by those taking it:² [1] Here fears that the Greeks will now flee homewards after they have been persuaded to do so. She understands perfectly that they all want to leave—even Odysseus;³ [2] though the Greek departure is of course desirable from his point of view, Hektor feels that the Greeks themselves will want to leave because of their setbacks; [3] in his genealogical account before the combat with Akhilleus, Aineias tells the story of Erikhthonios' horses, which were loved of Boreas and produced offspring which ran both over the land and ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης with such a light touch that they did not damage the flowers and moved over the very top of the waves.⁴ Anthropomorphic emotions are typical of animals in Homeric poetry,⁵ but the expression also refers to the owner of such miraculous horses, for he becomes able to ride along the waves in this quasi-divine manner. This fits well with the point of the speech as a whole—to justify his status to face Akhilleus—and enlarges the theme of ancestral comparison and competition which Apollo had invoked (20. 105–7) as the crucial factor in his motivation of the hero;⁶ [4] Nestor's story of the quarrel between Agamemnon and

⁷ Cf. Kirk (1990) ad loc., 337; M. L. West places a comma at the end of 509 (with Allen and van Leeuwen), which would make the current interpretation much easier. Van Thiel uses a semicolon (with Leaf); also 208/1.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2000) on 2. 159, 57. One might also consider 9. 72 (ἐπ' εὐρέα πόντον ἄγουσιν), where Nestor describes the transportation of wine from Thrace (obviously a source of joy for those concerned), and 6. 291 (ἐπιπλοῦς εὐρέα πόντον), which describes Paris' journey home with dresses from Sidon (and Helen)—hardly an unhappy trip for him (cf. 3. 443–5)—and *Od.* 24. 118 (περήσαμεν εὐρέα πόντον), where the journey for Agamemnon to fetch Odysseus was indeed desirable (whatever the rest of the verse means; cf. Heubeck 1992 ad loc., 373).

² Of course, almost all journeys must be desirable on some level. Nonetheless, sea journeys which are thought of as harsh or unpleasant are never so described; e.g. that of Menelaos back to Egypt, Odysseus to the underworld, Eumaios to Ithaka, the Greeks' journey to Troy, etc.

³ Cf. 80/1 and n. 5.

⁴ Cf. Edwards (1991) ad loc., 318–19, for the controversy over the meaning of 20. 229.

⁵ Cf. Introduction, 8 n. 26.

⁶ Cf. 9/39 n. 18; also 102/8 n. 1. It may also have something to do with the speaker's (or poet's) desire to justify the inclusion of Erikhthonios in the genealogy of the Trojan royal house by creating a parallel with both Tros and Laomedon; cf. Edwards (1991) on 20. 219, 317, and on 20. 220–9, 317–18. For conflict between Laomedon and Ankhises' lines, cf. 18/7 n. 9.

Menelaos uses the expression of the latter's decision to leave specifically in order to show his eagerness; [5] Menelaos asks Telemakhos' reason for making the journey, and this should be connected above all with his eagerness to offer his hospitality. For the hero at home, the ability to entertain guests, as well as the joy of discourse so prominent in this context in the *Odyssey*, is one of the great advantages of wealth and power.⁷ This enjoyment, however, disregards the desperation of the situation on Ithaka, of which Menelaos later shows himself unappreciative when he offers in ο to take Telemakhos on a trip around Greece;⁸ [6] Menelaos is stuck at Pharos without the winds which would send him over the sea, where he obviously wants to go; [7] similarly, Proteus tells Menelaos that Odysseus is stranded without the equipment to enable the desired voyage (repeated by Athene in [8], Kalypso in [9], and Telemakhos in [10]).

'not without effort' [μη μὲν ἀσπουδαί γε]: 3 examples: [1] 8. 512, [2] 15. 476, 208 [3] 22. 304.¹

These expressions are applied to actions whose eventuality—in the eyes of the speaker—should not be easy: [1] Hektor tells his army not to allow the Greeks a leisurely retreat, ἀλλ' ὥς τις τούτων γε βέλος καὶ οὔκοθι πέσσει (8. 513), and specifically in order that others should think twice before attacking the Trojans; [2] speaking to Teukros, Aias determines to make the Trojan seizure of the ships not an easy thing (15. 477);² [3] knowing that he has been abandoned by the gods, Hektor delivers the most magnificent speech in the poem, determining that he should not die quiescent ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας π καὶ ἔσσομένοισι πνθέσθαι.³ The fulfilment of the eventuality seems to be accepted as inevitable by the speaker: [1] Hektor is convinced that the Greeks themselves want to retreat,⁴ and if they do he wants to be prepared for it. The eventuality in this case is either to happen that night, or is consequent on Hektor's further achievements on the morrow; [2] the situation seems very bad from a Greek perspective, and the Trojans do manage to burn one ship; [3] Hektor knows that his death is at hand.

Were there more examples, it could be contended with greater certainty that the preferred action is normally fulfilled: [2] Aias and his brother do

⁷ Cf. esp. *Od.* 3. 345–55, 4. 30–7 and 15. 208–14 for the link between hospitality and the host's conception.

⁸ This would suggest an obtuseness in Menelaos which Reece (1993) 71–99 feels characteristic of his behaviour as a host. There may, however, be a suggestion that Menelaos thinks Telemakhos will ask him for assistance against the suitors, as they themselves earlier feared (2. 324–30).

¹ Cf. Leaf (1900–2) on 15. 476, 135, who interprets the optative in these cases as concessive. This is not implausible (so Janko 1992 ad loc., 280); also Anastassiou and Mader (1976).

² Cf. 129a/1; also 40/20 n. 8.

³ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

⁴ Cf. Commentary; also 207/2.

indeed rally the Greeks; [3] Hektor dies gloriously. [1] would therefore imply Hektor's delusion about the possibilities of the current situation, and would neither be the first such sign in Θ nor isolated in the poem as a whole.⁵

209 'armed with armour' [$\sigma\upsilon\nu$ τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες]: 6 examples: [1] 8. 530, [2] 11. 49, [3] 11. 725, [4] 12. 77, [5] 18. 277, [6] 18. 303.

This expression usually has a connotation of success, for—leaving aside momentarily the two examples in Hektor's speeches in [1], [6] and Poulydamas' advice in [5]—it initiates a new phase of fighting in which the side so described is victorious: [2] the Greeks advance as they leave their chariots at the trench, and they certainly have the better of the fighting in the first phase of the fighting in Λ ; [3] in Nestor's story about his youthful exploits, the Pylians come to the ford of the Alpheios armed in such a way, and are victorious over the Epeians; [4] Poulydamas' suggestion to do what the Greeks did in [2] is followed by an ascendant period for the Trojans which ends with Hektor breaking into the camp.¹

One might contend that three counterexamples out of six do not allow one to talk of a rule. Firstly, however, these examples are individual configurations of the expression ($\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$ δ' ὑπηροῖσι σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες [8. 530 = 18. 277 = 18. 303]), and there is a *prima facie* case for specific referentiality between them. Secondly, Poulydamas' advice in [5] would have been successful had it been accepted, and the poet makes this clear in several other ways in his speech: his strategy (to stand armed on the city walls) fits excellently with the fact that Akhilleus is not destined to take the city and to die at the Skaian gates (and indeed that the city does not fall to open assault), the first speaker in assemblies is usually the dominant one,² Poulydamas uses the speech introduction $\delta\acute{\iota}$ σφιν εὖ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν,³ and there are plenty of indicators of Hektor's delusion in his following speech (which contains [6]).⁴ In other words, this example accords with the definition above, connoting a successful strategy. Thirdly, Hektor's speech (with [1]) contains much delusion, but the Trojans are still in the field at the end of the next day's battle, and were only prevented from firing the ships by Patroklos, and from claiming his corpse by the extraordinary intervention of Akhilleus. One should, moreover, consider that the finally decisive moment in Trojan strategy falls in the assembly where Poulydamas and Hektor offer their alternative visions, not at the end of Θ .

⁵ Cf. 4/1 n. 2. One might reflect, however, that the Greek departure from Troy is hardly without difficulty, given the pains they have to endure and their attitude to the war as a whole when they return home (e.g. *Od.* 3. 102–17).

¹ Cf. 204a/4 n. 3.

² Cf. 2, 3.

³ Cf. B/9.

⁴ Cf. 2/9 n. 6; also Edwards (1991) on 18. 303–4, 181.

Nonetheless, Hektor does challenge the connotation in deploying the expression in two repeated distichs (8. 530–1 [1] = 18. 303–4 [6]).⁵ His predictions are both essentially wrong, on each occasion being directed towards a personal confrontation with the Greek hero who was both dominant on the day just closed and threatens to be so on the next—Diomedes [1] and Akhilleus [6]⁶—neither of whom Hektor can kill. In short, the disjunction is yet another sign of his misunderstanding.⁷

'let us stir up keen war' [ἐγείρομεν ὀξύν ἄρρηα]: 5 examples: [1] 2. 440, [2] 4. 352, [3] 8. 531, [4] 18. 304, [5] 19. 237.¹ 210

This expression is used to rouse people for war when there is an undercurrent of disagreement or dissatisfaction surrounding the decision: [1] Nestor ends his exhortation with a suggestion that they delay no longer (2. 435–6).² The audience should not forget the worrying reaction of the army to Agamemnon's test, and the role Nestor and Odysseus played in preventing the return of the Greek army from Troy. Agamemnon's leadership is under the spotlight; [2] Odysseus denies Agamemnon's charge that he does not do his bit in the preparation for war;³ [3] there is no explicit disagreement with Hektor's attitude here (indeed the crowd vocally approves of his decision), unlike in [4], but his domination of the battle decisions on the Trojan side is not without its share of disagreement and difficulty for the Trojan polity, which is far from unified or even concentrated on unity in the face of danger. I suggest that the expression here connotes Hektor's awareness of that difficulty over his leadership, and magnifies his exaltation in what seems to be

⁵ Cf. Edwards (1991) on 18. 277–8, 179.

⁶ i.e. after his determinative intervention in Patroklos' *Leichenkampf*. ⁷ Cf. 4/1 n. 2.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 440, 129; Edwards (1991) on 18. 303–4, 181: 'standard incitement to battle'. One might also consider 11. 836 (μένει ὀξύν ἄρρηα) and 17. 721 (μίμνομεν ὀξύν ἄρρηα) under the definition offered above. Firstly, Eurypylos speaks (in his request to Patroklos to tend to him) of the healer Podaleiros, who μένει ὀξύν ἄρρηα and so is unable to use his skills on Eurypylos—an obvious source of dissatisfaction; cf. 20/4 n. 5. In the second case, Aias suggests that those who previously held the defensive role (i.e. he and his brother or Aias *minor*) should continue to do so when Meriones and Menelaos carry Patroklos' corpse from the field (cf. 78/33 n. 21). One might consider Aias' dissatisfaction caused by the fact that his first plan (to get Akhilleus to intervene 17. 640–2) has just been squashed as fairly remote (708–11). However, the poet may also be hinting at the confusion or contention in early epic sources about just who it was who carried Akhilleus' corpse out of the battle; cf. Bernabé (1987) on *Ilias parva* F (dubium) 32, 85–6; Edwards (1991) on 17. 720–1, 131–2. Given the importance that the respective roles of carrying and fighting came to have in the contest for Akhilleus' arms (*Ilias parva* F 2 Bernabé), this would indeed be an interesting allusion to, indeed agonistic comment on, that later episode; cf. 97/5 n. 5. For a less antagonistic example, cf. 103a n. 1.

² This seems somewhat typical (2. 796–7, 19. 148–50).

³ Cf. also 10/3 n. 3.

the moment of penultimate vindication;⁴ [4] Hektor makes his prediction after refuting Poulydamas' suggestion of retreat;⁵ [5] Odysseus concedes the beginning of the fighting, but only after he has successfully opposed Akhilleus' desire for immediate battle.⁶ This scene is crucial in re-establishing the dynamics of reciprocity in the Greek camp, and Odysseus realizes that Akhilleus must be made to wait until the proper processes have been performed.

- 211 '[he] awaits onset' [μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον]: 6 examples: [1] 1. 535, [2] {8. 536}, [3] 12. 136, [4] 13. 472, [5] 15. 406, [6] 22. 252.¹

The advancing figure or figures (subject of the participle) need not succeed in the attack, but the front-foot advance allows the other party only a defensive attitude, whether the first action is negated or not: [1] Zeus enters his house and all the other gods feel forced to stand in his honour. Indeed, this is seen as a concession to his entrance as '*they did not dare*' do otherwise;² [2] Hektor is clearly confident of the outcome of the morning's fighting. It should be mentioned that the spear as participle object picks up well on the description of Hektor's position and attitude at the beginning of the assembly;³ [3] the Trojans under Asios, who are generally in the ascendant, are opposed at the gates by the Lapithai alone. They succeed in holding back Asios and his men because Zeus grants glory to Hektor (12. 174), but they are unable to move on to the offensive at this stage of the battle;⁴ [4] faced by the advancing Aineias, Idomeneus is said to await him as a boar awaits the onset of a throng of men. Nonetheless, he admits the need for reinforcement and goes on to do so in a manner subverting the usual heroic decision to be killed or kill;⁵ [5] the Trojans, thoroughly in the ascendant with the return of Hektor and Apollo's advent with the aegis, renew their attack on the Greeks, who manage to prevent them breaking through but cannot push them back, though greater in number (cf. 15. 406–7); [6] Hektor speaks of his previous failure to face Akhilleus in these terms, when the only option he felt possible was retreat, but now he has determined to face him.⁶

⁴ Perhaps the most revealing speech in this regard is Hektor's expression of dissatisfaction with previous tactics at 15. 718–25, where he blames the elders for their previous defensive attitude; cf. Willcock (1977) 48; Janko (1992) ad loc., 306; also C/3. Moreover, Hektor enjoys a fractious relationship with the allies (42/3 n. 5), and the war is generally unpopular; cf. esp. 18/2 n. 3 for the Trojans' attitude to Paris and Helen; cf. also 2/5 n. 5 on Antenor, and 26/17 n. 2 on Poulydamas. For other political difficulties in Troy, cf. 18/7 n. 9. ⁵ Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

⁶ Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

¹ Cf. Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 535, 257; also Latacz (2000) 170.

² Cf. 33/2. Standing to receive an important arrival is common; cf. 9. 193–5, 9. 671, 15. 85–6.

³ Cf. also (19a).

⁴ Cf. 48/8 n. 12.

⁵ Cf. 9/27 n. 11; also 18/7 n. 9.

⁶ Cf. 33/16 n. 4.

'I think' [ὁἶτω]: 43 examples: [1] 1. 59, [2] 1. 170, [3] 1. 204, [4] 1. 289, [5] 1. 296, [6] 1. 427, [7] 1. 558, [8] 5. 252, [9] 5. 284, [10] 5. 287, [11] 5. 350, [12] 5. 894, [13] 6. 341, [14] 6. 353, [15] {8. 536}, [16] 9. 315, [17] 9. 655, [18] 10. 105, [19] 10. 551, [20] 11. 609, [21] 11. 763, [22] 12. 66, [23] 12. 73, [24] 13. 153, [25] 13. 262, [26] 13. 273, [27] 13. 747, [28] 14. 454, [29] 14. 456, [30] 15. 298, [31] 17. 503, [32] 17. 709, [33] 19. 64, [34] 19. 71, [35] 20. 141, [36] 20. 362, [37] 21. 92, [38] 21. 399, [39] 21. 533, [40] 23. 310, [41] 23. 467, [42] 24. 355, [43] 24. 727.¹

A statement so qualified or governed is an assertion of the speaker's will or opinion, deployed in a number of situations (the categories below are not intended to be mutually exclusive). There are several examples in battle vaunts (as in [10]–[12], [28], [29]) where the character expresses his certainty of success in these terms, and combat more generally is unsurprisingly a popular context for this device (as in [8], [16], [17], [24]–[26], [30], [34]–[38], [42]). It is revealing that Akhilleus frequently uses the expression when asserting his independence of action from Agamemnon (in [1]–[3], [5], [16], [17], [20]), for this is the central issue in their disagreement. Advice, the adoption of which often depends upon the character's status, may also be prefaced in this way, as an expression of the likely outcome should the proposed course not be followed (as in [1], [21]–[23], [27], [39], [40], [42]), and speakers often use the device to underline the strength of a refusal to a request or a disagreement with a prior speech (as in [2], [5], [8], [12], [16], [17], [26]).

Such a range of situations cannot obscure the importance to the speaker of the action so guaranteed, for the ability to make such an assertion is frequently imbued with a psychological importance which resounds well beyond the immediate *locus*: [4] Agamemnon believes that Akhilleus wishes to have greater power than any man, and states his own belief that no one will obey him; Akhilleus then refutes him in the same terms in [5] (cf. 1. 288–9 and 295–6); [6] Thetis tells her son that Zeus will accede to her request, which they both know is intricately bound up in their relationship; [7] Here expresses her fear to Zeus that he may have granted Thetis' request. The favour shown to other female deities is an index of her dishonour and lack of power;² [8] darkly muttering at Sthenelos' suggestion to retreat before Aineias and Pandaros, Diomedes goes on to explain why he cannot retreat (5. 253–8); [9], [10] Pandaros expresses his certainty in having struck Diomedes in a vital area, whilst Diomedes then refutes him in the same terms;³ [11] however wise it is, Diomedes' vaunt over Aphrodite is a statement of a heroic status denied

¹ Cf. Nordheider (1999); Latacz (2000) on 1. 59, 51; Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 59, 142; also (19a).

² Cf. Appendix B. ³ Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

by Agamemnon in the *Epipoleis*—which Diomedes spends much of the first half of the poem disproving;⁴ [12] Zeus' refusal to do anything about Ares' complaint rests on the involvement of Here in his pains, which Zeus has for once found suitable to his own designs. Nonetheless, their opposition is one of the poem's theological givens, and this statement should not be read in isolation;⁵ [13] after his rather poor showing in the encounter with Hektor, Paris expresses his eagerness for the fighting. This action is of vital import for his (questionable) heroic status in the poem;⁶ [14] Helen so expresses her opinion that Paris will pay for his folly. Her dissatisfaction with him was most fully expressed at the beginning of their lovemaking (3. 426–36), and with the situation itself before the *teikhoskopia*;⁷ [15] the centrality of Diomedes to Hektor's predictions about the morrow's battle is deeply deluded, but just as deeply believed; [17] Akhilleus expresses his certainty that he will stop Hektor's assault around his own ships. This assertion is important given that they have avoided one another beforehand in the battle,⁸ and that Odysseus had attempted to use the chance to face and kill Hektor as one of his chief sources of persuasion; [18] Nestor reassures Agamemnon that Hektor's desires will not all be fulfilled, and specifically that Akhilleus will make things difficult for him;⁹ [19] Nestor proposes that some god they met gave the horses to Odysseus and Diomedes, which conjecture the former finds inappropriate. The old man is constantly interested in chariot warfare and driving (cf. 4. 301–9, 23. 304–50), but Odysseus' reaction shows that he takes Nestor to have implied that they had not performed the mission originally suggested;¹⁰ [20] Akhilleus, seeing the straits into which the Greeks have been driven, expresses the certainty that they will supplicate him for aid. This, of course, was his aim, despite the rejection of the embassy; [21] just before the reminiscence of the day he and Odysseus appeared at Peleus' court,¹¹ Nestor expresses his certainty in Akhilleus' regret for his excellence when he has been denuded of all the *λαός*, as part of his extended *parainesis* to get Akhilleus (through Patroklos) back into battle to protect them; [22], [23] Poulydamas expresses a belief that things will turn out badly if they do not follow his advice—this is his role in the poem, to offer caution as a counterpoint to Hektor's headstrong impulses (cf. also [27] below);¹² [24] Hektor's conviction in the Greeks' inevitable withdrawal before him is underlined also by his '*if truly*' expression¹³ and the type of exhortation employed;¹⁴ [25], [26] first Idomeneus and then Meriones assert to one another their fighting skill and

⁴ Cf. 86 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Appendix B.

⁶ Cf. 9/18 and n. 23.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

⁸ Cf. 7. 113–17, 20. 427; 175/5.

⁹ Cf. 9/25 n. 26.

¹⁰ Cf. 77/15 n. 7.

¹¹ Cf. 197/9.

¹² Cf. 204a/4 n. 3; also 26/17 n. 2 for their later, more abusive, encounter in *M*.

¹³ Cf. 185/6.

¹⁴ Cf. 121/5.

reputations during their embarrassed encounter in the camp, and both are concerned not to appear unwilling to fight;¹⁵ [27] Poulydamas' prediction of Akhilleus' arising is eventually proved correct, and contained within one of his two examples of his advice accepted by Hektor;¹⁶ [28], [29] in the same vaunt, Poulydamas links his battlefield efficacy with the demonstrable fact of his victim's death; [30] characterized at the beginning of his speech as excellent in the assembly, where *κοῦροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων* (15. 284), Thoas expresses his conviction in the success of his stratagem against Hektor;¹⁷ [31] in response to Hektor and Aineias' attack on his chariot, Automedon recognizes Hektor's determination to contest him over the team. His belief in this moves him to summon the Aiantes and Menelaos to his aid;¹⁸ [32] Menelaos denies that Akhilleus will be able to enter the battle without his armour, and so heralds a plan to get Patroklos out of the battle without him (cf. also 17. 634–5 [Aias] ~ 712–13), and so at considerable risk to them;¹⁹ [33] Akhilleus shows himself aware of the afterlife of this story in heroic song, in much the same way as Hektor (7. 85–91) and Helen (6. 343–58); [34], [36] Akhilleus states his conviction that any Trojan who escapes him will be glad of the chance to flee; [35] Poseidon expresses his certainty in the victory of the pro-Greek deities should battle be joined.²⁰ The issue is not merely his chance to counteract Zeus' favour for the Trojans, but also to convince the opposing deities of their superiority. For this reason, Apollo will refuse to fight him in Φ ;²¹ [37] Lykaon expresses the inevitability of his capture in these terms, for he hopes by acknowledging the completeness of Akhilleus' power over him to be able to appeal to his mercy (a common, and commonly rejected, implicit aspect of supplication; cf. 6. 45–50, 10. 442–5);²² [38] Ares expresses his intention to pay back Athene for her earlier actions with Diomedes—a heavy insult to a god, and his long-standing enmity with Athene is evident as early as *E*;²³ [39] Priam can see Akhilleus advancing over the plain towards Troy, and his conviction in the following *λοῖγια ἔργα* (21. 533) is entirely well founded, as he goes on to plead with Hektor in *X*; [40] Nestor's advice concentrates on the *λοῖγια* (23. 310) should Antilokhos not follow his advice so as to counteract the unfortunate lack of speed in his team. Nestor's inability to compete on his own terms in the games is prominent at the end of the chariot race (23. 616–50),²⁴ and the investment of parents in their sons' glory is a powerful theme elsewhere;²⁵ [41] Idomeneus' statement about the chariot race—which is in fact accurate—leads to Aias *minor*'s following abuse about

¹⁵ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

¹⁶ The other is 12. 60–79; cf. 204a/4 n. 3.

¹⁷ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

¹⁸ Cf. 40/24 n. 10.

¹⁹ Cf. 78/33 n. 21.

²⁰ Cf. 9/38 n. 16.

²¹ Cf. 99/21 n. 11.

²² Cf. 9/40 n. 19.

²³ Cf. 7/5 n. 6; also 114.

²⁴ Cf. 50/6 n. 4.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. 8. 282–5; cf. also 219/2, 4–6; 86 n. 2.

his right to speak (and even count himself) amongst the other heroes (cf. esp. 23. 479). Despite Aias' *minor's* rather dubious status,²⁶ his taunt resonates deeply with Idomeneus' rather ambiguous effectiveness²⁷ throughout the poem, and Idomeneus is not unaware of that.²⁸ [42] Idaios first notices Hermes' onset and expresses a fear of the resulting harm, against which he suggests either flight or supplication as the best insurance; [43] Andromakhe so predicts that her son will not come to manhood. Commensurate with his fate, to a great extent now that Hektor is dead, is that of all the Trojans.²⁹

- 213 Impossible wishes:** 13 examples: [1] 2. 371–4, [2] 4. 178–81, [3] 4. 288–91, [4] 4. 313–14, [5] 7. 132–58, [6] {8. 538–41}, [7] 11. 670–762, [8] 13. 825–9, [9] 16. 722–3, [10] 18. 464–7, [11] 22. 41–2, [12] 22. 346–8, [13] 23. 629–31.¹

Characters voice this wish in order to underline their belief in another, certain, event. The wish itself usually precedes that event; in [4] the certainty (*ὥς θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φιλοισιν*) intrudes after the conjunction *εἴθε* but before the substance of the wish (as with [9]). The certain event is frequently introduced by *ὥς*, though in [9], [11] by *ὅσσον*.

The desire for fulfilment, though the situation may be beyond either the speaker's knowledge or the realms of possibility, is always deeply felt: [2] Agamemnon, concerned above all with the detriment to his reputation (for that is at least partially how he phrases his concern for Menelaos' health), fears that the hypothetical Trojan will focus upon his failure as the index of his character;² [4] Agamemnon compliments Nestor's eagerness despite his physical inability;³ [6] and [8] Hektor estimates the victory of this current or the next day as an equivalent to divine status to underline his joy and conviction in his success;⁴ [9] Apollo attempts to persuade Hektor by admitting the inferiority of his guise, whose exhortations thus have shame value;⁵ [10] Hephaistos' promise to provide armour is a certainty, augmented and indeed exalted by his regret that he cannot save him from death;⁶ [11] Priam's expression of hatred for Akhilleus, which he then goes on to elaborate, is deepened by the wish that he were so dear to the gods;⁷ [12] Akhilleus' certainty of Hektor's defilement is underlined by his ferocious regret that he

²⁶ Cf. 131/4; also 77/27 and n. 21; 9/44 n. 29.

²⁷ Cf. 9/27 n. 11.

²⁸ Cf. 9/44 n. 29.

²⁹ Cf. 90/6 n. 4.

¹ Cf. Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 368; Nagy (1979) 148–50; Combellack (1981); Nagy (1990) 294–301; also Muellner (1976) 50–1; Edwards (1991) on 18. 463–7, 199; Willcock (1978) ad loc., 269, speaks of Hektor's 'dangerous presumption' in this scene, while Σ bT on 8. 538–9 remarks (somewhat amusingly) *βαρβαρικὸν τὸ εὐχέσθαι τὰ ἀδύνατα*; cf. also (19b).

² Cf. 81/1; also 16/1 n. 2.

³ Cf. below for the discussion of 5, 7, 13; also 50/2 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. (19b); also 85/3 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. 7 n. 1; also 51/5 n. 3.

⁶ Cf. 16/5 n. 6.

⁷ Cf. 77/26 n. 20.

cannot consume Hektor's corpse himself.⁸ As the last example in particular shows, characters need not be correct about the certain event's likelihood of fulfilment, but the level of emphasis is directly related to the degree of impossibility inherent in the wish.

In [1] and [3] the concept being reinforced is simply to be understood from a demonstrative. Both examples are exhortations or compliments: [1] following Nestor's advice, Agamemnon opens his reply with flattery of his conciliar abilities (2. 370), and expresses the wish that he had ten *τοιούτοι συμφράδμονες*, for then Troy's destruction would be assured. This is then followed by admission of his fault in the quarrel with Akhilleus;⁹ [3] Agamemnon again flatters the Aiantes (4. 285–7) by abjuring the need to exhort them, and then wishing that everyone had the same *θυμός* as they, for again Troy's destruction would be assured.

In [5], [7], and [13] the certain event is located in the past, as Nestor draws upon past evidence of prowess in order to underline his conciliar authority in the present: [5] he seeks to shame the Greeks into action by reference to his own similar action in the past (as in [13]). The wish that he were able to act in that way now (very similarly phrased to [4]) serves to throw emphasis on the fact of that action, for only a statement of this sort can provide his words with the requisite persuasive power; [13] Nestor reminds Akhilleus of his heroic stature at a moment when the giving of the gift focused a little too much on his present incapacity. It is obviously important that the prior physical heroism of the elder man be acknowledged.¹⁰

Hekatombs sacrifice: 12 examples: [1] 1. 315, [2] 1. 447, [3] 2. 306 (~321), [4] 214 4. 102 (=120), [5] 6. 115, [6] 7. 450, {12. 6}, [7] 8. 548, [8] 9. 535, [9] 23. 146, [10] 23. 206, [11] {23. 864}, [12] 23. 873.¹

Like prayers, promises to offer a hekatomb sacrifice are not always a guarantee of divine support or success: failure occurs after such promises in [4], [5], and [9], and only [12] is successful. However, failure to make such an offer is invoked as a reason for Teukros' loss in the archery competition in [11],² and is immediately contrasted with Meriones' offer and subsequent victory in [12]. Performance of hekatombs is usually but not invariably more

⁸ Cf. 176/22.

⁹ Cf. 5/2.

¹⁰ Cf. 50/6 n. 4.

¹ I examine all cases where an actual moment of sacrifice is specifically labelled with the term *ἐκατόμβη*. On the extended type-scene sequence for sacrifice (with which I am not concerned here), cf. Arend (1933) 64–78; Gunn (1971) 22–31; Latacz (2000) on 1. 447–68, 151; de Jong (2001) on *Od.* 3. 417–73, 87; also (20). Note also that 4. 102 = 4. 120 [4] = 23. 864 [11] = 23. 873 [12]. The idea of specific referentiality should not be precluded here; all are sacrifices promised to Apollo for success in archery.

² Cf. also 1. 65 (~93), where it is suggested that Apollo may be angry because of a hekatomb.

successful: [1] and [2], the latter coupled with Khryses' prayer, succeed in averting the plague, and [3] is (eventually) fulfilled with the destruction of Troy.³ Finally, a failure to perform the hekatomb is the reason for Poseidon's ire in [6],⁴ and Artemis' in [8]; [10] is indeterminate, as the poet does not make clear the hekatomb's purpose, but it might be the simple fact of *theoxenia* and the preservation of the special relationship which the Aithiopians seems to enjoy with the gods.⁵

What is clear is the importance of the actions which the participants seek to insure through this method, whether this is expressed positively or negatively (i.e. from the ramifications of its failure): [1] and [2] are designed to ward off Apollo's wrath from the army (further reinforced by several references at 1. 65, 93, 99, 142, 309, 431, 438, and 443—by far the most times words of this stem are used for any single episode), [3] was aimed at the success of the entire expedition, [4] the death of Menelaos, [5] the death of Diomedes, [6] the construction of the wall around the Greek camp, [7] the success of the current (perhaps total?) phase of the fighting from the Trojan perspective, [8] divine blessing on the *θαλύσια ἀλωῆς* (and its incompleteness brings the wrath of Artemis down on Oineus), [9] Akhilleus' homecoming, [10] (presumably) the Aithiopians' close relationship with the gods, [11], [12] victory in the archery competition.

The divinities in question are usually particularly related to the action: Apollo is obviously concerned in [1] and [2], but also in [4], [11], and [12] because these efforts concern examples of archery;⁶ [5] Athene is the patroness of Diomedes and, indeed, the Greek army in general. She is also seen by the Trojans as particularly responsible for the safety of their city (6. 305);⁷ [6] Poseidon is concerned because of his role in the construction of the walls of Troy, whose fame is now threatened. All the gods have their role in supporting (or opposing) the expedition against Troy [3] and within harvest festivals [8], though presumably the distinction between 'all' of them and Artemis 'alone' is intended primarily to emphasize the size of the affront;⁸ [9] Sperkheios is the local *κουροτρόφος* and the sacrifice's natural object.⁹

³ Cf. 9/8 n. 5. ⁴ Cf. 3/9 n. 7.

⁵ 1. 423, 23. 205–7; cf. Latacz (2000) on 1. 423, 145–6; Pulleyn (2000) on 1. 424, 229–31; S. West (1988) on *Od.* 1. 22–6, 65. Closeness to the gods is also considered a blessing for, or at least a symbol of the extraordinary status of, Peleus and Thetis; cf. 24. 62–3, 16. 141–4, 18. 84–7; Edwards (1991) on 18. 429–35, 196.

⁶ Cf. above, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. Burkert (1985) 139–43; Pötscher (1987) 160–77; cf. also Appendix B.

⁸ Cf. Burkert (1985) 66–8.

⁹ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 127–53, 182–3; Onians (1954) ch. 7; Burkert (1985) 174–5.

‘[he] was hated’ [*ἀπῆχθετο*]: 6 examples: [1] 3. 454, [2] 6. 140, [3] 6. 200, [4] 215 8. 551, [5] 9. 300, [6] 24. 27.¹

The group or individual (always expressed by a dative noun) so angered manifests that emotion in an indirect manner, by not interfering or acting positively to save or assist the verb’s subject. A larger group may subsume within itself an individual or individuals acting more directly against the verb’s subject, but the expression implicates the group as whole for the resulting eventuality: [1] the Trojans οὐ μὲν φιλόπητί γ’ ἐκεύθανον, εἴ τις ἴδοιτο (3. 453). The poet implies that, had they opportunity, they would not have saved him, but neither will they actively work against his interests (an impression confirmed in the assembly of *H*) nor will they compel him to fulfil his agreement. For this and other omissions, they will be collectively responsible;² [2] blinded by Zeus, Lykourgos οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἔτι δῆν | ἦν (6. 139–40). Having aroused their generalized wrath (πάσι θεοῖσιν) by his violent treatment of Dionysos, Lykourgos’ life is shortened because no god intervenes to save him from the vengeance of that deity, though the audience is not told here how he meets his end;³ [3] Bellerophon removes himself from human contact and is οἶος (6. 201), without assistance from the gods who had previously favoured him;⁴ [4] the problem for Troy is not that it is hated by all the gods individually, but that those in its favour are not powerful enough or are otherwise unable to intervene at the decisive moments.⁵ Zeus expresses his regret for Troy’s destruction at several points in the *Iliad*, but he never really questions its necessity;⁶ [5] as Odysseus posits, Akhilleus will not help Agamemnon by returning to battle. Odysseus’ realization of this leads him to generate the expression in a conditional, so as not to leave entirely impossible Akhilleus’ further participation, by limiting the motive for this inaction to Agamemnon’s behaviour alone. Akhilleus is the only mortal individual with this kind of responsibility and power,⁷ but like all others he will be liable for his decision; [6] Here, Athene, and Poseidon continue to evince their malevolence by refusing to assent to Hermes stealing Hektor’s corpse from Akhilleus, and their attitude is only overborne by Zeus’ intervention.

‘thinking big’ [*μέγα φρονέοντες*]: 7 examples: [1] 8. 553, [2] 11. 296, [3] 11. 216 325, [4] 13. 156, [5] 16. 258, [6] 16. 758, [7] 16. 824, [8] 22. 21.¹

¹ Cf. (20); also Pötscher (2000) 7–8.

² Cf. 18/2 and n. 3.

³ Cf. Sophokles, *Antigone* 955–65, with Griffith (1999) ad loc., 289–91.

⁴ Kirk (1990) ad loc., 186–7, feels that there must have been ‘some specific affliction’, but Glaukos’ reticence here serves a good rhetorical purpose; cf. 9/16 n. 9.

⁵ Cf. (20).

⁶ Cf. Allan (2006).

⁷ Cf. 1 n. 3; also 182/11.

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 156, 65; Kirk (1990) on 8. 553, 340; Lonsdale (1990) 77–8, esp. 78 n. 18.

This expression always denotes warriors advancing with an aggressive attitude, and so usually occurs in the middle of the battle, and almost always before, after or during a simile: [1] the Trojans are described in this way before a star simile describing their watch-fires;² [2] after a simile likening him to a hunter setting his dogs on, Hektor is so described as he advances before his *aristeia*; [3] Odysseus and Diomedes in counterattack are compared to two boars who turn on the dogs chasing them; [4] of Deiphobos in advance before he is unsuccessfully attacked by Meriones; [5] the Myrmidons are so described as they arm around Patroklos and advance into battle, shortly being described in the famous wasp simile; [6] and [7] are applied (again inside a simile) to Patroklos and Hektor as they join combat, first compared to two lions fighting over a dead hind, and then a lion and a boar over a spring;³ [8] Akhilleus advances on Troy after his encounter with Apollo, before being compared to a prize-winning horse coursing over the plain.

The association between this expression and the simile seems to suggest that *μέγα φρονεῖν* is an attitude best illustrated by comparison with the actions of animals or natural phenomena. Indeed, the only place where this association is broken [4], is also the only case in which the hero does not act aggressively in the subsequent combat. Deiphobos narrowly avoids being hurt by Meriones' cast and, though he is again in the fighting later in *N*, he is hardly a dominant force. The audience therefore will expect the hero to be aggressive in the coming narrative, but the expression also looks towards the individual simile to define more closely the connotative aura of the advancing hero.

217 Star similes: 9 examples: [1] 4. 75–7, [2] 5. 5–6, [3] 6. 295, [4] 6. 401, [5] 8. 555–9, [6] 11. 62–3, [7] 19. 381–2, [8] 22. 26–31, [9] 22. 317–18.¹

This image, whatever is stressed in the simile itself or its narrative context, represents the onlookers' dangerous or disastrous situation: [1] Athene's flight condemns the Greeks and Trojans looking on to renewed battle;² [2] the flame issuing forth from Diomedes is directed obviously at his opponents; [3] the dress Hekabe chooses is one brought from Sidon by Helen (and so symbolic of her disastrous journey to Troy from Greece) and will fail to persuade Athene to accede to its accompanying prayer;³ [4] Astyanax is likened to a fair star as his father looks on him for the last time, but the boy's fate looms large in this scene, as does his identity and association amongst the Trojans with the dominance of Hektor (cf. 6. 402–3), whose

² Cf. 175/3; also 217/5.

³ Cf. 24/25 n. 2; also 26a | 27a/4 n. 3.

¹ Cf. Fränkel (1921) 47–8; also (22). Stars only appear outside similes in the *Iliad* in *K*, where Odysseus warns Diomedes of the need to start out, *μάλα γὰρ νῦξ ἀνεπαί, ἐγγύθι δ' ἥώς*, | *ἄσπρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε κτλ.* (10. 251–2), their appearance symbolizing the advancing time but also the danger inherent in the situation.

² Cf. 30a/2.

³ Cf. 126/9.

inevitable death spells an early doom for his son;⁴ [5] the Trojan fires intimate apparent disaster for the Greeks, and the fact itself is mentioned several times (9. 75–7, 10. 11–12);⁵ [6] Hektor's activity in marshalling the Trojans is foreboding for the Greeks, for this will be the day of his greatest victory; [7] the gleam of Akhilleus' helmet is obviously a signal of doom for the Trojans,⁶ as it is again in [8]; the same may be said of [9], as Priam looks upon Akhilleus in his final advance on Troy.⁷

Though this approach (especially to [8]) somewhat approximates de Jong's 'focalization', even in the examples where no observer is actually specified (as in [2], [6], [7], [9]) the audience is directed towards a 'secondary focalizer' within the text, for whom the image is a destructive one.⁸ As de Jong points out, the poet emphasizes in [9] the beauty of the star, yet the effect is not simply to 'focus attention on Achilles and his supreme heroism, not on Hektor as its victim',⁹ but also to point out the terrible nature of heroic beauty and excellence, in that it always demands the death or suffering of others. A similar point can be made with regard to the dress chosen by Hekabe in [3], for its origin and coming failure as an offering likewise points to the terrible consequences of Helen's beauty and presence in Troy.

Shepherd similes: 8 examples: [1] 3. 10–12, [2] 4. 452–5, [3] 5. 136–42, [4] 8. 555–9, [5] 12. 451–2, [6] 13. 492–3, [7] 16. 352–5, [8] 18. 161–2.¹ 218

The shepherd is a natural figure of authority and prominence, and his identification with a figure prominent in the narrative is usually, though not always, obvious: [1] the dust raised by the Greek army in its advance after the catalogue is compared to a mist which is not dear to the shepherd, but to the robber better than night. The shepherd in this case seems to be Hektor, the most prominent Trojan, upon whom Iris had focused in her injunction to the Trojans directly before the catalogue (2. 802) which has just closed. The following scene might also be relevant here, as it is Paris who jumps out to challenge any of the Greeks. One would perhaps more naturally expect Hektor to do so, and his role in making Paris stick to his challenge is therefore emphasized;² [2] the shepherd listening far off to the noise of the clashing

⁴ Cf. Taplin (1992) 121–4; 45/1 n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 218/4 n. 7 for the identity of the individuals in this simile.

⁶ Cf. 206/3.

⁷ Cf. also de Jong (1987) 126, on 8, 9.

⁸ Cf. similarly 206.

⁹ De Jong (1987) loc. cit.

¹ Cf. Fränkel (1921) 75; cf. also Tsagarakis (1982) 145–6; de Jong (1987) 131–4. On the ideal of the 'shepherd of the people', cf. Haubold (2000).

² One could also reflect that this scene (cf. also 71/1 n. 2; 9/18 n. 23) introduces the basic problem among the Trojans, viz. that Paris is somehow tolerated for all his transgressions of social and ethical norms, and that Hektor is always the one to bring him into line; cf. 3. 59–63, 6. 333–4; 13. 775–7; also 18/2 n. 3.

winter torrents refers to the absent Akhilleus, who has already been depicted as removed from the scene, and is later shown observing the battle with similar detachment in 11.³ His absence is the determinative factor on the fighting, and Apollo conveys the information to the Trojans very shortly (4. 512–13).⁴ Furthermore, as the narrative devolves immediately after the simile into specific combat, the first killer is Antilokhos, elsewhere very closely associated with Akhilleus;⁵ [3] the shepherd, who has wounded but not killed the lion, which in turn goes on to put the flocks to rout whilst the former hides, is evidently Pandaros, for the now reinvigorated Diomedes goes on to kill several faceless figures before confronting Pandaros and Aineias and doing some serious damage;⁶ [4] the gladdened shepherd can only be Hektor, dominant in the immediately preceding Trojan assembly, and identifying Trojan victory with his personal achievements;⁷ [5] Hektor (shepherd) easily carries the stone (lamb) as he approaches the gates of the camp; [6] Aineias (shepherd [and ram]) sees the *λαός* (flock following the ram) coming to his aid;⁸ [7] Hektor's rashness corresponds to the *ποιμένος ἀφραδίησι* (16. 354) and has now brought the Trojans to the situation where the Greek leaders (wolves) can run amok among them (flock). The audience is then told that Hektor stayed, even though he knew that the battle's direction had changed;⁹ [8] the Aiantes (shepherds) are unable to force Hektor (lion) back from the corpse (Patroklos). In each case, the shepherd figure has a position of authority or responsibility emphasized in the preceding or following narrative.

³ 11. 599–601; cf. Hainsworth (1993) on 11. 596–617, 287.

⁴ Cf. e.g. 18/1, 215/5 for his isolation, a consistent theme throughout the poem; cf. Hainsworth (1993) on 9. 189, 8.

⁵ Cf. 23. 555–6, *Od.* 24. 78–9; also Kullmann (1960) 40–2; Heubeck (1992) on *Od.* 24. 78–9, 368–9.

⁶ Cf. 9/14 n. 7; also 9/15 n. 8.

⁷ The identification of the shepherd here has been something of a crux; A. Parry (1956) 1–3 decides in favour of the Greeks and concludes that the poet is unable to mould his formulaic language to unusual requirements, while Reeve (1973) asserts that the poet felt no need to harmonize the situation with the context, and Schwabl (1970) connects the simile with the gleam from Hektor's spear, finding an individual suitability of stars as illustrations of victory. De Jong (1987) 131–2, links the emotion with the Trojans primarily because of the demands of the context; cf. also Stanley (1993) 350 n. 15, and Kirk (1990) ad loc., 340–1. Referential analysis of *star similes* 217 shows that its negative intimation initially leads the audience towards the Greeks, before the poet introduces into that feeling the figure of the shepherd (Hektor) who feels joy at the sight (559). The referential blurring fits perfectly the context, adding once again to the irony of Hektor's satisfaction at this chain of events. The situation is, eventually, as dangerous for the Trojans as it is for the Greeks.

⁸ Cf. 18/7 n. 9; 219/3; also Janko (1992) ad loc., 109–10.

⁹ Cf. 95/3.

‘[he] rejoiced | in *phren*’ [γέγηθε | φρένα]: 3 examples (3): [1] 8. 559, [2] 11. 683, [3] 13. 493 (γάννυται),¹ [4] *Od.* 6. 106, [5] *Hom. Hy. to Dem.* 232, [6] *Hom. Hy. to Aphr.* 216 (φρένας).² 219

This emotion is exhibited upon the observance of an action reinforcing the character’s superior status, most often parental pride and joy: [2] Neleus rejoices as Nestor (in his story) returns not only victorious but gloriously remunerated for his efforts; [4] in the simile applied to Nausikaa, Leto rejoices at the pre-eminence of her daughter Artemis; [5] Metaneira reacts thus when Demeter in disguise agrees to be nurse to her son; [6] Aphrodite tells Aineias the story of Tros, who was gladdened when he heard of the honour to be apportioned to Ganymedes.

It may also come from the observance of an action which affirms the hero’s status specifically within the community. Here the emotion is associated with a *shepherd simile*, a unit which focuses on a figure of authority within the narrative.³ This type of figure is readily analogous to the parental responsibility of the other examples: [1] the shepherd (Hektor) is gladdened at the clear sky and the sight of the stars (Trojan fires), presumably because it makes his office easier (cf. 3. 10–12), but in this case more particularly because the fires are a symbol of the Trojan ascendancy for which Hektor feels himself personally responsible; [3] the shepherd (Aineias) sees the flock obedient in following its ram to water, a sign of the flock’s harmony and so the success of his own office. Furthermore, Aineias had withdrawn from the fighting before this sequence of combats, and so the appearance of the other Trojans coming to his aid signifies the end of his isolation from the group.⁴

‘horses | feeding | by the chariots’ [ἵπποι | ἐρεπτόμενοι | παρά]: 3 examples: 220
[1] 2. 775–7, [2] 5. 195–6, [3] 8. 564–5.¹

The action itself denotes inactivity, but always in a context when the horse-teams or their owners are seen as eager for that period to come to a close: [1] the inactivity of the Myrmidons’ horses represents the withdrawal of their army at the time the other units are preparing, and the poet tells the audience that they were keen to fight (2. 778–9; cf. also 16. 200–9); [2] Pandaros bemoans the fact that he did not take his chariot team with him, that they remain at home inactive, for his bow (the weapon he took to Troy in

¹ The inclusion of this example despite the modification of the expression may be excused on the grounds that the poet needed a closing expression from the penthemimeres rather than the trochaic caesura, and in any case closes the simile with θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γεγῆθει (13. 494), which is a modification of the structurally similar ἰδὼν | γήθησεν unit (cf. 140/9).

² Cf. 140 n. 1; Finkelberg (1989) 185; Garvie (1994) on *Od.* 6. 106, 108.

³ Cf. 218/4, 6.

⁴ Cf. 18/7 n. 9; also Janko (1992) on 13. 492–5, 109–110.

¹ Cf. Latacz (2003) on 2. 775b–777a, 252.

preference) has failed to stop Diomedes. His regret at the absence of his team is then countered by Aineias' offer to use his;² [3] the Trojan horses wait for the dawn, an action itself connotative of an aggressive desire,³ and the resumption of the fighting.

One might also entertain a connotation of failure, for [1] the Myrmidons lose Patroklos when they do re-enter battle, [2] Pandaros is killed in the very next combat and, even though they are able to stay out on the field at the end of the next day's play, the Trojans [3] are most definitely unwise to do so. More examples would have helped.

- 221 '[they] waited for dawn' [*Ἡὼ μύμων*]: 4 examples: [1] 8. 565, [2] 9. 662, [3] 11. 723–4, [4] 18. 255.¹

The idea of waiting for dawn connotes an aggressive or proactive intention: [1] the Trojans await the resumption of their offensive; [2] after Akhilleus has stated his intention to depart in no uncertain terms, Phoinix lies down as instructed and awaits the dawn in Akhilleus' camp, on the apparent understanding that they are to leave (9. 690–2). Though technically a withdrawal from a campaign under threat, the journey is thus depicted as an action directed against Agamemnon; [3] the Pylia army move out to meet the invaders and await dawn before crossing the river to do so; [4] in the only example directed to the future, Poulydamas entreats the Trojans not to stay out on the plain and await dawn—and hence to try acting aggressively—but to return to the city that night.²

There may also be an intimation of fulfilment, for in [1] and [3] the army involved does continue its activity on the next day, whilst in [4] the Trojans await the dawn with the attitude Poulydamas decries. Once again, only Akhilleus provides the exception:³ [2] though his desire to leave has already been qualified in the responses given to Phoinix and Aias, the Greeks take him perfectly seriously (9. 682–3, though cf. also 698–703).⁴ In other words, there is enough uncertainty for such a skilful speaker as Odysseus (mistakenly) to relay his intention to depart, so it is no surprise that Phoinix (the subject of *ἐμυμμεν*) would interpret it that way; thus does the poet leave open the possibility of Akhilleus' departure.

- A 'not a vain watch he kept' [*οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπὴν εἶχε*]: 3 examples (1): [1] 10. 515, [2] 13. 10, [3] 14. 135, [4] *Od.* 8. 285.¹

² Cf. 9/15 n. 8.

³ Cf. 221/1; also 141/7.

¹ One could compare 9. 240, where Odysseus tells Akhilleus that Hektor was praying *φανήμεναι Ἡὼ δῖαν*.

² Cf. 2/9 n. 6.

³ Cf. 1 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. 182/11.

¹ Cf. Janko (1992) on 13. 10–12, 44; Danek (1988) 157–8. The expression also occurs at *Theogony* 466 to describe Kronos' failure to prevent Zeus' birth. It accords perfectly with the

The specifically divine intervention so introduced is immediately effective, but eventually insufficient to achieve the deity's aim: [1] Apollo notices Athene and Diomedes as they retreat, and then rouses the Trojans, though too late; [2] Poseidon's chariot journey and subsequent activity begins well but is eventually countered, and the deity removed in no uncertain terms from the battle. The way in which that intervention is introduced leads the audience to expect counteraction or failure;² [3] Poseidon again notices the wounded leaders moving towards the battle in order to provide inspiration and exhortation, and then joins them for a brief exhortation;³ [4] in ignorance of Hephaistos' trap, Ares notes his departure before racing to Aphrodite's side. He gets there but finds some unexpected difficulties betwixt him and the object of his desire.

'he thinking well to them spoke and said' [ὁ σφιν εὖ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν]: 9 examples: [1] 1. 73, [2] 1. 253, [3] 2. 78, [4] 2. 283, [5] 7. 326, [6] 7. 367, [7] 9. 95, [8] 15. 285, [9] 18. 253.¹ B

These introductions are employed in order to predict the implementation of the advice so prefaced, and generally fall after a description of the speaker's conciliar authority (where that is required).² The advice itself need not succeed in its ultimate aims, but it is usually put into action immediately: [1] after a lengthy introduction on Kalkhas' mantic skill, the seer demands protection before, in his next speech, actually giving the advice promised. The delay throws great emphasis on the need for Akhilleus' protection, and the conflict around authority in the Greek camp; [3] already introduced in [2] (cf. below) but here still described ὅς ῥα Πύλοιο ἀναξ ἦν ἡμαθόεντος (2. 77), Nestor's confirmation of Agamemnon's narration of the dream and his intention to test the army may or may not be the wisest move in the circumstance, but well responds to the unstated element within the

referential definition offered above, for Kronos gobbles all his other children, and so is immediately effective in preventing the fulfilment of Gaia and Ouranos, but eventually fails to spot the ruse in the crucial case.

² Cf. 17/9 n. 13.

³ Cf. *ibid.*

¹ Cf. de Jong (1987) 199; Janko (1992) on 15. 281–5, 259; Latacz (2000) on 1. 73, 56; Dickson (1995) 104; Roisman (2005) 24–35 (limited to εὖ φρονέων and its application to Nestor).

² It is not sufficient to say that advice so prefaced is good, as de Jong (1987) 199, and Janko (1992) on 15. 281–5, 259. For instance, can it be said that Nestor's advice in 7 is to be so considered? The gifts and supplication of Akhilleus fail to achieve their end, and Diomedes is of the opinion that the situation has only been made worse by it (9. 698–700). Consider again his advice in 5: does the wall keep the Trojans out (leaving aside Poseidon's ire)? Perhaps most damningly, Priam's proposal in 6 is neither realistic nor sensible. This is not to preclude a positive evaluation of the advice in some cases, but it cannot be said to be the determinative characteristic of such speeches.

Diapheira—that his *basileis* are the ones whose loyalty is being tested;³ [4] Odysseus' conciliar authority is illustrated by Athene's service as herald, placing the sceptre into his hand herself. His following reminder of favourable omens is successful,⁴ and confirmed by Nestor's next speech; [5] again prefaced with a brief reminder of his authority (7. 325), Nestor's proposals are immediately carried out, this time with simultaneous and apparently independent suggestion from the Trojans; [6] though Priam is only defined as *θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀπάλαντος* (7. 366), his rather dreadful proposal is forthwith enacted;⁵ [7] approved as speaker once again (9. 94 = 7. 325), Nestor suggests approaching Akhilleus with gifts etc., as they do; [8] Thoas, given quite extraordinary authorial approbation as a speaker (15. 281–4), proposes a staged retreat to the ships in order to protect the army whilst the *basileis* face Hektor. This they do.⁶

The two exceptions to this implementation rule concern perhaps the two most pivotal moments in the poem: [2] Nestor's advice, it is clear, presents the paradigm of behaviour which would have avoided the conflict altogether, and in his first appearance his authority is stressed by reference both to his age, his kingly nature, and the quality of his speech (1. 248–52);⁷ [9] Poulydamas' skill as a councillor is obvious from previous encounters with Hektor, and here the poet focuses on his superior abilities in that regard (18. 249–52). Needless to say, his advice to retreat within the walls is tantalizingly good, and in this case actually approved explicitly by the poet (18. 313). This is a striking illustration of the poet's use of the audience's knowledge in order to create a deeply significant disjunction—Nestor's advice, as Poulydamas', *should* have been implemented.⁸

- C 'you would obey me' [*μοί τι πίθοιο*]: 4 examples: [1] 4. 93, [2] 7. 28 (*ἀλλ' εἴ μοί τι πίθοιο*), [3] 7. 48, [4] 14. 190.¹

³ By having Agamemnon instruct his *basileis* *ὑμεῖς δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρητύειν ἐπέεσσιν* (2. 75), the poet wishes the audience to know that he understands exactly what the army's reaction will be. That he needs such a test, of course, may be a negative indication about the leadership situation, but is particularly required given the recent rejection of his authority by one of the leading *basileis* in front of the entire army; cf. now Cook (2003). ⁴ Cf. 128/1; also 9/8 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. 2/5 n. 5.

⁶ Cf. 34/21 n. 3.

⁷ Cf. 77/3 n. 19.

⁸ Cf. 2/9 n. 6 on the latter episode; also 77/3 n. 19 on the former speech.

¹ Cf. Tabachovitz (1951) 78–90; Janko (1992) 190–3, 179. The only example of this expression in the *Odyssey* is 20. 381, where, just after Theoklymenos has delivered his prediction, the suitors abuse Telemakhos and laugh at his guests, first the disguised Odysseus and then Theoklymenos. The suggestion they make after the expression itself is to cast these guests in a ship and send them to Sikeloi so as to fetch a worthy price, whilst their intention, almost their *raison d'être*, is to supplant Telemakhos as the host and authority in the household; cf. Russo (1992) ad loc., 126–7.

When using this expression (all questions apart from [2]), the speaker entices the addressee to acquiesce without stating the full ramifications or true purpose of the action: [1] Athene in disguise persuades Pandaros to break the truce; [2] Apollo tells Athene that he wishes to halt the fighting and postpone Troy's destruction. He is really trying to prevent Athene from destroying the Trojans in the short term (the poet says that *'he wished victory'* for the Trojans),² and his following suggestion of a duel is only a means to keep Athene from the field. Nor is he alone in being not fully forthright, for she pretends to have had this in mind herself (7. 34–5), which is hardly the case (cf. 17–18). Furthermore, the following example might suggest that the god of prophecy was aware that Hektor was not to die yet, and was making the suggestion in the hope that he might at least defeat one of the leading Greeks; [3] overhearing this exchange, Helenos tells Hektor to propose a duel οὐ γὰρ πῶ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν | ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὅπ' ἄκουσα θεῶν αἰεγενετάων (7. 52–3), which is rather mysterious, for Apollo and Athene had made no such comment.³ Helenos might here be inferring this fact from what he had overheard—particularly given Apollo's prophetic abilities and role as Troy's chief defender—or he might have discerned the economic use of truth by both deities (particularly Apollo), or he might simply wish to end the fighting at any cost.⁴ In any case, the expression shows that the deceptive quality of the last example is clearly carried over into the present one. Athene and Apollo's *stated* intention is to put an end to the current bout of fighting, *not* for Hektor to win a duel or fight it in safety;⁵ [4] Here openly deceives Aphrodite about the purpose of her coming request.⁶

² Cf. 110/1.

³ Cf. 141/5 n. 2; also 182/7.

⁴ Cf. 210/3 n. 4 for Hektor's shortcomings as leader; also 18/2 n. 3 and 18/7 n. 9 for Trojan dissatisfaction generally with the war and, for the allies' attitude, cf. 42/3 n. 5. Helenos is an intriguing character; remember that, before the war, Ἑλένος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς προσθεσπίζει (Kypria arg. 9–10 Bernabé), and that χρήσαντος (sc. Ἑλένου) περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως (Ilias Parva arg. 6–7 Bernabé) Diomedes brings Philoktetes to Troy. Given also the several internal conflicts in Troy, it is not impossible that Helenos might try to trick Hektor, as one of the most intransigent military leaders in Troy (cf. esp. 15. 718–25), into a decisive duel.

⁵ This analysis accounts for the discrepancy between the conversation and Helenos' report of it, which Kirk (1990) on 7. 52–3, 238, apparently feels is a ground for suspicion against the verse.

⁶ Cf. 78/28 n. 18.

Textual Discussion

This chapter will argue that traditional referentiality offers a new way out of some of the old difficulties facing the textual criticism of Homer.¹ It will then deal with the cruxes in θ susceptible to this kind of analysis (signalled above in the Text and Referential Apparatus), before a brief exploration of the way in which these cases may influence an understanding of the poems' genesis.

θ is a particularly fruitful object for this kind of discussion, primarily because of the variation to which this section of the poem is subject in the most ancient sources. Scholars have accounted for this in widely differing ways, from the fluidity in θ 's transmission proposed by Pierre Chantraine to the great amount of interpolation favoured by Stephanie West,² and its somewhat compact nature and formular density makes the book as a whole an excellent microcosm of the issues characteristic of the textual criticism of Homer.

The current method proceeds on the general basis that external evidence is not more important than internal. In fact, if examination of textual phenomena is not simply to reinforce an independently held conception of the poems' genesis, then internal evidence is much more important.³ This is not to deny the significance of the manuscripts; it is simply a necessary consequence of the obscurities surrounding the relationship between those manuscripts, the Alexandrian scholars, and the pre-Alexandrian text, not to mention the genesis of the poems themselves. These matters are so fundamental to an understanding of the transmission that one should be very wary about the probative value of the external evidence, for conceptual and practical difficulties in this regard form a serious impediment to the development of a balanced principle of textual criticism.

¹ I am particularly indebted to Martin West for reading this chapter and saving me, with a courtesy even more welcome for our fundamental differences, from many more errors and faults.

² Chantraine (1934); S. West (1967) 12–13, 75.

³ Thus I generally do not weigh the diplomatic evidence in discussing individual cases, and leave the reader to consult West's apparatus. I shall in fact conclude that the *paradosis* is generally trustworthy, but, to anticipate the following argument, it is important not to adopt a method which assumes this conclusion before proving it.

The first problem is that the main source for information about the most well-known moment in the transmission, Aristarkhos and the Alexandrians, is the Homeric scholia, the relationship of which to the material they purport to summarize is of an indirect, inferential, and frequently mistaken nature.⁴ This is one of the many reasons why the process of sorting, weighing, and, indeed, identifying these manuscripts (*αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα, αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, αἱ χαριέστεραι, αἱ εἰκαιότεραι, αἱ κοιναί*, etc.) is still a matter of lively debate.⁵ Moreover, whether or not one would agree with Alexandrian diplomatic principles is a question which must remain unanswered, and so it should be allowed that their application could well have had an effect on the transmission at which, in the majority of cases, one can only guess.⁶

A more fundamental, and so potentially more damaging, assumption is that the Alexandrians used or even had access to every branch of the transmission. The most obvious contrary indication is to be found in the variations from the text in the quotations of Homer by other ancient authors and in the Ptolemaic papyri, usually unmentioned in the scholia and absent from the medieval manuscripts. These sources are, of course, frequently dismissed as revealing no more than the level of corruption to which the text was subject before the Alexandrians cleaned it up.⁷ As there is not the space here to argue the evidentiary status of the quotations and early papyri, it is fortunate that there are indications about the limits of the Alexandrian diplomatic armoury within the medieval paradosis itself.

One such case is *Iliad* 8. 183 (*Ἀργείους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ*), known to Eustathios, present in a papyrus of the third century BC and a substantial number of the medieval manuscripts, but omitted in two post-Aristarchean papyri and almost all medieval manuscripts earlier than the

⁴ I focus here on Aristarkhos because his work seems to have had the greatest impact upon the transmission, and is better or more securely known (the first of these observations may not be unconnected with the second). On Zenodotos, cf. Nickau (1977); M. L. West (2001a) ch. 2. On Aristarkhos, Lehrs (1882); Ludwich (1884–5); Lührs (1992); M. L. West (2001a) ch. 3 (below, n. 14). For the pitfalls, difficulties, and possibilities inherent in the interpretation of the scholia, cf. Richardson (1980); Slater (1989); M. Schmitt (2002).

⁵ Cf. e.g. Allen (1924) ch. 12; van der Valk (1963–4) esp. chs. 10 and 11; Janko (1992) 26; van Thiel (1991), pp. ix–xiv; Nagy (1996); Montanari (1998), (2002); M. L. West (2001a); Janko (2002).

⁶ Cf. S. West (1988) 46; Apthorp (1980) 56–74, considers unlikely the consequent risk that authentic verses were lost, but Janko (1992) 27–9 is more open to the possibility; cf. Cassio (2002) 118 for discussion of a possible case where a post-Aristotelian and pre-Alexandrian change has gone largely unnoticed.

⁷ Cf. S. West (1967) and Di Luzio (1969) on the papyri, Labarbe (1949) and Lohse (1964), (1965), (1967) on Homeric quotations in Plato, and van der Valk (1963–4) ch. 12 on the quotations more generally.

thirteenth century, and unmentioned in the scholia.⁸ On the existing interpretations of the paradosis, there are three alternatives to account for its weak post-Aristarchean attestation:

- (1) Aristarkhos knew the verse but omitted it;
- (2) he knew and included it, but for some other reason it dropped out of the paradosis;
- (3) he did not know it.

The first alternative can be accepted if, with van der Valk, one believes that excision on the basis of internal evidence alone was a typically Alexandrian thing to do.⁹ It could also be accepted if one were of the opinion that there was persuasive diplomatic evidence against the line to support whatever internal arguments Aristarkhos could muster. However, van der Valk's position is widely discredited,¹⁰ Alexandrian literary criticism is not the surest guide to Homeric technique, and conjecture about diplomatic evidence is very difficult to sustain, above all in this case because Aristarkhos' 'omissions' or 'deletions' are generally unmentioned in the scholia.¹¹

In fact, the belief in a consistent Aristarchean 'method' of omission is an argument from silence, an inference drawn from that scholiastic reticence and in turn supporting the belief that he knew or used the entirety of the transmission, or as close as to make no significant difference.¹² That he should systematically omit verses is difficult to reconcile, firstly, with the fact that he 'was prepared to include some passages in his text even when he believed that the external evidence against them was supported by the internal

⁸ *Pro*: Eustathios 704. 40; *Π* 7 (s. iii. a.C.), *W in margine* (s. xii), *H in margine* (s. xiii), *O in margine* (s. xiii), *V* (s. xiii); *contra*: *Π* 197 (s. ii–iii), *Π* 198 (s. ii), and the other medieval MSS. The verse is expunged or doubted by almost every editor because it looks suspiciously like 'a gloss on αὐτοῦς': Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 344. No detailed defence will be undertaken here, but the verse is not formulaic, could hardly be said to be made up of repeated elements, and ὑπὸ καπνοῦ is repeated at 9. 243 (δηλώσειν παρὰ τῆσιν ὀρινομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ), a verse similar in several respects to 8. 183. Furthermore, with regard to the appearance of being a gloss, αὐτοί is followed by the names of the group so denoted e.g. at 14. 379. Though he feels 8. 183 a plus-verse, M. L. West (2001a) 201–2 states that this case 'should warn us that ancient variants can surface in such quarters' (i.e. Eustathios and 12th–13th-c. MSS).

⁹ Cf. van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 510.

¹⁰ Cf. Apthorp (1980) with regard to Aristarkhos' supposedly rampant predilections for excision. On the apparently conjectural nature of Zenodotos' intralinear readings, cf. Nickau (1977) 45–8; M. L. West (2001a) ch. 2; with regard to Aristarkhos' readings, Lührs (1992) 3, 1013; M. L. West (2001a) ch. 3.

¹¹ Cf. Ludwich (1884–5) i. 112–13, ii. 132–42 for some of the few omissions which are actually mentioned in the scholia. For full discussion, cf. Apthorp (1980) esp. ch. 4.

¹² Lührs (1992) 12, speaks of 'die Verse, die Aristarch oder seine Vorgänger getilgt, d. h. aus der Vulgata entfernt haben. Hier wird die Überlieferung das entscheidende Kriterium gewesen sein. Diese Verse sind für uns, außer in voralexandrinischen Papyri, nicht mehr greifbar.'

evidence.¹³ Secondly, even in those cases where deletion may have taken place, there is much uncertainty over the nature of the diplomatic evidence and how he used it.¹⁴ Finally, of course, such a direct effect on the post-Aristarchean text is a trifle puzzling, given the notorious paradox that very few of Aristarkhos' intralinear readings made it into the medieval vulgate, which nevertheless seems to reflect his *numerus versusum*.¹⁵

On the second alternative, the verse was omitted by accident (although there is no obvious temptation) and would then have re-entered the text at a late date from a now lost source.¹⁶ The main objection to this theory, apart from an air of special pleading and its incapacity of proof, is that it is unnecessary, demanded only because the proponent is required to have a position in the ongoing debate over the merits and textual effect of the Alexandrians (in this case a rather spirited reaction to the polemics of van der Valk).¹⁷

But what if there is no need to construct such an elaborate hypothesis to defend Aristarkhos? Is it not possible that 8. 183 was lacking from the earliest vulgate texts because it was unknown to him?¹⁸ This contention, the

¹³ Apthorp (1980) 52. Such internal evidence could be the appearance of concordance interpolation, as in the case of *Il.* 2. 141 (= 9. 28), which Σ T says *ἐν τισιν οὐ φέρεται* and was athetized. In other words, despite external evidence against the line, and the fact that it could easily be viewed an obvious *διφορούμενος* in concordance interpolation, Aristarkhos did not omit the verse. Another, perhaps stronger, example is *Od.* 19. 130–3 (= 1. 245–8), which was also athetized *ἐν δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις οὐδὲ ἐφέροντο* (Σ H ad loc.). Aristarkhos retained this verse, once again despite the appearance of concordance interpolation, even though it was lacking *ἐν πλείστοις*. The statements about Aristarkhos' omissions by Janko (1992) 27 are misleading; cf. Lührs (1992) 260–73; Ludwich (1884–5) ii. 132–43.

¹⁴ Indeed, M. L. West (2001a) 37 (and ch. 3) denies that he even used collation on the scale proposed by most other critics; cf. Nagy (2000), (2003) with reply in M. L. West (2001b); also Montanari (2002) 129–30 and nn. 30–3.

¹⁵ Cf. esp. Bolling (1925), Apthorp (1980). The most likely explanation for this is that Aristarkhos chose a base text on which he commented in his *hypomnemata*; cf. esp. Montanari (1998). Whether this happened once or twice (cf. M. L. West 2001a: 61–7; Montanari 2002; Nagy 2003: 488–9, on the two Aristarchean *ἐκδόσεις*), this would establish the *numerus versusum* without imposing his intralinear readings on the text, and makes the idea of his 'omissions' even less tenable.

¹⁶ Cf. Apthorp (1980) 38. An alternative hypothesis is that of S. West (1967) 84–5, who maintains that it is an interpolation left undeleted in a few influential copies. The shortcomings are the same.

¹⁷ Cf. Nickau (1977); Apthorp (1980); Lührs (1992); Montanari (1998), (2002); Rengakos (2002) esp. 146–7; *pro* van der Valk: Janko (1992) 20–38; also van Thiel (1991) x.

¹⁸ Cf. Haslam (1997) 78–9. Of course, it is no accident that opinions on the extent of Aristarkhos' sources are usually linked with another scholarly nightmare, the origin of the vulgate. Thus van der Valk had to assume that Aristarkhos had a complete range of the evidence before him, for he believed in the pre-Alexandrian provenance of the vulgate. Fairly intrusive editorial tampering was the only way he could account for the differences between the pre- and post-Alexandrian texts. For Haslam, by contrast, who believes in the post-Alexandrian origin of the vulgate, it is much easier to countenance that Aristarkhos may not have had access to all the variants in existence, and moreover that there were many differing texts in circulation.

substance of the third alternative, seems just as if not more likely than the others, with the added virtue of being the simplest explanation, and independently supported.¹⁹ The re-entry of the verse into the text is still the result of a largely invisible process, but one does not have to propose a series of convenient accidents in order to preserve Aristarkhos' standing as a scholar.

Cases like this suggest that the transmission of the Homeric text in the pre-Alexandrian period may not have been so fully represented in the selected or available manuscripts as to give Aristarkhos and his colleagues access to every variation which had arisen in the course of four or five centuries' worth of transmission.²⁰ Hence unqualified confidence in the quality of the external evidence is unfounded, particularly but not only when dealing with sources from the pre-Alexandrian period. Indeed, many others have recognized the obscurity of the *paradosis* before the stabilizing effect of the Museum was felt:

Just how the vulgate came to be the vulgate is an unsettled question ... Ludwich's belief in its pre-Alexandrian existence was ardent, and some scholars today are of the same persuasion. Van Thiel's ringing declaration that 'the Alexandrians knew no other than our text' has fallen on sympathetic ears. But the evidence is lacking. What the Alexandrians knew was a multiplicity of texts, all different ... There is no reason for positing an authoritative base text.²¹

That is reason enough for extreme caution when engaging in textual criticism, even more so since the most fundamental questions about the origin of these poems are perhaps the least illuminated of all. This is now one of the most hotly debated issues in Homeric scholarship,²² but its significance for the textual criticism of the poems has not been sufficiently considered, or not with adequate nuance. Instead, scholars usually get through the darkness by

¹⁹ i.e. by the fact that there is very little evidence that the variants found in quotations and the papyri were known to, or used by, the Alexandrians. This is, of course, itself an argument from silence, but it seems at least as likely as the usual interpretation.

²⁰ The explanation offered for 8. 183 may be applied to a number of other problems. Take, for instance, 9. 458–61, known only from a passage in Plutarch's *Moralia* (26 F). Absent from all the MSS, ancient and modern, and unknown to the scholia, this passage (so the author tells us) was excised by Aristarkhos 'out of fear' (*φοβηθείς*). Excision or serious criticism on these grounds was possible in the pre-Aristarchean period, but from what can be reconstructed of Aristarkhos' method, it would be unlikely that he would have excised them without overwhelmingly strong internal *and* external evidence. The former is lacking (against Apthorp 1980: 98–9 compare Janko 1992: 28), and there is no way of evaluating the external evidence, for again there is no scholium ad loc. The conclusion of Apthorp, who manages to tie himself in some rather fanciful knots here, is that the lines were composed by 'a predominantly reproductive *aoidos* who had not, however, lost his capacity for original composition and who wished to make the quarrel between Phoinix and his father more dramatic'; the corruption then spread to a minority of MSS, and was excised by Aristarkhos on these grounds. To address the question along these lines is, once again, to avoid the simplest explanation, that he did not know the verses.

²¹ Haslam (1997) 84–7.

²² Cf. e.g. Jensen et al. (1999).

adopting a 'most likely' scenario for the poems' production, which inevitably provides the assumptions on which to base the preferred textual-critical method. The application of that method then proves the scholar's model.

For instance, according to the 'crystallization' theory of Gregory Nagy, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are evolving performance texts, and variation or *mouvance* would be an expected part of the process by which one moves from relatively less to relatively more fixed versions of these poems.²³ That one finds variation in the scanty pre-Alexandrian evidence for the Homeric texts is therefore exactly what one ought to find. Thus, the poems are constantly evolving multiforms, and Nagy's model is the right one.

But does variation in the paradosis prove oral transmission, or even recomposition? At some stage, whatever the generative dynamic, the poems were written down and became subject to the same mechanisms for interpolation which bedevil the study of every ancient author. The formular quality of Homeric poetry would lend itself readily to this process, and so variation cannot *a priori* be a matter only of oral transmission. Indeed, the Old English tradition offers the salutary phenomenon of scribes who have so internalized the poetic language that they generate apparently authentic variants.²⁴

By the same token, however, not every variation must necessarily be a literate corruption of the pristine text caused by this formular quality. Richard Janko may be right about the dictated text, or Martin West about the poet's autograph, but the assumption of a fixed *Urtext* is no different, methodologically, from Nagy's performance multiform.²⁵ Like that model, it affords the critic a range of comforting criteria (*lectio difficilior*, concordance interpolation, etc.) with which to hack away at the evidence. But is it any surprise that the application of these criteria leads inexorably, almost triumphantly, back to one 'original'? This is the predicate of the entire process, and the demonstration is hardly independent proof of the *Urtext*.

²³ Nagy (1996) is the *locus classicus* for the theory (cf. Bird 1994 for a more limited and practical statement), though he has defended it many times since (cf. e.g. Nagy 1997, 2003, 2004) against fierce criticism; e.g. Powell (1997*a*), (1997*b*); Janko (1998*a*) 4–6, (1999); Finkelberg (2000); also above, n. 14. Certainly there are difficulties with the precise stages Nagy envisages, and he has not as yet addressed many of the more specific arguments directed against his theory (such as the level of linguistic fixity apparently evinced in the poems), but the idea that the oral background should be considered a factor in textual criticism was a powerful impetus for the current work.

²⁴ Cf. O'Keefe (1990) 23–46.

²⁵ Cf. Montanari (2002) 132–3; also M. L. West (1998). As Nagy (2003) 484 says: 'If indeed Homeric poetry stems from oral poetry ... then the privileging of any one variant is merely a hypothesis, and the rejection of other variants depends on that hypothesis. Then the judgements of privileging or rejection can be exposed for what they are—the product of an exercise in circular reasoning.'

It is best, then, not to configure a textual-critical method entirely around an exclusive genetic model; in consequence, the current procedure is designed neither to prove nor depend on one. Instead, it initially seeks only to establish the potential authenticity of any given reading, that is, its compatibility with the traditional *Dichtersprache*. There is still a need to differentiate between Homeric and post-Homeric generation, but the line has shifted insofar as 'Homeric' denotes that which exhibits traditional referentiality.²⁶ Therefore, the following discussion deals with those cases which would make a difference to referential commentary of Θ , i.e. where that type of analysis can usefully be brought to bear, or where the absence of the verse would affect the referential description of the narrative.²⁷

In short, this section of the book is concerned to find out whether the feature under discussion is the kind of thing a traditionally trained poet would have produced. There is no need to speculate as yet about the context in which it was produced; that type of conclusion should be driven as far as possible by the evidence itself. This does not mean that other textual-critical criteria can be shunned, for the majority of cases in Θ involving variant readings cannot be explained as the product of oral-traditional mechanisms. One simply must use concordance interpolation, parallel passages, and sheer scribal incompetence to explain the form of the text, and these more conventional tools will be shown to be complementary to the deployment of traditional referentiality. Neither perspective should exclude the other.

Of course, one cannot pretend entirely to have escaped the same type of circular reasoning as that criticized above, firstly because of the reliance here on the validity of an aesthetic notion which is unproven. Secondly, scholarship is always at the mercy of the manuscripts, and no discussion of textual phenomena can ever fully be extricated from the difficulties of their source. Nonetheless, it would seem *prima facie* unlikely that a reading with this quality could come from someone other than a traditional poet and, if the paradoxos contains evidence of oral 'multiformity', this will be the way to find it.

²⁶ Thus I differentiate the method from Nagy's, whose definition of the formulaic style is much broader, and so his standard of proof considerably lower; cf. below (11) and (15) for examples where I deny the authenticity of a reading which his method deems a performative product of the formulaic system.

²⁷ A *crux* is defined as a hemistich, verse, or passage whose authenticity has been suspected by a substantial body of ancient or modern criticism, whether the MSS themselves offer variants or not. I have limited the consultation of modern editions to Leaf (1900–2), Ludwig (1902–7), van Leeuwen (1912), Allen (1931), van Thiel (1996), M. L. West (1998–2000). For a list of all variations between my text and West's, cf. Introduction, n. 56.

(1) 8. 6 (ὄφρ' εἶπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει)

There are only three occasions where this verse is universally attested (7. 68, 349; 19. 102 [ἀνώγει]),²⁸ but it is also at least partially attested in four others (3. 86a, 3. 304a [ἀνώγει], 7. 369—and of course 8. 6), all of which are either omitted, bracketed, or otherwise relegated in the majority of modern editions.²⁹

Dealing first with the secure attestations, ὄφρ' εἶπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει accompanies κέκλυτέ μοι appeals when the proposal itself is not accepted or severely qualified, being of the sort that the speaker could reasonably expect such a reaction.³⁰ This connotation is entirely lacking in the κέκλυτέ μοι appeals which have no attestation of the following verse at all (3. 97, 3. 456, 8. 497, 17. 220): [3. 97] Menelaos simply accepts Paris' challenge; [3. 456] Agamemnon urges the Trojans to act in accordance with their oaths, whose failure to produce Paris is not motivated by any affection for their prince (cf. 3. 451–4). The poet here intimates that a settlement could have been reached, but Zeus is induced to intervene at the start of Δ; [8. 497] Hektor issues his instructions knowing that they will be fulfilled (as again in 17. 220).

Referential analysis would thus support the absence of the verse from 3. 304a, where Priam simply states his intention to return to Troy, and 7. 369, in which Priam's instructions to Idaios are carried out the next day, though the offer which he orders Idaios to convey will be only partly accepted. One could argue that the poet is here preparing the audience for the Greek refusal of the proposed partial restitution, but the proximity of 7. 349 would

²⁸ My analysis of 'thumos drives' (θυμὸς ἀνώγει) might explain ἀνώγει for κελεύει at 19. 102, given that the unit always connotes the completion of the action so denoted; cf. 101/14. Zeus does say what he wants to, but this is also true wherever ὄφρ' εἶπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει is employed. Perhaps one could take the connotation of θυμὸς ἀνώγει at 19. 102 to apply to the following command / prediction, but there seems to be no pattern behind other attestations of ἀνώγει in these speeches (to varying degrees at 3. 86a, 304a; 7. 349, 369; 8. 6); i.e. one might expect much greater attestation of ἀνώγει than is actually found. However, 19. 102 can be differentiated in that it is the only speech of this type to be used in an inset narrative, and also the only proposal to be defeated by the deception of one of the people in the group addressed. The disjunction, of a sort seen to be an ordinary part of the poet's manipulation of referentiality, would strengthen the audience's idea of Zeus' determination and so add tremendously to the force of Agamemnon's paradigm: by increasing the expectation that Zeus would get his way in this case, the power of Ate is powerfully underlined. This could then have served as the original *locus* of the apparent equivalence ἀνώγει = κελεύει and so the source of later corruptions; for similar cases, where the referential effect of a narrative unit is apparently no longer appreciated, cf. below, (2) and (21).

²⁹ Of the doubtful cases, no-one prints 3. 86a or 3. 304a; Leaf retains 7. 369 but brackets 8. 6; Ludwich (with whom West agrees, but uses brackets) retains 7. 369 and 8. 6 but prints them both in small type (adding 7. 368); van Leeuwen removes both; Allen and van Thiel retain both.

³⁰ Cf. 4a.

be an obvious temptation to concordance interpolation. I would also doubt the attestation at 3. 86a, because the offer is almost immediately accepted, though this time the crowd's initial reaction makes the case less clear.³¹ At 8. 6 Zeus must expect dissatisfaction at his statements here, and both Athene's answering speech (8. 30–7) and his reply to her (38–40) heavily intimate the tension among the Olympians. Therefore I would argue for the authenticity of 8. 6 alone of the doubtfully attested examples.

(2) 8. 13 ἦ (and 8. 12 Οὐλυμπόνδε)

The manuscripts (and all editors) read ἦ, which renders 13–14 an alternative to the action of 12.³² Is Zeus to be understood as saying that *either* he will strike the offending deity and then allow him/her to return to Olympos *or* he will cast that deity into Tartaros? This makes the first threat very weak, and trivializes the ethical import of οὐ κατὰ κόσμον.³³ Furthermore, where Zeus acts violently against recalcitrants elsewhere in early Greek epic, these actions are usually combined, i.e. he first blasts *and only then* casts the offending character into Hades; cf. his treatment of Typhaon (*Theogony* 857–68) and Apollo (F 54(a) M–W; esp. 5–6 ῥίψειν ἡμελ[λεν . . . ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου | Τ]άρταρον ἔς and 7 σκ[ληρ[ὸν] δ' ἐβ[ρόντησε καὶ ὄβριμον, ἀμφὶ δὲ γ[αῖα], whilst in the punishment of Salmoneus and his people (F 30. 18–22 M–W), the latter are assaulted by the thunderbolt (18–19) before the king himself is cast into Hades (22). The intervening fragmentary verses (20–1) clearly refer to the destruction of Salmoneus' household, so it is very likely that he too was included in the initial destruction summarized at 21 (θῆκεν ἀστως). We may also compare *Hom. Hy. to Hermes* 255–6 (τάχα νῶϊ διοισόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. | ῥίψω γάρ σε βαλὼν ἔς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα 256 ~ *Il.* 8. 13), where Apollo's treatment of his younger brother would undoubtedly be consequent on victory in the threatened quarrel (referentially, this example would perfectly accord with our definition of the οὐ κατὰ κόσμον unit, with Apollo implying that the fact of conflict itself could only be resolved by Hermes' permanent exile, but it is possible that Θ may have had an influence on the hymn poet).

Moreover, referential analysis of the expression would naturally support the idea that 13–14 is the corrective to the intolerable situation represented by 12, i.e. the very fact of return itself. In this case, ἦ should be read: 'I will strike the offending god (12) after or because of which his return to Olympos will be intolerable (οὐ κατὰ κόσμον 12); in fact (ἦ), I will cast him into Tartaros (13–14).' Thus there is no alternative, but a progression. Confusion between asseverative ἦ and alternative ἦ is aided by the use of the former to introduce

³¹ Cf. 11/1.

³² Cf. Kirk (1990) ad loc., 296.

³³ Cf. 6.

the second element in alternative questions,³⁴ and perhaps also in certain indirect questions,³⁵ and would have been assisted once the referential significance of οὐ κατὰ κόσμον was no longer understood.³⁶ Reading ἦ requires placing a semi-colon at least after Οὐλύμπόνδε, as van Thiel; for asseverative ἦ used at the beginning of a clause or sentence to refer to a future event, cf. e.g. 1. 240, 22. 20, 22. 356.³⁷

(3) 8. 28–40

The authenticity of the whole or parts of this passage has come under suspicion, Aristarkhos objecting to the entirety ὅτι ἐξ ἄλλων τόπων μετάκεινται (Σ A ad loc.) and particularly 8. 39–40 because ἐναντιοῦνται δὲ ἐνθάδε τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις (Σ A ad loc.).³⁸ The passage 8. 32–7 will be repeated by Here at 8. 463–8, but this is not an unusual thing in Homer, as asserted by Kirk in his condemnation of the passage.³⁹

Many defences have been offered, relating Zeus' words to his particular relationship with his daughter, the idea that 'Fernwirkung' is being requested here, and so on.⁴⁰ However, referential analysis of τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδίσας προσέφη (8. 38) suggests that a current of deception runs beneath speeches so introduced, and so Zeus does not 'stultify himself' as Leaf believes.⁴¹ Instead, he reveals his awareness that the *Dios boule* is not to proceed unchallenged, an awareness ruefully exhibited elsewhere in this passage and the poem as a whole (cf. esp. 1. 517–27, 560–7), and the poet hereby signals to the audience the common insincerity in the exchange.⁴² When the poet repeats 8. 39–40 at 22. 183–4, he uses instead of τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδίσας the introductory hemistich τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος (22. 182) which signals the speaker's disagreement with a previous speech, or dissatisfaction at the interlocutor's attitude or understanding of the situation.⁴³ Thus 22. 183–4 express Zeus' desire to point out her error in believing that his suggestion to save Hektor was serious, but without implying that he cares not for the fate of the hero. In this scene in Θ, on the other hand, his deception of Athene (and hers of him, as well) allows him to express what seems to the critics to be contradictory positions.

³⁴ Chantraine (1953) §431, 293–4; cf. 70.

³⁵ Cf. M. L. West (1998–2000) xxxi; *contra* Chantraine (1953) §431, 293–4, R. 1.

³⁶ Cf. (1) n. 28, (21) for similar cases.

³⁷ Monro (1891) §338, 308–9.

³⁸ All modern editors print the verses; however, Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 335.

³⁹ Kirk (1990) on 8. 32–7, 300–1; *contra* de Jong (1987) 187–8. For other condemnations, cf. Römer (1912) 231–3; also Ameis–Hentze (1887) 87–8; (1907) ad loc., 42; Wilamowitz (1916) 42 n. 1.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kullmann (1956) 89 n. 2; Diller (1965) 139–40; Reinhardt (1961) 152; Schadewaldt (1966) 99 and n. 2; Reichel (1994) 304; Fenik (1968) 202–3; Heitsch (1993) 28 and n. 29; Erbse (1986) 197; Schäfer (1990) 64.

⁴¹ Cf. 15/2.

⁴² Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁴³ Cf. 148/34 and Appendix A (17).

Interestingly, *II* 7 (s. iii a.C.) reads for 8. 38 the distich ὥς φάτο, μείδῃσεν δὲ πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε. Referential analysis shows that 8. 38 (and Zeus' speech as a whole) was very early felt difficult to reconcile with its context: the opening hemistich of the papyrus' first verse (ὥς φάτο, μείδῃσεν δὲ) is used where the status or self-conception of the smiler is positively reinforced by the interlocutor's speech or action (1. 595, 5. 426, 14. 222, 15. 47, {21. 434}, 23. 555). The second verse (χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε) falls where the speaker reacts to the interlocutor's grief, manifest physically in tears or lamentation, and seeks to console (1. 361, 5. 372, 6. 485, 24. 127).⁴⁴ Leaving aside the fact that these units are not so coupled in the *Iliad* but in the *Odyssey* (4. 609–10, 5. 180–1, 13. 287–8), neither of these two functions is really appropriate here in Θ, though the first is not glaringly inconsistent with the context. Di Luzio unconvincingly argues that they fit the context better than the version of the 'vulgata', for τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδίσσας is the result of 'falsi argomentum razionalistici' designed to lessen Zeus' paternal affection in the light of her rebellious attitude!⁴⁵ Rationalization of this sort could very easily have motivated the papyrus reading, i.e. to increase Zeus' affectionate tone before his words at 8. 39–40.

(4) 8. 59 (πεζοί θ' ἱππῆες τε πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει)

The opening of battle in Θ contains many whole or half verses which are exemplified elsewhere in the *Iliad*; in this case, 2. 809–10 = 8. 58–9 and 4. 446–51 = 8. 60–5.⁴⁶ Since 8. 59 is omitted by three early papyri (but contained in one of the earliest Homeric papyri, *II* 7), suspicion arises that the recurrence of the otherwise unique 2. 809 at 8. 58 suggested to the inattentive or even intrusive transmitter the equally rare 2. 810 as 8. 59.⁴⁷ However, πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει would emphasize specifically the Trojan constraint in this section of the narrative, and its repetition at 8. 63 would then generalize that reactive sense to include the Greeks as well,⁴⁸ which would in turn preserve the poet's deliberately greater focus on the Trojan preparations for battle here in Θ.⁴⁹

Furthermore, several features in this portion of the narrative indicate that the poet is playing down human agency, and an emphasis on constraint would respond well to this intimation.⁵⁰ Although there is no other occasion where two examples of this expression are employed in such proximity, the referential import of the phrase well explains the collocation here, and outweighs the absence of this verse from three early papyri.

⁴⁴ Cf. Martin (1989) 19, with refs., and ch. 1.

⁴⁵ Di Luzio (1969) 124–6.

⁴⁶ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

⁴⁷ Cf. M. L. West (2001a) 201; he is alone in bracketing this verse.

⁴⁸ Cf. 23.

⁴⁹ Cf. 22. ⁵⁰ Cf. Commentary ad loc.

(5) 8. 77 (14. 506)

χλωρόν δέος is also found in some manuscripts at 14. 506, where the majority of sources (and all modern editors) show τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα.⁵¹ The case does not admit of an easy answer. Assuming that τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα is correct at 14. 506, it would be the only case where this unit is applied to a group rather than a named individual. Assuming χλωρόν δέος εἶλεν, it would be the only case where ‘*pale fear*’ is caused by a creature of the same existential order, though one might argue that the simile at 17. 67 refers outside the simile narrative to an emotion in a human group caused by a human action.⁵² My analysis of this example argued that the disjunction between the simile and the narrative was designed to underline the Trojan weakness and dependence upon Hektor. That exception, one might argue, could also apply to 14. 506. Indeed, here ‘*trembling seized the limbs*’ also connotes Trojan weakness, for such reactions are less justified in the long term than those of the ‘*pale fear*’ variety. In the light of this situational similarity, textual disruption is understandable.

There seems to be only one internal criterion of any worth: at 17. 67, the denotation of the ‘*pale fear*’ unit is preserved (for it is applied within a simile, and the disjunction noted above comes from the juxtaposition of the simile with its narrative), but at 14. 506 it is not. Therefore, though I have to admit to some uncertainty on the point, I follow all editors in reading τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα at 14. 506. It could be concluded that ‘*pale fear*’ is the ‘marked’ fearful reaction, whilst ‘*trembling seized the limbs*’ is the unmarked.

(6) 8. 108 and 5. 272 (μήστωρε φόβοιο)

Several manuscripts (and perhaps Plato) read μήστωρα for μήστωρε at 8. 108, whilst there is a similar alternation between μήστωρι and μήστωρε at 5. 272.⁵³ West opts for μήστωρι at 5. 272 and μήστωρε at 8. 108, arguing that the poet uses the formula here in Θ in an individual way by making it refer to the horses rather than a hero: ‘in E 272, at least, the verse seems more naturally filled out with a formulaic phrase appended to the name of Aeneas than with a characterization of the horses chosen for him by Anchises. In Θ 108, on the other hand, the emphasis is on the horses’ quality... If that is the situation (i.e. that the dual is original in one place and not both), Θ 108 has the stronger claim to μήστωρε. The formula will have come into the poet’s mind because of

⁵¹ Cf. 31 and 194.

⁵² Cf. 31/3.

⁵³ Cf. 53. At 8. 108, all editors print μήστωρε; at 5. 272, West is alone in reading μήστωρι. The quotation comes from *Lakhes* 191 A–B, where it is unclear as to which of the passages Plato is referring. Labarbe (1949) 211–12 (cf. also 308–9), concludes that Θ is the source (as Lohse 1965: 252), which would undermine Plato’s authority for μήστωρι at 5. 272, though Σ A ad loc. seems to suggest that Aristarkhos (or Didymos) knew a reading other than the dual.

the connection with the account of the horses in *E* 265ff., but he then adapted it to refer to the horses instead of to Aeneas.⁵⁴ This account is unpersuasive. Firstly, there is a great deal more emphasis on the horses in *E*, because Diomedes has just detailed over the preceding thirteen verses the horses' rather unusual genealogy. This emphasizes the nature of the prize they represent, which is presumably why Diomedes is prepared to halt his offensive to make sure that Sthenelos secures them. The description in *Θ*, on the other hand, extends for only three verses. Secondly, the expression *μήστωρε φόβοιο* is a traditional unit used outside the two passages in *E* and *Θ*, and reminiscence from the earlier to the later passage would thus have to override that generic formulaicity in order to establish itself in the poet's mind in the manner envisaged by West.⁵⁵

Referential analysis of this expression revealed that it foreshadows a person (or thing) to be prominent in the ensuing narrative, and this would certainly support West's choice in *Θ*, for Aineias plays no role whatsoever in the coming action. *μήστωρε* is therefore the authentic reading here, and the v.l. *μήστωρα* cannot be invoked as evidence of oral multiformity. However, the situation at 5. 272 could be so interpreted, given that both of the readings *μήστωρι*/*μήστωρε* would respond to referential analysis in that context, the first focusing the audience's attention on the shortly to be wounded Aineias, the second on the shortly to be captured horses. Of course, it is also possible that a scribe, knowing what would happen to the horses—their reappearance in *Θ* and their description at 8. 105–7 in terms very similar to those used by Aineias at 5. 221–3—might (un)consciously generate *μήστωρε* for *μήστωρι*. Alternatively, the prominence of Aineias in the following action might also lead a change in the other direction. *μήστωρι* is known only to Plato, but, though I suspect that it is a misquotation because the formula is only elsewhere used in the accusative, the possibility of multiformity remains.

(7) 8. 123, 315 (ὠκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αἰθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε)

Both 8. 123 and 8. 315 are imperfectly attested, and subject to a range of editorial response.⁵⁶ As only 5. 296 (= 8. 123, 315) is universally accepted, and there is one other occasion where one might expect to find the verse (after 15.

⁵⁴ M. L. West (2001a) 201. Though sympathetic to *μήστωρι*, Leaf (1900–2) on 5. 272, 213 decides that 'we may, however, accept [*μήστωρε*] here [sc. in *E*] as an unusually exaggerated encomium; the horses in virtue of their divine descent are actually put on a level with human beings'; cf. also Kirk (1990) ad loc., 87–8.

⁵⁵ Cf. below (15) for another instance in which scholarship unreasonably downplays the abilities of the oral poet to recognize his own diction.

⁵⁶ Leaf brackets 123; Ludwich prints 123 in smaller type; van Leeuwen, Allen, and van Thiel include both; West brackets both.

452 ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι) but does not, this suspicion is quite natural. Interpolation from 5. 296 to 8. 123, 315 seems a possible explanation, presumably on the basis that παρέτρεσαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι is equivalent to ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι, and also that Aineias' team is mentioned in very similar terms before 5. 296 and 8. 123 (5. 221–3 ~ 8. 105–7) and are prominent in both passages (though 8. 315 is much better attested than 8. 123, and this last explanation would not account for that).

This interpretation, however, places great strain on the usual definition of concordance interpolation ('a line or group of lines which follow a particular formula in one place are inserted after it in another passage where they may be rather less suitable'⁵⁷), since παρέτρεσαν at 5. 295 is, after all, the unique expression. Furthermore, the collocation of the 'he fell from the chariot' and 'and the horses recoiled' units is split over 5. 294–5. Thus, if it is a case of concordance interpolation in either of the Θ cases, why should its author think—subconsciously or not—of 5. 294–5 as the model? Given that 15. 452 (ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι) is the only direct parallel for either 8. 122 or 8. 314, and it is not followed by ὠκύποδες τοῦ δ' αἰθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε, the trail of interpolation becomes exceedingly complex (15. 452 might, in fact, suggest that a qualifier for the horses in the first hemistich of the next verse, followed by a transition to either the driver or the warrior in the second, was a typical feature in such situations).

One could also argue that 5. 296 may be distinguished from the other examples on the grounds that this is the only occasion on which the charioteer is not replaced. This is to be explained by the fact that Aineias is the charioteer and the dead Pandaros the warrior on this occasion, which surely makes the idea of 5. 296 as the model even more difficult. Therefore, on internal grounds, the case against 8. 123 and 8. 315 cannot be considered to have been made, and their referential function (predicting the claiming of the chariot and a counterattack from Hektor) concurs perfectly with other such units in the narrative.⁵⁸ Their imperfect attestation may indicate that traditional oral readings are generally not completely lost to the main line of transmission.

(8) 8. 166

There has long been some unease over the nature of the expression δαίμονα δώσω (8. 166).⁵⁹ The use and syntax of πάρος or πρίν with a future indicative is fully traditional and thoroughly appropriate in this location,⁶⁰ but δαίμονα δώσω could be a post-Homeric gloss for πότμον ἐφήσω (Zenodotos),

⁵⁷ S. West (1967) 12–13.

⁵⁸ Cf. Commentary ad loc.; also 60b.

⁵⁹ Cf. Σ bT ad loc.; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 310.

⁶⁰ Cf. 90.

λαίμων ἀμήσω (Naber) or πότμον ἐφέψεις (21. 588).⁶¹ The sense seems clear, nonetheless, and any disruption is probably limited to an intrusive gloss of the sort listed above.

(9) 8. 174 (6. 112)

I would not follow West's adoption of *ἀνέρες ἔστε θοοὶ καὶ ἀμύνετε ἄσπεϊ λώβην* from Zenodotos at 6. 112, on the grounds that the 'vulgate' reading (*ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*) is 'a banal formula'.⁶² It is not. The referential suitability of the verse in this context, apart from its universal attestation in the manuscripts, suggests that its presence was not fortuitous.⁶³ If West is right that Zenodotos' text is a fourth-century Ephesian rhapsode's version of the poems, then rhapsodic alterations at this date were not—or not fully—oral-traditional in provenance.⁶⁴

(10) 8. 186–90

Some doubts have been raised over the authenticity of 8. 186–90, Aristarkhos athetizing 189 because it is *οὐ σύνηθες οἶνον πίνειν ἵππους* (Σ b on 8. 188–90), which opinion has found some sympathy with his successors.⁶⁵ The objection is hardly weighty, for the almost anthropomorphic attention is paralleled by Patroklos' treatment of Akhilleus' team: *τοίου γὰρ σθένος ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσαν ἡνιόχοιο | ἡπίου, ὃ σφωῖν μάλα πολλάκις ὕγρον ἔλαιον | χαιτάων κατέχευε, λοέσσας ὕδατι λευκῶι* (23. 280–2).⁶⁶ One might say that special treatment is accorded to Akhilleus' team because of their immortality, but Hektor's horses were probably also from the immortal stock given to Tros in compensation for Ganymedes (cf. 5. 265–71).⁶⁷ Furthermore, horses are addressed and threatened frequently in rather human terms (19. 420–4, 23. 402–16, 23. 442–5), and they even speak (19. 404–18).

We should also keep in mind that Andromakhe has shown a keen interest in the war, beyond simply preparing baths for her husband (e.g. 6. 433–9, where she gives Hektor sound tactical advice based upon a sensible observation of the fighting), and so is far from being an inappropriate figure to

⁶¹ Cf. Nickau (1977) 257; also Fraenkel (1950) on Aiskhylos, *Agamemnon* 1341, 632–3.

⁶² M. L. West (2001a) 45; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 265, is also sympathetic to Zenodotos' reading, though he prints *ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*, along with the other modern editors. ⁶³ Cf. 97/1.

⁶⁴ Cf. M. L. West (2001a), (2002); *pace* Nickau (1977).

⁶⁵ Cf. also Σ A on 189; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 344–5; Fenik (1968) 222; Kirk (1990) on 8. 186–90, 312–13; M. L. West (2001a) 202; *contra* van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 395 (with refs.). No editor fails to print the verses, although Ludwig prints 189 in smaller type.

⁶⁶ Cf. Richardson (1993) on 23. 281–2, 206.

⁶⁷ Cf. also Schein (2002b) for the significance of the horses of Akhilleus in *P* for an understanding of the poem's central themes.

perform the current service.⁶⁸ If 189 is removed, then 190 should probably go as well, as West saw (though Ludwig prints 189 in smaller type and retains 190; Leaf prints it all (as does van Leeuwen), judging however that the entire passage is ‘too hopeless to be remedied by a single omission’). This would remove the *εὐχομαι εἶναι* unit,⁶⁹ which is thoroughly appropriate in the context and contributes powerfully to an understanding of Hektor’s characterization at this moment of triumph. Such a traditionally referential feature is unlikely to have been inserted by someone other than a traditional poet; this consideration, coupled with the other non-referential arguments offered above, makes it unlikely that the passage is an interpolation.

(11) 8. 198 (5. 106, 20. 393)

ὦς φάτ’ ἐπευχόμενος is partially attested for *ὦς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος* at 5. 106 and 20. 393,⁷⁰ though no editor adopts it. *ἐπεύχομαι* is most commonly used in vaunting situations, though nowhere else after *ὦς φάτ’* in the *Iliad* (*ὦς φάτ’ ἐπευχομένος* is also found at *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 370). Muellner reads *ὦς φάτ’ ἐπευχόμενος* in both these *loci* because he wishes to establish a firm division between the sacred (*εὐχόμενος*) and secular (*ἐπευχόμενος*) usages of the verb, noting that these categories only overlap where the text is doubtful or the formula system under some ‘strain.’⁷¹ This seems slightly disingenuous, as the variants could easily be explained as the result of a desire to produce just such a split as that for which Muellner is arguing. In any case, the referential definition of this expression shows that the speaker is making a hopeful claim on the future, something naturally associated with prayers but not necessarily confined to that context.⁷²

(12) 8. 199

In justifying his bracketing of this line, West refers to the suspicions of Schadewaldt.⁷³ Apart from the fact that *II* 7 has another reading at 199 and an additional verse at 199a, he has two objections to the speech: firstly, ‘Der persönliche mediale Gebrauch von *σείσατο* “sie warf sich im Sessel hin und her” ist völlig singulär.’ However, as Chantraine points out, ‘Le moyen a servi dans une large mesure à constituer des verbes intransitifs tirés de thèmes actifs et qui admettent d’être traduits par des réfléchis’⁷⁴ and to ‘la coexistence d’un actif causatif avec un moyen intransitif.’⁷⁵ At 13. 805 (*ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ*

⁶⁸ Cf. also Hirvonen (1968) 116–17; Lohmann (1988) 78. Moreover, given that Hektor is traditionally constructed as someone rather careless with his charioteers (cf. 61 n. 1), Andromakhe’s role in this regard is even more explicable.

⁶⁹ Cf. 102.

⁷⁰ Cf. 105/3 and 11. ⁷¹ Muellner (1976) 23–4 (also 111 n. 15); quotation from 66.

⁷² Cf. 105. ⁷³ Schadewaldt (1966) 100 n. 2. West is alone in bracketing the verse.

⁷⁴ Chantraine (1953) §264, 178. ⁷⁵ Ibid. §265, 179.

κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ σείετο πῆληξ) σείετο seems at least to admit of the second interpretation. Moreover, Hoekstra compares 15. 150 to suggest that the metrical lengthening in εἰνὶ θρόνῳ betrays a Mycenaean survival ἐν θρόνῳ.⁷⁶

This need not be a decisive argument in the verse's favour, but Schade-waldt's second point against it is weak: 'das Erschüttern des Olymp kommt wohl nur dem Zeus zu.'⁷⁷ Ironically, this grasps the poet's departure from usual practice, but comes to the wrong conclusion. Apart from the analysis in Appendix B, which argues that Here is essentially a source of divine *stasis*, the fact that she is the cause of the commotion is an indication of her coming, necessary failure to assert her will in open defiance of Zeus. Thus the individuality of this action underlines the important themes in the passage, and the usual association will be restored when Zeus returns to Olympos at 443 and makes the place boom.⁷⁸

(13) 8. 260 (4. 504, 5. 42, 5. 540, 15. 578)

The expression ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ has caused a great deal of difficulty in these four *loci*.⁷⁹ Referential definition of this unit emphasizes the narrative's concern with the victim's armour, which is usually narrated directly after the combat or its series ({4. 504}, 5. 294, {5. 540}, 13. 187, {15. 578}, 17. 50, 17. 311) before the victor disappears from the narrative forefront; the claiming of the armour may be left unstated (as at {5. 42}, 5. 58, and 8. 260) before the same eventuality. In the latter cases, the killer's side is so clearly in the ascendant that the claiming of the corpse would be assumed (and the poet generally avoids narrating the action in these circumstances).⁸⁰

This concern for an attempt on the armour / corpse may eventuate in the claiming of the corpses involved ({4. 504}, {5. 540}, 17. 311) or an attempt to do so by the victor or a defender (5. 294, 13. 187, {15. 578}, 17. 50). Thus the appearance of the expression at 4. 504, 5. 540, and 15. 578 appears fully traditional and outweighs the absence of 4. 504 from three papyri, of 5. 540 from another three papyri and one medieval MS before correction, and of 15. 578 from two papyri and four medieval manuscripts (though cf. below). The case of 5. 42 is slightly different; that there are two such indications in one killing run (i.e. at both 5. 42 and 5. 58) would be unique and somewhat

⁷⁶ Hoekstra (1965) 145.

⁷⁷ Cf. also Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 346; Von der Mühl (1952) 154; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 314–15.

⁷⁸ Cf. 106; also Reinhardt (1961) 181 n. 26.

⁷⁹ West brackets 4. 504, 5. 42, and 5. 540, and reads τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν at 15. 578, which he also brackets (M. L. West 2001a: 13 n. 31 lists them as concordance interpolations); every other editor has τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν at 15. 578 (with no doubts about the verse), whilst van Thiel and Allen print all *loci*; and Ludwich, Leaf, and van Leeuwen indicate doubts only about 5. 42.

⁸⁰ Cf. 133.

unnecessary. One of 5. 42 and 5. 58 is probably an interpolation from the other, presumably because 5. 40–1 ~ 56–7. Given that ἤριπε δὲ πρηγής (58) is much less common with this expression than the usual δούπησεν δὲ πεσών (42), the interpolation is most likely 42.

15. 578 is worth a closer look, for the preferred reading there is τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν.⁸¹ Formally, of course, this is not a direct metrical equivalent: ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι cannot be used after a light syllable (hence τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν at 4. 526, 20. 393, 20. 471, 21. 181) and is never used after a heavy open syllable (hence 4. 461, 4. 503, 16. 316, 14. 519, 6. 11). κατὰ δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν is employed after δούπησεν δὲ πεσών at 16. 325 (and in *II* 48 at 15. 578), the poet using κατὰ apparently because τὸν δέ always elsewhere (except for 15. 578) signals a change of subject. However, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν is usually found to accompany slayings in which there has been some grisly biological description of the wound:⁸² [4. 461] (= 6. 11) the spear is stuck in Ekhepolos' forehead and the bone is pierced through (460–1 = 6. 10–11); [4. 503] the spear passes right through the other side of the victim's head (502–3); [4. 526] (= 21. 181) ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάσαι | χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες (525–6 = 21. 180–1); [13. 575] Meriones' wound was rather nasty in its placement⁸³ and the victim is left gasping until Meriones pulls out his spear; [14. 438–9] even some time after the strike, Hektor vomits out the black blood (437); [14. 519] Hyperenor is struck καλὰ λαπάρην and the spear ἔντερα . . . ἄφυσσεν (517–19); [16. 316] Amphiklos is struck πρυμνὸν σκέλος and his νεῦρα are split about the spear's point;⁸⁴ [16. 325] πρυμνὸν δὲ βραχίονα δουρὸς ἀκωκῇ | δρύϊβ' ἀπὸ μυνώνων, ἀπὸ δ' ὀστέον ἄχρῖς ἄραξεν (323–4); [20. 393] Iphition is struck μέσσην κακὰ κεφαλὴν· ἥ δ' ἄνδρα πάσα κεάσθη (387); [20. 471] the liver slips out and blood fills the κόλπον (470–1). 15. 578, by contrast, has no such description whatsoever.⁸⁵

This might of course be an argument in favour of deleting or bracketing the verse entirely, in which case the v.l. ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι is easily interpreted as a further interpolation attracted by δούπησεν δὲ πεσών (15. 578). The verse is entirely absent from the scholia, two papyri (*II* 224 [s. i?] and *II* 343 [s. v–vi]) and four medieval manuscripts (GHOV), and Janko thinks it 'a concordance interpolation like 5. 42, to make clear that the blow is fatal.'⁸⁶ Though this conclusion seems irresistible, all strikes of the βάλε στήθος παρὰ μάζον group have expressions for the victim's fall or

⁸¹ Cf. Morrison (1999).

⁸² Cf. W. Friedrich (1956) in general for a discussion of such woundings, though he does not identify the associations of τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν nor class these examples as I have; also Higbie (1990) 162–5; Saunders (2004).

⁸³ Cf. 37/7.

⁸⁴ Cf. 37/9.

⁸⁵ Cf. 59/4.

⁸⁶ Janko (1992) ad loc., 290.

death,⁸⁷ and 15. 578 in some form is found in two other papyri (*II* 60 [s. iv] and *II* 48 [s. v]) and in vastly the major part of the medieval *paradosis*. Therefore, I suggest that ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι is the original reading of an authentic verse preserved in only a few sources (*II* 60, DTW), and the process of interpolation proceeded as follows: δούπησεν δὲ πεσών· ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι at 15. 578 was altered at a post-traditional stage to δούπησεν δὲ πεσών· κατὰ δὲ σκότος ὅσσ' ἐκάλυψεν under the influence of the parallel verse at 16. 325, which like 15. 578 is a combat involving one of the Nestoridai. This prior stage is actually preserved at *II* 48, but κατὰ was subsequently normalized 'formulaically' to τόν. I would therefore argue for the authenticity of 15. 578, but only in the form δούπησεν δὲ πεσών· ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι.

(14) 8. 303 (13. 186)

Given the metrical equivalence between βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν and κατὰ στήθος βάλεν ἰῶι / βάλε δουρί,⁸⁸ it is arresting that *II* 60 (s. iv) at 13. 186 reads παρὰ στήθος παρὰ μαζόν for the otherwise universal κατὰ στήθος βάλε δουρί. This is of course nonsense, so it must be a case of dittography, in which case βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν was probably in the scribe's exemplar. This is absolutely fascinating, for 13. 186 is the closest in situation of the κατὰ στήθος βάλεν ἰῶι / βάλε δουρί group to the βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν type of strike.⁸⁹ This could be the result of confusion in the mind of the exemplar's scribe, but it could also be an alternative of the sort a traditional poet would generate. If so, then *II* 60 preserves an authentic (in fact, according to its referentiality, a preferred) reading which has been entirely lost to the main line of transmission.⁹⁰

(15) 8. 331–4 = 13. 420–3 (8. 330 ~ 13. 419)

The usual interpretation of the relationship between these scenes is that of Fenik: 'men *do* step over dead bodies to protect them the way Antilochos does here, but the poet unfortunately had a particular group of lines in mind which he absent-mindedly used in an inappropriate place. As in so many other cases it was the pressure of a type scene that led to a factual error.'⁹¹ This is problematic.

Firstly, can Θ be said to exert the 'pressure of a type-scene'? There are many ways to denote the typical idea of covering a corpse or wounded hero with a shield; e.g. Αἰνείας δ' ἀπόρουσε σὺν ἀσπίδι δουρί τε μακρῶι . . . | πρόσθε δέ οἱ

⁸⁷ Cf. 59.

⁸⁸ Cf. 59; also 151 n. 3.

⁸⁹ Cf. 59; 151/3.

⁹⁰ Incidentally, given the metrical equivalence between these units, it is noticeable that only at this point—and in one papyrus—does the *paradosis* show this interchangeability. The tradition seems highly trustworthy, at least in this case.

⁹¹ Fenik (1968) 132. Saunders (2004) 6 n. 12 classes Hypsenor a 'survivor'.

δόρυ τ' ἔσχε καὶ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἶσιν (5. 297, 300 = 17. 7); περίβησαν ἄριστοι ... | ... ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν | ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους σχέθον αὐτοῦ (14. 424, 427–8); Αἴας δ' ἄμφι Μενουτιάδῃ σάκος εὐρὸν καλύψας | ἐστήκει (17. 132–3). None of these is automatically employed, and the expression in Θ (ἀλλὰ θέων περίβη καὶ οἱ σάκος ἀμφεκάλυψε 331) is otherwise unique. Furthermore, in none of these cases does the action of covering the object demand precisely the further—and again otherwise unique—rescue found in Θ (331–4). Finally, Θ is individual in altering the 'he did not | fail to care' expression by applying it to a wounded hero rather than a corpse (330), whilst N uses it in the typical way (419).⁹² So one can hardly say that the poet's 'error' in N was triggered by the 'pressure of a type-scene' represented by Θ.

If, on the other hand, it was caused by having 'a particular group of lines in mind', what led a traditionally trained poet to do so? There are no characters in common, no vaunt preceding Θ, and Teukros unlike Hypsenor is still alive. One might argue that it was simply the repetition of 8. 331 at 13. 420 which triggered the generation of the next three verses. However, βαρέα στενάχοντα is a typical unit in itself,⁹³ so one would have to posit that the poet's unconscious memory of a unique formulation from Θ has overridden his knowledge and understanding of a traditional unit not automatically associated with Θ. Poetic error through typical composition is of course a factor to be considered, but here the extent of that pressure is being overestimated to the same degree that the poet's abilities are being underestimated.⁹⁴

Perhaps, as Janko suggests, the poet was under the influence of 13. 538 (οἱ τὸν γε προτὶ ἄστυ φέρον βαρέα στενάχοντα; cf. 14. 432).⁹⁵ But the difficulties continue, for in all those cases (as in Θ), the hero (who is, moreover, a more prominent figure than the non-entity Hypsenor) is removed from the field without losing his life. The typical context for this expression and this action would imply, even more than its simple denotation, that the phrase is inappropriate in N.

On the other hand, Nagy has argued that 'both variants, στενάχοντα and στενάχοντε, are compatible with the formulaic system of Homeric poetry'.⁹⁶ However, the βαρέα στενάχοντα unit is always elsewhere applied to the wounded hero being carried off the field, so the poet's usage is a little more restricted than Nagy admits.

I would, therefore, suggest that 13. 421–3 are concordance interpolations, made at a post-traditional (but very much pre-Alexandrian) stage in the

⁹² Cf. 161.

⁹³ Cf. 162. ⁹⁴ Cf. above (6) for a similar case.

⁹⁵ Janko (1992) ad loc., 99–100; also M. L. West (1998–2000) ad loc., 22.

⁹⁶ Nagy (1999) 270, referring to his discussion in Nagy (1998); cf. also (11) for a similarly unpersuasive argument.

composition/transmission process. There is some disturbance in the attestation for 13. 422 (though the import of this is uncertain)⁹⁷ and scholars have long puzzled over this passage; Leaf (following Aristarkhos) doubted 417–26 while Wilamowitz argued that 418–23 were inserted by a rhapsode who forgot the difference in breathing status between Teukros and Hypsenor, and whose memory of Aias in Θ led him to insert Antilokhos in the same role here in Ν.⁹⁸ This is unpersuasive: if the original text went straight from 417 to 424, there is no reason whatsoever for anyone to make the connection with the episode in Θ. Instead, there must be some trigger for the interpolation, and that would come from the repetition of 8. 331 at 13. 420 and the similarity of 8. 330 and 13. 419. This is somewhat similar to the position of Janko and Fenik, but not the kind of error that a traditional poet would make. The well-nigh universal attestation of 13. 421–3 would imply that this interpolation occurred at an early date.

(16) 8. 359 (ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ)

West feels that Düntzer's suspicion against the line may be justified, as the whole verse is 'otiose', whilst 'ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ' is especially feeble and irrelevant.⁹⁹ The latter and even the former may well be true, but the expression's application is fully traditional in appearance and effect,¹⁰⁰ and there is no disruption in the manuscripts which might lead one to suspect it on more than these grounds.

(17) 8. 421–4

These verses have caused a great deal of disquiet, Aristarkhos athetizing 8. 420–4 ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω μετάκεινται. ἱκανὸν δὲ ἦν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἔαι ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ ἀποσυνίσταται ἐπιεικὲς ὃν τὸ τῆς Ἰριδος πρόσωπον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν κύον ἀδδεές (Σ A ad loc.).¹⁰¹

West retains 420 but brackets 421–4.¹⁰² He rightly notes that one expects Iris to repeat what she was told by Zeus (disposing of the ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν argument), but finds it 'bathetic for her to add that Zeus is not so cross with Here because she is only behaving as she usually does. Those two lines in Zeus' speech could be taken as a comment for Iris' benefit rather than as an integral part of the message she is to deliver.' It is true that the speaker of *relay instructions* has some discretion about the extent to which he or she follows precisely the original speech, and they do omit items at the end of a speech, so

⁹⁷ Cf. Janko (1992) ad loc., 100.

⁹⁸ Wilamowitz (1916) 48 n. 1; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 33.

⁹⁹ M. L. West (2001a) 202.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 170.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 69.

¹⁰² M. L. West (2001a) 203; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 360, is again sympathetic but retains the verses (as do van Thiel and Allen); Ludwig prints 420–5 in smaller type, van Leeuwen excises them.

421–2 could have been omitted. However, apart from the fact that there is no evidence they were so doubted until Aristarkhos, other such omissions in relay instructions tend to occur when the information is nugatory (e.g. 3. 90–4 < 3. 69–73 [69–75]: 74–5 simply give the logical ramification of 73 [= 94]) or when the situation itself requires the omission (e.g. 24. 195–6 < 175–6 [175–87] < 146–7 [146–58]: Priam's repetition of Iris' entire message to Hekabe would destroy the emotional appeal of her next speech).¹⁰³ This cannot really be said to be the case here, for Here's role as potential subverter of Zeus' hegemony is a constant element in her activity in *Θ*.¹⁰⁴ The '*not so much | as much as*' comparison not only encapsulates her traditional behaviour, but also focuses attention on Athene,¹⁰⁵ and the significance of her decision to join in Here's rebellion within the mythological framework of challenges to Zeus' authority. His comment at 8. 407–8 is not made solely for Iris' benefit, because it expresses themes which are important for *all* the divine participants in this narrative. The internal arguments against 421–2 are, therefore, unpersuasive.

The second of Aristarkhos' points concerns Iris' addition to the message (8. 423–4), which West terms a 'quite startling outburst from the messenger on her own responsibility'.¹⁰⁶ However, additions are common in *relay instructions*, adding depth to the messenger's characterization and introducing themes or considerations not explicit, or not to the same extent, in the original command.¹⁰⁷ Iris' expression of indignation (particularly given her association with Zeus, and the connotations of the '*shameless dog!*' unit)¹⁰⁸ perfectly expresses the extremity of Athene's transgression, and is entirely in keeping with the condemnatory tone, e.g. of Idaïos when relaying the offer to the Greeks and talking about Paris in openly hostile terms (7. 390) and relating the disjunction between his stance and the views of the rest of the Trojans (393).¹⁰⁹ It is true that she speaks in a more conciliatory tone to Poseidon in *O*, but Athene is potentially a much more unsettling figure within the Olympian family.¹¹⁰ The case against 421–4 has not been made.

(18) 8. 454

ἔσται is attested in a substantial number of manuscripts for ἦεν, though no editor adopts it.¹¹¹ This certainly looks like an accidental echo or interpolation from 8. 401, which is confirmed by the other occasions in this passage where

¹⁰³ Cf. 182. ¹⁰⁴ Cf. Appendix B. ¹⁰⁵ Cf. 183.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also Diller (1965) 145; van Leeuwen (1912) ad loc., 293; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 360; also Σ bT ad loc. ¹⁰⁷ Cf. 182. ¹⁰⁸ Cf. 180 and 184.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. 182/8. ¹¹⁰ Cf. Appendix B; also Erbse (1986) 55; Eide (1999) 112–13.

¹¹¹ Van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 116 alone argues in favour of ἔσται, on the grounds that the formulaic style led the poet to employ the more regular form, and it is easier to imagine a train of corruption moving from the formulaic verse to the unique ἦεν rather than *vice versa*. This fails

the poet manipulates the usual temporal reference of traditional elements in order to underline Zeus' exceptional narrative authority.¹¹² In such circumstances, it is easy to imagine a scribe or a number of scribes independently making the same error through their familiarity with this traditional unit, but also from its previous use only fifty verses ago.

(19) 8. 497–541

Hektor's speech has been heavily criticized, the case not being helped by the existence of some unpleasant critical signs next to 535–40 in MS A and a rather confused note in the scholia.¹¹³ For example, Leaf says that 'it has been almost universally recognized that the concluding portion of this speech of Hector cannot have been composed as it stands' whilst Kirk feels it is 'curiously rambling and repetitious'.¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, it should be noted that the analysis of the '*Night instruction / morning prediction*' pattern in speeches located at the end of the day, if it be accepted, guarantees at least the general structural integrity of the speech.¹¹⁵ Questions will remain on individual verses or sections therein, but critics seem generally not to have noticed the existence of this pattern.

For example, van Thiel ascribes 8. 517–49 as a whole to the 'Spätlias',¹¹⁶ Kirk says that 'the separation of today's orders from tomorrow's suggests scholarly pedantry rather than military precision'¹¹⁷ and Ameis–Hentze even bracket 8. 524–9, thus obscuring the transition between sections entirely.¹¹⁸ This simply fails to come to terms with the poet's practice, for 'auf den Gegensatz von "heut" und "morgen" ist die ganze Rede aufgebaut'.¹¹⁹

(19a) 8. 535–7

Editors' suspicions with regard to this section of the speech were aroused by the critical signs in the margin of MS A (antisigma to 535–7, and stigmai to 538–40) and Σ' A ad 535: *ὅτι ἡ τούτους δεῖ τοὺς τρεῖς στίχους μένειν, οἷς τὸ ἀντίσιγμα παράκειται, ἢ τοὺς ἐξῆς τρεῖς, οἷς αἱ σιγμαι παράκεινται· εἰς γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶ διάνοιαν. ἐγκρίνει δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος τοὺς δευτέρους διὰ τὸ καυχηματικώτερος εἶναι τοὺς λόγους. ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος τοὺς πρώτους τρεῖς οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν.* This note says that Aristarkhos considered 535–7 a doublet to 538–40 and preferred the latter on the grounds that they were more boastful.¹²⁰ It was early recognized that this is wrong,¹²¹ for

to consider the poet's ability to manipulate his technique so as to convey important information about his characters; cf. above.

¹¹² Cf. 193/9 for another example; also 5/1 n. 2.

¹¹³ Cf. below, (19a).

¹¹⁴ Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 366; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 336.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 203.

¹¹⁶ Van Thiel (1982) 291–2.

¹¹⁷ Kirk (1990) on 8. 524–5, 337–8.

¹¹⁸ Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 76–7.

¹¹⁹ Schadewaldt (1966) 101–2 n. 3; cf. also van der Valk (1964) ii. 427–8.

¹²⁰ ἐγκρίνει δὲ μᾶλλον does not mean 'he condemns', as Kirk (1990) 338.

¹²¹ Cf. Bolling (1925) 112–3; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 338–9; M. L. West (2001a) 204.

532–4 is a much more likely doublet to 535–7 (so Wolf), but ‘535sq. non stare possunt Diomedis nomine remoto.’¹²² Notwithstanding the various emendations which have been proposed, almost every editor agrees that something should be excised or bracketed.¹²³ However, the lines are contained in every MS covering this passage (*IT* 486a [s. iii] shows variants at 536, 537, and 538), and Aristarkhos’ opinion was *not* diplomatically grounded.

Kirk adduces five arguments against the authenticity of 535–7;¹²⁴ (i) ‘ἦν ἀρετὴν διαίεσεται (535) is misunderstood from 13. 277 (ἔνθα μάλιστ’ ἀρετὴ διαίεδεται ἀνδρῶν).’ Janko seems not to think there is any great disjunction between the meaning of the verb in these *loci*, and I see no enormous problem;¹²⁵ (ii) ‘μείνη ἐπερχόμενον (536) is used here with ἔγχος (535) as object, whereas it always has a personal object elsewhere (1. 535, 12. 136, 22. 252).’ However, cf. 13. 472 (μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολλὴν ἀνδρῶν), 13. 830 (μείναι ἐμὸν δόρυ μακρόν). The expression here in *Θ* also picks up on the description of Hektor at the start of the *agore* holding up his spear as he addresses the army; (iii) ‘ἀλλ’ ἐν πρώτοισιν, ὅτ’ω (536) is used in a “different” sense in *Od.* 8. 180.’ The case is not all that different, for Odysseus is arguing that he was amongst the foremost in athletics, whilst Hektor here contends that Diomedes will lie among the foremost dead. For the idea of fighting etc. ἐν πρώτοισιν, which is presumably where Diomedes will be when he is struck, cf. 8. 337, 9. 709, 11. 296, 11. 675, 12. 306, 12. 324, 14. 363, 17. 506, 18. 194, 19. 424; (iv) ‘οὔτηθείς (537) should mean “lie wounded” rather than “dead”.’ The simple verb can, however, mean ‘kill’; cf. e.g. 11. 426; (v) ‘we have to understand a verb from κείσεται (537) for the plural subject also in 537 (πολέες . . . ἐταῖροι).’ This is well exemplified, whether one says that ‘il peut n’être pas répété lorsqu’il peut être aisément suppléé’ or ‘le verbe s’accorde avec le sujet le plus proche.’¹²⁶

Additionally, West feels that the verses should be excised on the grounds that it would remove an ‘intolerable repetition’ and the ‘duplication of ‘tomorrow’ in 535 and 538.’¹²⁷ As the second morning projection (530–8) is concerned with the actions to take place tomorrow (and considerable emphasis herein is gained), duplication is not a sufficient reason for excision in a tradition of poetry characterized by repetition of every sort.

¹²² M. L. West (1998–2000) ad loc., 249.

¹²³ West brackets 535–7; Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 78 bracket 538–41 instead; Ludwig prints 532–4 in smaller type, and Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 366–7 finds the last part of the speech distressingly awful; van Leeuwen, van Thiel and Allen print the entire passage.

¹²⁴ Kirk (1990) ad loc., 338–9.

¹²⁵ Janko (1992) on 13. 275–8, 81; cf. also Di Benedetto (1994) 205 n. 1.

¹²⁶ Chantraine (1953) §8, 6–7 (cf. *Od.* 11. 412–3); *ibid.* §24, 18–19 (cf. e.g. 1. 255).

¹²⁷ M. L. West (2001a) 204.

Finally, deleting 535–7 would remove the *μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον* and *οἶω* units, both of which underline Hektor's determination and his belief in the inevitability of Greek defeat,¹²⁸ and as such resume several other indications within the speech to the same referential effect.¹²⁹

(19b) 8. 538–41

Ameis–Hentze find this wish particularly objectionable, Bolling thinks it a late elaboration of Hektor's speech, and Kirk *inter al.* judges it copied from a parallel passage in *N*.¹³⁰ However, the analysis of the *impossible wish* unit argues that these wishes have a narrative function which has very little to do with desiring the substance of the wish itself,¹³¹ and the referential unit is perfectly consonant with the narrative. Specific arguments against the passage are unpersuasive.

Kirk, for example, argues that a borrowing from a similar wish in *N* is revealed, firstly, by the fact that *ἐς αὔριον* (8. 538) is 'an inept verse-filler here, with *ἐς* meaningless.'¹³² However, in the other adduced *loci* for this expression (*Od.* 7. 318, 11. 351), it is not clear that *ἐς* has any separate function, for this is one of those cases 'wo eine Kasusform zum Adverb *versteinert ist*: eine solche kommt leicht mit der zur ursprünglichen Kasusfunktion passenden Präposition vor' (my italics).¹³³ Where ossefaction of this sort takes place, *ἐς* becomes redundant and the unit as a whole simply means 'tomorrow'. Certainly this would seem a possible explanation at least of *Od.* 7. 317–18 (*πομπὴν δ' ἐς τόδ' ἐγὼ τεκμαίρομαι, ὄφρ' εὔ εἰδῆις, | αὔριον ἔς*),¹³⁴ and even in *Od.* 11. 351 (*ἔμπης οὖν ἐπιμείναι ἐς αὔριον*), where the preposition is readily understood as meaning 'for', that idea could be expressed by the compound verb alone (= *μείνω*).¹³⁵ Most importantly, however, an exact parallel for *ἐς* coherent or redundant is to be found in the expression *ἐς ὕστερον ὀρμηθῆναι* (*Od.* 12. 126), where the phrase can hardly mean anything more than *ὕστερον*.¹³⁶ Secondly, Kirk thinks the reference of 8. 541 a little unusual: 'after Hektor's repeated emphasis on action at dawn the next day, it is at first surprising to find him referring to *this* day as the one that brings grief to

¹²⁸ Cf. 211/2; 212/15. ¹²⁹ Cf. 207/2; 208/1; 213/6; also Commentary ad loc.

¹³⁰ Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 78; Bolling (1925) 114; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 339; 8. 538–41 ~ 13. 825–8 (8. 541 = 13. 828; cf. further below). All editors print the passage.

¹³¹ Cf. 213/6.

¹³² Kirk (1990) on 8. 538–41, 339.

¹³³ Wackernagel (1926–8) 225.

¹³⁴ Pace Garvie (1994) ad loc., 230.

¹³⁵ Cf. Fritz (2005) 178, 186.

¹³⁶ Heubeck (1989) ad loc., 125, adduces the (just preceding) expression *ἐξαυτὶς ἐφορμηθεῖσα* (122), suggesting an equivalence in the poet's mind between *ἐς ὕστερον* and *ἐξαυτὶς*, the second part of which compound cannot be considered to have a separate meaning; cf. also Chantraine (1953) §148, 104, though he notes that 12. 126 was athetized by Aristarkhos (for a different reason), and he terms all the Homeric examples of *ἐς αὔριον* 'récents'.

the enemy. Obviously this is caused by failure to adjust 13. 828, where “today” is in place; but the sense is clear enough, even quite dramatic.¹³⁷ Schadewaldt, in addition, points to Nestor’s use of *νύξ ἥδε* at 9. 78 to mean the current night¹³⁸ as grounds against 541. However, Nestor has acknowledged a few lines earlier that it is night (*ἀλλ’ ἦτοι νῦν μὲν πειθόμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ* 9. 65), whilst Hektor in *N* has no need to specify the time. Thus, just as Nestor’s use of the demonstrative has been already contextualized by the temporal reference provided at 9. 65,¹³⁹ Hektor’s use of *ἥδε* at 8. 541 refers back to his prediction at 538 (*ἡελίου ἀνιόντος ἐς αὔριον*), and so the temporal reference of the entire wish is therefore located within that future time frame, the present tense of *φέρει* indicating ‘l’imminence de l’action futur.’¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the *impossible wish* unit always requires a comparison with a present situation, whose reality is thus underlined. Every example is therefore accompanied by a relative clause introduced by *ὥς* or *ὅσσον*,¹⁴¹ so to remove 541 would destroy the construction entirely.

(20) 8. 548, 550–2

8. 548, 550–2 are found only in [Plato] *Alcibiades* II 149 D, and are generally rejected by moderns.¹⁴² Kirk adduces two fields of argument against the quotation.¹⁴³ Firstly, he feels that ‘these words are opposed to the whole Homeric notion of sacrifice; for Homer’s gods do not feed on sacrifices, and even their absorption of the *κνίσση* has been suppressed ... *δατέοντο* “divided up” is strange when applied to the savour, and probably presupposes a model in which the gods divided up the meat itself.’ The first assertion is an

¹³⁷ Cf. Schadewaldt (1966) 102 n. 2, though he is convinced of the speech’s authenticity as a whole; also Commentary ad loc. for the repetition of 8. 540–1 at 13. 827–8.

¹³⁸ Schadewaldt, loc. cit.

¹³⁹ Cf. Di Benedetto (1994) 71–2 n. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Chantraine (1953) §282, 191; also van Leeuwen (1912) ad loc., 299. The demonstrative may be used to refer to a previously mentioned substantive (e.g. 5. 228, 14. 107) or to summarize, with a noun, a previously narrated action (e.g. 13. 121, where Poseidon has just been describing the *τῇδε μεθημοσύνη* to which he makes reference). Alternatively, the importance of this second battle day has constantly been expressed during this speech, as has the unprecedented situation in which the Trojans have ended the fighting, with *φέρει* therefore summarizing the action of the present day; Chantraine (1953) §281, 190: ‘certains présents expriment le procès réalisé: *Α 552 οὐ τι πρήσσει* (though this example occurs in a simile) ... *ψ 230 πείθεις δὴ μοι θυμὸν*; ... certaines formations de présent semblent avoir été particulièrement aptes à exprimer l’aboutissement du procès: ... *Γ 97–8 μάλιστα γὰρ ἄλγος ἱκάνει θυμὸν ἐμὸν*.’

¹⁴¹ Cf. 213.

¹⁴² Cf. e.g. Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 368; Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 78. Wilamowitz (1916) 30 n. 1; Bolling (1925) 144; Labarbe (1949) 410; M. L. West (2001a) 12; *contra* van der Valk (1963–4) ii. 527; Cantarella (1929) 130–1. Only van Thiel prints the lines in his text, and even then in brackets. Willcock (1978) ad loc., 269, well remarks: ‘The lines are not in themselves objectionable, except for the uncertainty of their attestation,’ and cf. now their defence in Pötscher (2000), who reaches the same conclusion as I have, though our methods are not entirely the same.

¹⁴³ Kirk (1990) on 8. 548–53, 340.

oversimplification, as feasting vocabulary is well attested in the sacrificial context: cf. 1. 423–4, 9. 535–6, and especially 23. 206–7. Secondly, the absorption of the *κνίση*, though in a manner usually unspecified, is a clearly attested element in the process: cf. 1. 66–7 and 1. 317. The quotation's configuration is not inconsistent with this picture. Kirk's synthesis of Homeric sacrifice deals inadequately with these examples, but he concludes that Homer suppresses more archaic conceptions of sacrifice, in which the gods actually eat the meat and other offerings.¹⁴⁴ Thus, his final objection is also overturned, for *δατέομαι* (etymologically related to *δαίομαι* > *δαίνυμι*)¹⁴⁵ recalls an ancient understanding of sacrifice still presented, though mostly in an oblique manner, in the *Iliad*, but reconfigures it to the dominant picture of sacrificial reception through *κνίση*. Just as Homeric language, battle tactics, weaponry and so on, Kirk's point makes it clear that Homeric sacrifice is a diachronic amalgam.

Kirk also believes that 'the idea that the gods in general were hostile to Troy is of course absurd in view of the *Iliad*'s position on Here, Athene, and Poseidon.'¹⁴⁶ However, does *οὐ τι θεοὶ μάκαρες δατέοντο, | οὐδ' ἔθελον μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο Ἵλιος ἱρή* (8. 550–1) actually imply that *all* the gods were hostile to Troy? Characters often refer to the *θεοί* as a collective responsible for the actions so described, glossing over differences or divisions within that group: cf., e.g. 24. 422, where Iris tells Priam *κῆδονται μάκαρες θεοὶ υἱὸς ἔηος* (422). The expression does not cover every god individually, and the audience knows that there are prominent deities actively and implacably opposed to any honouring of Hektor;¹⁴⁷ cf. also 4. 127, where the poet says *οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο*. Not every god, surely, is all that concerned with his safety (Ares, after all, tries to have him killed at 5. 563–4), and as Athene had engineered the arrow shot it was naturally down to her to intervene. Thus the quotation text of 550–2 does not express individual implication. Instead, it expresses the view that they are responsible as a whole for the destruction of Troy entailed by the refusal to accept the sacrifice. Indeed, if the verses are interpreted otherwise as a statement of unanimity amongst the divine community, it is hard (but not impossible) to see from which part of the Trojan war they could have been taken, for there was still a division therein until the sack of the city, as indicated, e.g. by Apollo's part in the death of Akhilleus (cf. 22. 359–60; *Aithiopsis* arg. 15–16 Bernabé) and Aineias' survival of the war (*Ilias parva* F 21 Bernabé).

Add to this that the poet usually specifies the agents of *ἀπήχθετο* either by name (9. 300 [*τοῖ*], 24. 27) or by *πᾶσι* (3. 454, 6. 140, 6. 200); the quotation

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 10–13. ¹⁴⁵ Cf. Chantraine (1968) s. vv., 247–8, 254.

¹⁴⁶ Kirk (1990) on 8. 548–53, 340.

¹⁴⁷ Macleod (1982) ad loc., 121.

text's failure to be similarly precise in this case should give one even more reason to pause before assuming totality. In any case, such a conclusion is far from certain even where the poet does use *πᾶς*. For example, 3. 454 states that Paris was hated by all the Trojans (in the army and present on the battlefield, presumably). Clearly this is not literally so, for there must have been some supporters for one of the most prominent princes in the army. Instead, it is an emphatic expression of the general hostility to which the figure is subject at that particular moment.¹⁴⁸ Finally, as a positive argument, referential analysis of the ἀπήχθετο figure indicates that it expresses an indirect manifestation of that hostility, in that the angered party refuses to intervene on behalf of the 'hated' party.¹⁴⁹ So the internal objections to 548 and 550–2 amount to little.

On the other hand, it is perfectly possible that 549 could by itself denote sacrifice. Of all its nine attestations (1. 66, 1. 317, 1. 460, 2. 423, 4. 49, 8. 549, 9. 500, 21. 363, 24. 70), κνίση is only once (21. 363) not associated with that process. Sacrifice often assumes an accompanying meal (cf., e.g. 1. 447–74 [also a hekatomb sacrifice], 2. 399–401, 2. 402–31, 9. 201–21, 11. 772–80, 18. 558–60, 24. 123–5), though this is not automatic (cf., e.g. 1. 313–7, 2. 305–6, 3. 268–302, 19. 250–77), and sacrifice at the end of the day is often linked with the final meal (cf., e.g. 7. 314–32, 11. 727–32). The omission of the meal's description is well paralleled,¹⁵⁰ as is the omission of sacrifice in Hektor's orders (cf. 2. 399–401). Furthermore, an explicit sacrifice at the end of the day as a guarantee for the action of the morrow is found at 11. 727–32, during Nestor's story of the battle between the Pylians and Epeians; the Pylian army reaches the Alpheios ἔνδλιον (726) and conducts a sacrifice (727–9) which, occurring at or towards the end of the day, is obviously directed towards the battle to occur on the next day, and is followed immediately in the narrative by the army's meal and sleep (730–2). This should answer van Leeuwen's objection that a sacrifice in *Θ* is out of place because it is night.¹⁵¹ Indeed, hekatombs seem particularly to be associated with an explicit purpose,¹⁵² and it is almost customary in the *Iliad* to mention some sort of apotropaic activity at the end of the day before another day's fighting (cf. 7. 480–1, 9. 712, though these are both libations), whilst the association of the sacrifice and meal would make it further still an accustomed part of the end-of-day rituals.

Thus, though unusual, the sacrifice of 549 is an informative and deliberate manipulation of the usual sacrifice–meal association, for it serves to focus the audience once again on the Trojans' hopes for the battle of the next day. It would,

¹⁴⁸ A similarly emphatic *πᾶς* occurs at 1. 5 (διωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι), where the adjective seems to have given rise to the early conjecture/variant reading *δαῖτα* on the grounds that 'not all birds eat flesh'; cf. Janko (1992) 23; on the hyperbole of Homeric *πᾶς* in general, cf. Ludwich (1884–5) ii. 89 n. 55 (with earlier literature); *contra* Latacz (2000) on 1. 5, 19–20.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. 203.

¹⁵¹ van Leeuwen (1912) ad loc., 299.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. 215.
¹⁵² Cf. 214.

therefore, seem to be authentic. The expansion of that action into a small scene by the text reflected in [Plato] allows the rejection of the offerings at 550–1, which is an opportunity to relate this battle to the fortunes and course of the war as a whole, for such explicit denials of a sacrificial purpose, whilst more common with prayers, are not unknown; cf. 2. 419–20 (refusal of prayer but acceptance of sacrifice), and *Od.* 9. 553 (ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἱρώων).¹⁵³ The quotation, then, also appears authentic. I have no idea where Plato got the text from, but one could speculate that a free-standing performance of Θ might have warranted such a thematic *scriptio plena* with its explicit references to the broader story.¹⁵⁴

(21) 8. 553 (γεφύρας)

γεφύρῃ is found for γεφύρας in the majority of ancient manuscripts (though Π 486a (s. i. a.C.) contains the latter).¹⁵⁵ However, referential analysis of πτολέμοιο γεφύρας argues that it is a metonym for battle viewed from a distance: γεφύρας should be read here.¹⁵⁶ The source of γεφύρῃ may perhaps be seen in the first of the analyses in Σ A ad loc.: προηγουμένως μὲν τοῖς ἐξῆς συναπτέον τὸν γὰρ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου συμβολὴ γίνεται, γέφυραν εἶπε πολέμου· ἢ τὰς διαβάσεις, αὐτάς, αἷς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐχρῶντο· λόγον δὲ ἔχει καὶ τοῖς ἄνω συνάπτειν, ἢ τὴν περίφρασις, πολέμοιο γεφύρῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ πολέμῳ· ὁ δὲ λόγος, μέγα φρονούντες ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, τουτέστι τῷ κεκρατηκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον. The former is behind Kirk's discussion,¹⁵⁷ but the second's awareness of the unit's metonymic qualities, as well as its construction of ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας after μέγα φρονούντες, is very close to mine. One can imagine that ἐπὶ (553) and εἶατο (554) assisted an apparently pre-Alexandrian change from γεφύρας to γεφύρῃ when the referential significance of πτολέμοιο γεφύρας ceased to be recognized.¹⁵⁸

(22) 8. 557–8

Faced with the equivalence 8. 557–8 = 16. 299–300, most critics consider the Θ passage copied from Π.¹⁵⁹ These verses are contained in almost all the manuscripts (Apthorp well explains their absence from one manuscript

¹⁵³ Cf. 126.

¹⁵⁴ This is not the sort of expansion generally found in Π 7, for these cases cannot usually be supported by referential analysis; cf. S. West (1967) 74–90; also (3) above. Martin West points out to me that a similar case could be made for the (universally attested) verses closing the Διὸς ἀπάτη (15. 64–71); cf. M. L. West (2001a) 230–1.

¹⁵⁵ West and van Thiel print γεφύρῃ; the other editors γεφύρας; cf. also Kirk (1990) ad loc., 340; *contra* van der Valk (1963–4) 82, 624.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. 175.

¹⁵⁷ Kirk (1990) on 5. 87–8, 63; also van Leeuwen (1912) on 4. 371, 154.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. (1) n. 28 and (2) for similar cases.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Σ A ad loc.; Ameis–Hentze (1907) ad loc., 79; Leaf (1900–2) ad loc., 369; Bolling (1925) 115–16, who removes 559 also; Nickau (1977) 200–2; Kirk (1990) ad loc., 341; M. L. West (2001a) 204–5. Van der Valk (1964) ii. 459–50 argues for the priority of Θ, like Moulton (1977) 34, whilst Willcock (1978) ad loc., 270 remarks that this type of borrowing, even if the lines are not wholly consistent, is characteristic of an oral tradition. West alone excises, though Ludwig prints 557–8 in smaller type.

(Ludwich's Hb = Allen's 'Vil' [s. xv]; not in West's note ad loc.) as the result of a simple homoioteleuton at 556 and 558;¹⁶⁰ nonetheless, 558 is absent from the undated *II* 1117) and the image of the shepherd, so important for the reference of this simile, seems to have a strong association with clarity of vision affording the opportunity to tend his flock properly (e.g. 3. 10–12).¹⁶¹ This would underline even more the protective associations proper to the image, and to the passage as a whole. Thus, in my view, the referential image of the simile is more important than the context for which the simile may or may not have originally been composed.¹⁶²

The absence of 558 from *II* 1117 could be accidental, for deliberate omission or excision would probably have included 557 as well. As to West's objection that 'the punctual aorists ἔκ τ' ἔφανε and ὑπερράγη (8. 557) are inappropriate, as the simile does not refer to an event that brings the mountains and stars into view, but to a night that is calm and clear from the start; mountain scenery is irrelevant,' cf. now the interpretation of Bakker: 'The . . . augmented aorists in the similes evoke, indeed presuppose, *presence*.'¹⁶³ In this model, the augment and indeed the aorist tense is not a sign of punctual action, but an indication of the shepherd's presence in the scene. Nonetheless, my analysis of the simile is not materially affected by the absence of 557–8, and the question must remain open.

Traditional referentiality does seem to provide a good criterion for the evaluation of the Homeric text, and one which complements existing scholarly methods. Indeed, one of the most striking results of my analysis is the support it gives to the integrity of the medieval manuscripts. In just under half of the cruces discussed in this chapter, the analysis backed those manuscripts against the doubts and interventions of ancient and modern critics, whose opinions were frequently unsupported by evidence for disruption in the *paradosis*.¹⁶⁴ When there was significant evidence for variation, referential analysis again usually supported the better-attested readings in the medieval manuscripts.¹⁶⁵ It was comparatively rare for an examination to conclude in favour of readings which were not supported by a clear majority of the manuscripts,¹⁶⁶ and only once was an emendation proposed,¹⁶⁷ though that was directed more against the interpretation of the text rather than its reading.

¹⁶⁰ Athorp (1980) 26. ¹⁶¹ Cf. 218/1.

¹⁶² Cf. Schadewaldt (1966) 98 n. 4; M. L. West (2001a) 204–5.

¹⁶³ Bakker (2001) 22; cf. also Bakker (1999).

¹⁶⁴ (3), (8), (10), (12), (16), (17), (19), (19a), (19b).

¹⁶⁵ (4), (5, 14.506), (6), (7, 8. 315), (9, 6. 112), (11), (22).

¹⁶⁶ (1) (7, 8. 123), (18), (20), (21). ¹⁶⁷ (2).

On the basis of the evidence discussed here, then, the text represented by the medieval manuscripts shows a considerable level of referentiality, and its fidelity to an authentic moment or process of composition thus seems the most characteristic quality of the vulgate text of Θ (and relevant *comparanda*). This is not to say, of course, that the vulgate is without its problems, for it was argued that there are several cases of more or less universal concordance interpolation,¹⁶⁸ as well as four cases of corruption caused by (clearly post-oral) misunderstanding of referential units.¹⁶⁹ Nonetheless, trust in the MS tradition does not seem to be severely misplaced.

However, a significant minority of cases indicates that this may not be the whole story. They are of two types. Firstly, as at 5. 272 (6), 13. 186 (14), and 8. 548–52 (20), alternatives may have a more or less equal claim to authenticity.¹⁷⁰ Secondly, as at 8. 6 (1) and 8. 553 (21), a referentially authentic reading should be preferred and restored, for a text without this reading does not conform to the poet's usual technique. These categories should not be rigidly demarcated, partly because the manipulation of referentiality for unusual effects is a typical poetic practice, but also because at 8. 123, 315 (7) the text would still conform without the referential reading. For all these cases (but perhaps more strictly for the first group), the term 'alternant' is to be preferred to 'variant', since the latter term presupposes an original and a derivative, and whether one should be viewing these phenomena in this way is precisely the issue at hand.

If these few alternants are evidence for an oral performance element in the transmission, to what type or extent of freedom do they testify? The answer is, not much: the poet or poets were able to generate alternant features within an existing frame, such as an expanded or contracted sacrifice scene, choosing between foreshadowing the role of Aineias or his horses by switching between *μήστωρι* and *μήστωρε*, or highlighting Hektor's coming counterattack with one unit or two.¹⁷¹ They were not able to insert or remove entire episodes, though they could indulge in a thematic *scriptio plena*, and even on the level of diction adherence from one performance moment to the next (if there were any such moments) appears to have been very great. In short, the analysis does not suggest the level of fluidity required by Nagy's model, for the entire process seems to have involved considerable faithfulness to an already established text as early as the start of the fourth century BC.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ (1, 7. 369), (15) (18).

¹⁶⁹ (1) n. 28, (2), (13), (21). I use 'post-oral' not on the predicate of a simple and immediate split between oral and literate phases in Greek culture, but to describe phenomena which would not occur before literacy begins to have its long drawn-out effect on traditional narrative.

¹⁷⁰ One could perhaps add (5).

¹⁷¹ (20), (6, 5. 272), (7).

¹⁷² i.e. the date of the Platonic quotations in (6) and (20). It is usually assumed that writing is the only way to achieve the level of fixity apparently presupposed by these alternants. My

Before concluding, there is perhaps room for some speculation about the origin of the poems, and with due awareness of the current study's limitations in this regard.¹⁷³ The text was fixed in detail at an early stage, but the paradosis did not capture all contemporary or subsequent oral alternation. Furthermore, it did not always include features or elements one would expect of a referential work, though the process of transmission was flexible enough to allow these features some path back into the paradosis.¹⁷⁴ Given that the majority of textual disruption is not of this type, it could be concluded either that the opportunity for alternation was confined to an initial stage of the transmission process, or that the main line of transmission was early separated from that dynamic and represents only a portion, however trustworthy, of all possible performance alternation. One can perhaps get no further than this, but the answer (should it ever prove attainable) will probably lie somewhat closer to the models of West and Janko *inter al.* than that of Nagy.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate that a traditional referential perspective can be used alongside other textual criteria, for non-referential analysis of these phenomena can only go so far in evaluating a contested reading. Nonetheless, because post-oral disruption or corruption is a demonstrable fact in the paradosis, study of these poems will always require invoking textual criteria which have been tried and tested since the beginnings of Classical scholarship. Homeric textual criticism does not need to be demolished entirely, but another wing would certainly make its proportions more pleasing.

analysis might support such a model, but it would also indicate that these readings were still being generated after or alongside this moment.

¹⁷³ Most signal amongst them, of course, is that I have dealt with a fairly small portion of all the evidence for textual variation/alternation in Θ , because the method can only detect or judge referential features.

¹⁷⁴ This might suggest the possibility that the earliest texts were influenced by a post-oral dynamic, in the sense that other influences in the process of textual fixation may be suspected.

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APPENDIX A

Some Speech Introduction Formulae

This Appendix discusses all the cases in which the poet employs at least two of the speech introduction formulae *τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα* 78, *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν* 169, and *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη* 148 in a multiple speech exchange.¹ The first expression is differentiated from the second, its (near) metrical equivalent, by the greater emotional perturbation exhibited by the speaker and the fact that the second is used when the speaker will or wants to align himself in a co-operative relationship with the first speaker. The third expression is to be differentiated from both the first two (though particularly from the first, to which it is semantically similar) in that it represents a relatively greater determination on the part of the speaker to impose his or her will upon the narrative. Thus it is not a question of automatic formulaicity in the deployment of these units so much as of the poet's decision to cast the following speech in a certain light.

1. Akhilleus and Agamemnon

- (a) 1. 121 *τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα* 78/1 Akhilleus
- (b) 1. 130 *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη* 148/2 Agamemnon
- (c) 1. 148 *τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη* Akhilleus
- (d) 1. 172 *τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα* 78/2 Agamemnon

Akhilleus is clearly annoyed (a) at Agamemnon's angry reply to Kalkhas and expresses his puzzlement over the request for immediate recompense given the lack of existing undivided booty. His attitude rules out *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν* (significantly, for it shows his perspective on Agamemnon and perhaps the entire issue), whilst *τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα* is favoured over *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη* because Agamemnon has more acknowledged authority in this situation. Agamemnon then delivers his authoritative determination (b) to deprive one of the other chiefs of his *γέρας*, before ordering the expedition to take Khryseis back to her father. After Akhilleus' angry retort (c), Agamemnon replies in a manner which suggests his own—and now heightened—annoyance and determination to take Briseis (d), the poet using *τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα* to impart Agamemnon's crisis of authority at this crucial juncture, in that his speech is more an angry reaction to Akhilleus' character and involvement in this assembly than an assertion of a generally recognized authority.

¹ Cf. the appropriate entries in the Lexicon for focused examination of each of these units. I have not considered here the evidence for textual variation, though I hope to be able to so in a forthcoming work.

2. Athene and Akhilleus

- (a) 1. 206 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/1 Athene
 (b) 1. 215 τήν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/3 Akhilleus

Athene's first speech (a) obviously aligns her with Akhilleus in her attempt to persuade him to restrain himself, after his preceding speech (1. 201–5) had made it clear that he had decided to kill Agamemnon.² Akhilleus' reply (b) identifies himself with due observance of divine authority despite his considerable anger, and the poet chooses τήν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη over τήν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα in order to emphasize the greater level of self-control it takes for him to acquiesce, how intimately aggrieved he is by the situation, and the fact that his action here, in giving in to what one must give into, is viewed by the character as a matter of his own determination—almost as though he were free to disregard the advice.³ τήν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν is not chosen because, despite the agreement between the characters, the poet emphasizes Akhilleus' perturbation and belief in his determinative power in the situation.

3. Zeus and Here

- (a) 1. 544 τήν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/4 Zeus
 (b) 1. 551 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/5 Here
 (c) 1. 560 τήν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/5 Zeus

Neither character is willing to compromise in this scene, accounting for the lack of τὸν/τήν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν introductions. In response to Here's knowing question (1. 539–43), Zeus' first speech (a) treads the fine line between asserting his authority and granting Here some role in his determinations (esp. 1. 547–8)—hence the relatively less assertive τήν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα,⁴ whose counterpart is also used for Here's reply (b) because she is just as aware as he of the need not to push the issue too hard, given her husband's prickly temperament. Nonetheless, her justified objection to his intention⁵ brings this quality out brutally in the final speech (c), an open threat intimately related to Zeus' own determinative capacity—hence τήν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη.

4. Diomedes and Athene

- (a) 5. 814 τήν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/9 Diomedes
 (b) 5. 825 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/11 Athene

² Cf. 49/1; also 9/2 n. 2.

³ Perhaps in much the same way that Aigisthos is said to have disregarded the advice of Zeus as relayed through Hermes at *Odyssey* 1. 32–43.

⁴ Cf. 130/1; also 5/1 and n. 2.

⁵ Cf. 112/1; cf. further Appendix B.

After yet another character has impugned him through a comparison with Tydeus,⁶ Diomedes' initial reply (*a*) to Athene deals with his lack of freedom to oppose Ares by Athene's own instruction (cf. esp. 5. 819–24 ~ 127–32). The self-assertion of Diomedes under constant questioning is an important element in his characterization, and his reply is well within respectful bounds while at the same time being powerfully exculpatory—more suitably expressed by τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος. Athene's reply (*b*) aligns herself with Diomedes, but the poet chooses τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα instead of τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν for this speech in order to highlight her annoyance with Ares, which has been the major motivating element in the journey of Here and Athene to the battle, and on which Athene herself lays the most stress (cf. esp. 829–34).⁷

5. Aias and Hektor

- (*a*) 7. 283 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/11 Aias
 (*b*) 7. 287 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/10 Hektor

In reply to the heralds' suggestion to halt the battle, Aias places the final decision upon Hektor (*a*) so as to underline his own determination to pursue the combat until the ultimate moment. In the light of his obvious success hitherto in the duel, Aias' continued control over the course of the narrative is herein powerfully emphasized by τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος, though this authority has been earned, for the build-up to the duel had been conducted in such a way as to cast no glorious light on any of the Greek heroes.⁸ Hektor then agrees (*b*) with the heralds' suggestion—and so Aias' relatively greater determinative capacity—and seals the deal with a gift,⁹ the poet using τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν to stress the agreement over all else.

6. Agamemnon and Menelaos

- (*a*) 10. 42 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/17 Agamemnon
 (*b*) 10. 60 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/17 Menelaos
 (*c*) 10. 64 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/14 Agamemnon

The issue at heart here is, as in the next set of exchanges, the position occupied by Menelaos in the Greek camp and the other chieftains' estimation of him.¹⁰ The first

⁶ Cf. 86 n. 2; also 11a/1 n. 3.

⁷ Fascinatingly, the poet never uses τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη of either women or goddesses, though it is perfectly possible simply to generate ἀπαμειβομένη (the compound declines to ἀπαμειβόμενον at *Od.* 4. 824, 4. 835, and the simple participle freely declines). I would suggest that this reveals something rather significant about the poet's and tradition's attitude to the female, in that the level of authority revealed by τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη is simply not appropriate for female characters. The goddesses are linked with the power of Zeus in an eternally subordinate role (not in exactly the same way as the males; cf. Appendix B for discussion), and no female mortal has the autonomy to assert herself in this kind of way.

⁸ Cf. 26/3 n. 5. ⁹ Notice the Trojan reaction (7. 307–10); cf. also 26/3 n. 5.

¹⁰ Cf. 78/17 n. 3; 9/25 n. 26; 16/1 n. 2.

speech (a) is a reply to a *τίφθ' οὕτως* question delivered by Menelaos concerning Agamemnon's preparations and intentions,¹¹ and connoting an awareness on Menelaos' part of his shortcomings in that general regard. Agamemnon sets out his understanding of the cause of their current troubles before expressing the decision to summon the other leaders—hence the determinative *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*. Replying (unnecessarily) with a necessary diminution in authority (*τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα*), Menelaos then asks (b) for specific instructions within that plan, beginning with the alternative *αἰθι μένω* (10. 62); to this alternative Agamemnon agrees in his alignment reply (c), focusing on the need that they themselves toil in the foremost in such a situation.

7. Agamemnon and Nestor

- (a) 10. 86 *τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα* 78/18 Agamemnon
- (b) 10. 102 *τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα* 78/19 Nestor
- (c) 10. 119 *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν* 169/15 Agamemnon
- (d) 10. 128 *τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα* 78/20 Nestor

This series of exchanges is introduced by the usual question, addressed on this occasion by Nestor to Agamemnon, about identity and purpose.¹² Agamemnon's reply (a) focuses on the need facing the Greek army and suggests a journey to make sure the guards set earlier have not fallen asleep. Since the issue is not so much Agamemnon's determinations as reassurance about the efficacy of earlier measures and his emotional despondency in the situation, the poet chooses *τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα* over *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*; there is no substantive alignment expressed in the speech, and so *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν* is not used. Nestor's reply (b) responds to the charge that his sons (prominent in setting the guard) may not be fulfilling their duty, and turns the tables on Agamemnon by rebuking Menelaos for his apparent laxity. Homeric heroes are prickly creatures, and Agamemnon's alignment reply (c) initially agrees with the assessment's validity on other occasions before differentiating it with regard to the current one, and then suggests a joint venture (10. 126–7). Nestor acknowledges his error of judgement and diplomacy (d) without expressing a further determination that would warrant *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*; although his concurrence with Agamemnon might have been introduced by *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε*, the poet prefers to put this acknowledgement on display.¹³

8. Odysseus and Dolon

- (a) 10. 382 *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη* 148/18 Odysseus
- (b) 10. 390 *τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα* 78/22 Dolon
- (c) 10. 400 *τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδίσας προσέφη* Odysseus

¹¹ Cf. 191/3.

¹² Cf. 9/25 n. 26.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.*; also 77/15 n. 7.

- (d) 10. 412 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/18 Dolon
 (e) 10. 423 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/19 Odysseus
 (f) 10. 426 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/23 Dolon

This long series of exchanges makes the point perfectly.¹⁴ In reply to Dolon's initial supplication (10. 377–81), Odysseus' first speech (a) reassures Dolon and sets out his desire to question the Trojan fully; hence the poet uses τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη to emphasize Odysseus' determinative role in the conversation. Dolon's initial reply (b) is a fearful one (as the rest of the verse shows) which (unfairly) blames Hektor for the current situation.¹⁵ Thus, despite the alignment between the speakers, the poet employs τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα to point out both perturbation and a relative difference in the speakers' authority. Odysseus continues (c) with a deceptive speech (τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη)¹⁶ which serves its end, as Dolon is now thoroughly encouraged (d) and ready to participate (hence τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν). Odysseus' final speech (e) once again expresses his control over the narrative, and the question is to concern the aim of their mission once Dolon is dead. When Dolon answers for the final time (f), he closes with an act of supplication, which (being never especially successful in the *Iliad*) is unsurprisingly a source of considerable concern to the defeated and dependent party—so τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα.

9. Nestor, Agamemnon, and Odysseus

- (a) 14. 52 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/26 Nestor
 (b) 14. 64 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/21 Agamemnon
 (c) 14. 82 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη Odysseus
 (d) 14. 103 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/27 Agamemnon

Coming at the start of what eventually proves to be a Greek renaissance, this *boule* opens with Agamemnon's plaintive query to Nestor as to his reasons for leaving the battle. Nestor's reply (a) focuses initially on the failure of *his* expedient of the wall before suggesting the need for further counsel. His perturbation at the situation (beside the fact that the wall was his idea) necessitates τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα not τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν, but he does not take enough control in the situation to warrant τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη.¹⁷ Agamemnon's alignment (b) with Nestor fails to assert the required authority in the situation (another symbol of his crisis), and

¹⁴ Cf. 15/3 n. 4.

¹⁵ Cf. 182/13.

¹⁶ Cf. 15/3.

¹⁷ One might point to the fact that Nestor, when he is named in the latter half of the line, is always either *Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ* from the trochaic caesura, *ἱππότα Νέστωρ* from the bucolic diaeresis, or simply *Νέστωρ* from the fifth-foot diaeresis. Thus the expression τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη would simply not fit with the existing formulae, for there is no phrase extending from the hephthemimeres, and so the poet always uses with his name τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα (4. 317, 8. 151, 9. 162, 10. 128, 10. 143, 11. 655, 14. 52). Nestor's is certainly one of those spondaic names which the poet finds troublesome in general but, had he wished to use τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη for this character, he could simply have altered *προσέφη* to *προσεφώνειν* in order to have the phrase extend to the bucolic diaeresis, which is

so the choice of τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν over τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη. In fact, his advice is so disastrous that Odysseus' reply (c) is a rebuke, and Agamemnon's ensuing troubled acquiescence and abdication of conciliar authority (d) can only be introduced by τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα. I suggest that the choice of the latter over τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν is motivated by the preceding rebuke—Agamemnon may agree with the need for better counsel, but he is both aware of his own shortcomings in the situation, and perhaps slightly annoyed at the way in which he has been addressed.

10. Aphrodite and Here

- (a) 14. 193 τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/28 Aphrodite
- (b) 14. 197 τὴν δὲ δολοφρονέουσα προσηύδα Here
- (c) 14. 211 τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/22 Aphrodite

Aphrodite's first speech (a) comes in reply to Here's opening devious request for aid,¹⁸ which had made mention of their long-standing opposition over the Trojan war, and expresses cautious agreement with whatever request should be made (esp. 14. 196).¹⁹ She is wary of what Here might ask—hence τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα over τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν. Here then uses open deception (b) to clothe attractively a request with which Aphrodite, thoroughly taken in, is only too happy to comply (c). The difference between τὸν/τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα and τὸν/τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν is at its clearest here.

11. Hypnos and Here

- (a) 14. 242 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/24 Hypnos
- (b) 14. 263 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/23 Here

Hypnos refuses (a) Here's initial request on the basis of his previous encounter with Zeus, and so his determination not to be embroiled in the situation rules out τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν and positively requires τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη rather than τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα.²⁰ Here begins her alignment (b) by tacitly acknowledging the force of the paradigm invoked by Hypnos, at least as regards the past, and she tries to differentiate its current operation by reference to a comparison between the Trojans and Herakles.²¹ Furthermore, her coming promise of a bride proves more persuasive than her first promise of a Hephaistian stool,²² and Hypnos is won over.

what he does for Teukros' similarly intractable name with the same formula at 8. 292, and also for Nestor himself elsewhere; cf. τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετεφώνεεν ἱππότα Νέστωρ (9. 52) as against τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη ποδᾶς ὤκυσ Ἀχιλλεύς (1. 58, 19. 55).

¹⁸ Cf. 78/28 n. 18.

¹⁹ Cf. 146.

²⁰ Cf. 40/18 n. 7.

²¹ Cf. 172/7.

²² Cf. 147/12 and 13.

12. Poseidon and Iris

- (a) 15. 184 τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη 111/5 Poseidon
 (b) 15. 200 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/30 Iris
 (c) 15. 205 τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/24 Poseidon

On hearing Iris' message from Zeus, Poseidon expresses his indignation (a) at Zeus' commands.²³ Iris replies (b) in such a way as to stress, with due deference, the consequences of his continued attitude; though she aims at overcoming Poseidon, she does so in such a way as to efface her own opinion and position whilst at the same time stressing the necessity of doing what she says.²⁴ Apart from the momentousness of his refusal to comply, Iris has naturally less authority in the divine (gendered) hierarchy and so, for a number of reasons, τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα is more suitable than the more authoritative and determinative τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, while the disagreement between them rules out τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν. Poseidon then agrees with her (c), complimenting her on her tact, and leaves the battle, with a parting shot.²⁵ He has really little choice but to acquiesce—hence τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν—but this is designed to pick up particularly on his alignment with her good sense; the quarrel among the Olympians could still flare.

13. Thetis and Akhilleus

- (a) 18. 94 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/27 Thetis
 (b) 18. 97 τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη 111/8 Akhilleus
 (c) 18. 127 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/34 Thetis

Thetis first reply (a) acknowledges the inevitability of her son's imminent death, after Akhilleus' complaint about the situation and his determination to kill Hektor.²⁶ The poet could well have used τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα instead of τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν,²⁷ but chooses the latter in order to stress the agreement between the characters (and the second half of the verse expresses her distress anyway), for her aid here is to be essential. Akhilleus' emotional reply (b) restates his determination to die, before Thetis (c) tells him not to rejoin the battle until she returns with armour from Hephaistos. One should not deny the alignment desire in the last speech (and indeed the exchange as a whole), but reflect on the fact that τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα now emphasizes her emotional perturbation, as she reacts to her son's furious decision to meet his doom (cf. esp. 18. 98–9), over her decision to aid him.²⁸

²³ Cf. 77/16 n. 8.

²⁴ Cf. esp. 180 for Iris' characterization.

²⁵ Cf. 80/3.

²⁶ Cf. 41/9 n. 2.

²⁷ Interestingly, MS A has a v.l. ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα.

²⁸ Thetis' speeches here are carefully chiasmic, in that her first speech is introduced so as to emphasize her alignment with Akhilleus (which is in fact set out as the content of the second; cf. 79/6), whilst her second is introduced so as to connote her perturbation (the content of the first).

14. Akhilleus and Iris

- (a) 18. 181 τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/35 Akhilleus
 (b) 18. 183 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/28 Iris
 (c) 18. 187 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/27 Akhilleus
 (d) 18. 196 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/29 Iris

Akhilleus queries Iris (a) about which of the gods sent her; her message about the imminent danger facing Patroklos' body is enough to induce great turmoil, but his question reveals a merited caution about divine assistance which other characters tend not to show, particularly given his mother's explicit instructions (18. 134–5).²⁹ Iris' reply (b) establishes her goodwill towards him by reference to Here's regard and the other gods' lack of knowledge about the mission, acknowledging his unstated mistrust of the gods. Akhilleus is still not entirely won over, for he then questions her advice (c) in the light of his mother's information and his own lack of armour. In other words, he shows a progressively greater level of disbelief or scepticism when confronted by apparent divine aid, thus providing an instructive comparison with Hektor's ready belief and overconfidence.³⁰ Then, Iris' final reply (d) is an easy alignment speech focusing on his lack of armour and her suggestion to appear at the trench, which, of course, he does.

15. Akhilleus, Odysseus, and Agamemnon

- (a) 19. 145 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/28 Akhilleus
 (b) 19. 154 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/29 Odysseus
 (c) 19. 184 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/30 Agamemnon
 (d) 19. 198 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/30 Akhilleus
 (e) 19. 215 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/31 Odysseus

This *agore* is as much a contest in the assertion of status as any other scene in the poem.³¹ Both Akhilleus and Odysseus attempt to determine the army's immediate action in the situation facing them—hence the more authoritative τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη throughout—with Odysseus finally winning out. It is only Agamemnon, revealingly, who does not interfere in this contest, beyond agreeing (c) with Odysseus' suggestion to give the army a meal and get out the gifts. On the other occasions, Akhilleus attempts to have the army attack immediately in (a)—in response to Agamemnon's long speech at the start of the *agore*³²—and (d) before Odysseus contradicts him in (b) and (e).

²⁹ Cf. 12/3 n. 3.

³⁰ Cf. 4/1 n. 2.

³¹ Cf. 2/10 n. 11.

³² Cf. 4/11 n. 4.

16. Aineias and Apollo

- (a) 20. 86 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπεν 148/33 Aineias
 (b) 20. 103 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/31 Apollo

The first speech (a) has Aineias, shamefully reminded of his past bravado by Apollo, nevertheless refuse to face Akhilleus because of his previous experience and the constant presence of a divine protector. His determination not to accede demands ἀπαμειβόμενος over τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα, but his desire not to be seen to refuse such a challenge produces the manipulation and alteration of τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν.³³ Apollo then seeks alignment (b), by persuading Aineias to face Akhilleus, and to do so invokes his exalted lineage as compared to his opponent's.³⁴

17. Athene and Zeus

- (a) 22. 177 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/34 Athene
 (b) 22. 182 τῇν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη 148/34 Zeus

³³ The verse-end expression ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπεν (without ἀπ- at 3. 437, 23. 794) seems to be a combination of the participle modifier ἀπαμειβόμενος and τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν. Much commoner in the *Odyssey* (but never with ἀπ-), this collocation is apparently called into being because the poet wants to combine the connotation of determination (ἀπαμειβόμενος) with that of alignment (τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν). One might argue, from a syntagmatic perspective, that the poet is compelled to do this because he has no established formula for Aineias' name in the latter half of the line, and so would be unable to use either τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν or τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη. However, the poet could easily have operated from his existing resources: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε(ν) ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας (cf. 5. 311^b) would be perfectly possible, and a simple modification of the formula ἐὺς πάις Ἀγχίσαο (2. 819^b, 12. 98^b, 17. 491^b), i.e. removal of the epithet ἐὺς, would produce τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πάις Ἀγχίσαο. Admittedly, the noun-epithet formula is never used without Αἰνείας itself in the vicinity, but cf. 17. 491, where Aineias' identity has already been firmly established in the preceding narrative, and similarly 20. 112, with an inverted version of the shortened formula (Ἀγχίσαο πάις). Another restriction operates in Paris' case at 3. 437. His only nominative formula (Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής) allows τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν (3. 58 etc.) but not τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη. Perhaps Paris is not traditionally associated with the display of authority represented by that latter formula (cf. above, n. 7 for another possible example). In any case, and crucially, either formula is possible and both are evidenced for Akhilleus (πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς/ποδάρκης διός Ἀχιλλεύς), who is the speaker introduced by the combination unit at 23. 794. For this reason, I believe that the combination must be semantically significant. The poet, fully intending Apollo to persuade Aineias in his next alignment speech, felt that this combination would capture Aineias' desire to align himself with an encouragement towards a typical heroic venture, i.e. risk life and limb, whilst at the same time feeling and expressing some powerful reasons not to do so. This would certainly fit with the situations of both 3. 437 and 23. 794; in the first case, Paris does not deny the favour of Aphrodite or the fact of Menelaos' victory, but at the same time wishes to sleep with his wife; in the second Akhilleus grants Antilokhos his demand and yet the entire context, which embraces the public acknowledgment of his superiority, makes it a matter of his own determination and authority. This would seem to be a combination of two referential units to make something new, which then becomes vastly expanded in the *Odyssey*.

³⁴ Cf. 207/3; also 9/39 n. 18.

This scene sees Zeus finally agree to Hektor's death and despatch Athene to the field to bring it about.³⁵ Athene here acts (a) with a caution which she had earlier eschewed, in that her deference to Zeus compares well with Here's outspoken contradiction in the similar situation regarding Sarpedon's death (16. 431–61).³⁶ Athene wishes to re-establish the relationship apparently so damaged in *Θ*, and her circumspection in this scene speaks volumes about the power of the *Dios boule* as it is about to be fulfilled. Zeus in turn denies (b) the sincerity of his previous assertion before speeding her to the battle.³⁷ τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν could well have been used here, but τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη colours Zeus' level of enthusiasm about Hektor's death (cf. esp. 22. 168–72), and it also asserts his prominence and control over the narrative rather more than τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα.

18. Priam and Hermes

- (a) 24. 372 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/44 Priam
- (b) 24. 378 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/38 Hermes
- (c) 24. 386 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/45 Priam
- (d) 24. 389 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/39 Hermes
- (e) 24. 405 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/46 Priam
- (f) 24. 410 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/40 Hermes
- (g) 24. 424 ὥς φάτο· γήθησεν δ' ὁ γέρων καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳι (Priam)
- (h) 24. 432 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/41 Hermes

It is noticeable that all Hermes' replies in this exchange (b), (d), (f), and (h) are introduced in such a way as to connote his co-operative stance (τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν), whilst Priam's speeches (a), (c), and (e) are all—until his final joyous reaction (g)³⁸—introduced so as to connote his relative lack of authority in this situation (hence τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα not τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη) and his emotional disturbance because of it and the reason for his mission as a whole. This is surely no coincidence: Hermes has been sent explicitly to help Priam, who is understandably under a little more pressure than his interlocutor.³⁹

19. Priam and Akhilleus

- (a) 24. 659 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα 78/48 Priam
- (b) 24. 668 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν 169/42 Akhilleus

The final example is the promise of a truce until the burial of Hektor shall be completed. Priam's first reply (a) gives the conditions (requested at 24. 656–8) under which they will bury his son, and his disturbance at the thought is necessarily strong, the poet employing τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα not τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη also to underline

³⁵ Cf. 3/12 n. 13.

³⁶ Cf. 54/23 n. 12.

³⁷ Cf. 15/2 n. 3.

³⁸ Cf. 140a/3.

³⁹ Cf. 45/10 n. 5.

once again the King's lack of determinative ability in the situation.⁴⁰ Akhilleus' reply (b) is a straightforward alignment, the poet preferring τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν to τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη in order to stress the fact of agreement rather than the power of the speaker (already established at the start of his previous speech).

In none of the cases above is the poet's choice only a matter of automatic traditional inheritance, though that inheritance may show restrictions which are in themselves significant.⁴¹ Each expression colours the audience's understanding of the speaker's attitude, his awareness of the situation, and his determination with regard to it, but the analysis has moved beyond the dichotomy of *metri causa* vs. significance. Instead, it is suggested that both perspectives are valuable, firstly because the expressions are to some degree interchangeable. Several of the above examples could have altered at least one of the formulae without destroying the sense of the exchange. For example, in case 19, Akhilleus' speech could have been introduced by τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, because this scene really is one in which the power of the *Iliad's* central hero is in abundant evidence. It does not seem far-fetched to imagine performances of the poem, or an episode like it, in which a traditional poet did make or could have made that kind of choice. Yet the poet of the existing text, by choosing the precise introduction he did, chose to focus his audience on Akhilleus' alignment with Priam. In other words, metrical or structural interchangeability demonstrates neither semantic equivalence nor vacuity.

So the scripists are partially right, because these expressions do 'mean' something. One could not, for example, properly evaluate the competition between Akhilleus, Odysseus, and Agamemnon (and the latter's own attitude to the issues at hand) in the assembly in *T* (15) without understanding the significance of the formulae in question, and any alteration of those expressions would change an interpretation of that very tense scene. However, those who deny the significance of the poet's oral traditional inheritance (and there are a growing number of them) are about as wrong as they can be when they draw the further conclusion that an oralist perspective is no longer necessary to a reading of these poems. On the contrary, it is only because of the oral tradition that these expressions have the meaning they do, and afford both poet and audience the possibilities they do.

⁴⁰ It may also have something to do with Akhilleus' warning about sleeping outside lest another Greek see the old man and force another ransom on the Trojans (24. 650–5), which the poet introduces with the participle ἐπικερτομέων (649). I suggest that Akhilleus is teasing Priam, continuing the contest in authority from earlier in the reception, for I find it difficult to countenance that Akhilleus should allow any of the Greeks to outrage *his* guest, and at least part of the speech's purpose is to show the authority that he has in the camp (esp. 651–2; also λαὸν ἐρύκω at 658); cf. Richardson (1993) ad loc., 344–5; Clarke (2001). Though it seems incongruous to a modern audience, particularly one inclined to make a trifle too much out of Akhilleus' 'development' in this penultimate scene, the Greeks did not shudder at such contestation; cf. *Od.* 24. 235–40; Euripides, *Herakles* 1415–17 with Bond (1981) ad loc., 411–12.

⁴¹ e.g. the restriction of τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη to male speakers (above, n. 7) or the fact that Paris never uses the formula (above, n. 33).

APPENDIX B

Athene, Here, and Divine *Stasis* in Θ

This Appendix briefly outlines the function and characterization of Here and Athene as potential sources of divine *stasis*, at least as far as it pertains to an explication of Θ. This quality is a product of their extra-Homeric mythology, in which both the Homeric poet and his audience are thoroughly steeped, and which they understand as the background to the current story.¹

1. Athene

At *Iliad* 1. 400, Ἡρῆ τ' ἡδὲ Πόσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, Zenodotos read or conjectured Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων as the third participant in the last attempt at regime change on Olympus. Whatever the source of the reading, the disruptive potential of Athene within the divine order seems almost counterintuitive,² and the relationship between the Iliadic goddess and her extra-Iliadic entity has proved a fruitful source for scholarly speculation. Some have considered that Athene's presence in that earlier *stasis* is motivated by the poet's desire to forecast her activity in the current poem.³ Erbse, for instance, held that the depiction of Athene in the *Iliad* is more subject to poetic invention than the 'Odysseebild', which is closer to her traditional configuration, and is the result of the poet's adherence to the 'Parisurteil'.⁴ Similarly, Braswell takes this as another example of *ad hoc* invention by the poet of the *Iliad*,⁵ but Nickau adopts Zenodotos' reading and Lang has argued (somewhat similarly to this brief excursus) that the poet employs background construction of previous divine *stasis* in order to cast reflected light on the current story.⁶

In fact, the story of Athene's relationship with Zeus is far more complicated than simply picking and choosing from separate strands of her mythology, for she is intimately bound up with the continuation and very existence of Zeus' power. In the *Theogony*, Hesiod says that Metis was to give birth to two children (886–900), of whom one (Athene) was to have the same strength as her father (895–6), the other to be greater than him (897–8). In the scheme of the Succession Myth, Metis thus

¹ In short, I propose to do for Here and Athene that which Slatkin (1991) does in a much more complete way for Thetis. On the general picture of the divine system, in terms complementary to the current treatment, cf. now Allan (forthcoming).

² Cf. Latacz (2000) ad loc., 139.

³ Cf. Kullmann (1956) 14–16.

⁴ Erbse (1986) 154.

⁵ Braswell (1971); cf. also e.g. Willcock (1977).

⁶ Nickau (1977) 203; Lang (1983) 147–53. Whether the *Iliad* poet was the first to configure this story is unknowable and, for my purpose, relatively unimportant. What matters is that he is able to do so, and then construct a series of intimations around Athene's potential for *stasis*; cf. 120/12–13 and n. 13 for a similar example.

represents a typical female danger, and so Zeus swallows her (889–90) and later gives birth to Athene from his head (924–6).⁷ Generally, an essential element to his rule is the control he gains, is granted, and then exercises over, the female deities.⁸ This ‘gendered’ element of his authority prevents the paternal overthrow which had been initiated in previous generations by Gaia and Rheia and carried through by their offspring. Indeed, that Gaia is the one to warn him of the power of Metis’ children (891) is another sign in Hesiod that he represents the permanent conclusion of the divine ‘Palastrevelutionen’.⁹ Within this gender policy, if you will, Athene’s birth coincides with the removal of that threat, and symbolically renders her the manifestation of his safety.¹⁰

Hence Athene is the embodiment of Zeus’ success and power, and so it is unsurprising when Hesiod causally links her birth with Here’s wrathful parthenogenesis of Hephaistos (927–9). Apart from the general parallel with a similar narrative at Hesiod F 343 (M–W),¹¹ the same connection is made at *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 305–55, where Here this time produces Typhaon because of Athene’s birth, complaining beforehand of Hephaistos’ physical deformity.¹² Furthermore, the natural association of Athene with Zeus’ hegemony is reflected also in the admittedly much later *Hom. Hy. to Athene* (28) 9ff., which narrates her birth and specifically its effect on Olympos in a manner traditionally reserved for suggestions of divine disorder.¹³ The theme of her association with Zeus, and in contexts which are highly suggestive of *stasis*, is a constant in early narrative poetry.

Thus Athene’s actions in *Θ* comprise a serious challenge to Zeus’ hegemony, for it is the rebellion of a figure who represents the very things guaranteeing his power.¹⁴ These cosmic currents inform the audience about the importance of Athene in the poem as a whole, but particularly in *Θ*, as Hirvonen recognizes: ‘This poorly planned expedition (sc. in *Θ*), so untypical of Athena, is obviously based on an older tradition in which Athena may have been more powerful than Hera and may have challenged even Zeus for power.’¹⁵ Whether or not one should think in such precise terms, her mythology means that ‘Athenes Auflehnung besonders gefährlich wäre, da sie—im

⁷ Cf. M. L. West (1966) on 886–900, 401–3, for the other versions of these events.

⁸ Cf. Bonnafé (1985).

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, esp. ch. 5, on the importance of Zeus’ sexual control over the other gods, especially the female, and (84) with regard to his consequently close relationship with Athene; Muellner (1996) 18–25; Clay (2003); M. L. West (1997b) 276–305 for Near Eastern parallels; cf. also 40/18 and n. 7.

¹⁰ For general discussions of Athene, cf. Focke (1953); Clay (1983); Burkert (1985) 139–43; Simon (1985) 179–212; Erbse (1986) 116–55; Pötscher (1987) 160–77; Wathelet (1995).

¹¹ Khryssippos F 908 (Arnim); cf. Kauer (1959).

¹² Cf. 106 nn. 2, 4; also M. L. West (1966) on *Theogony* 886–900, 401–2. Typhaon is of course the child of Gaia in the *Theogony*, an alternative (and already proven) source of *stasis* amongst the gods.

¹³ Cf. 106 for the significance of this action, usually reserved for Zeus himself. It should be noted that this particular hymn may be too late to be an independent witness to an early tradition.

¹⁴ This episode is treated, entirely wrongly in my view, as comic by Zervou (1988), (1990), Part 1 ch. 1; cf. Hummel (1993).

¹⁵ Hirvonen (1968) 63.

wörtlichen wie im übertragenen Sinne—des Vaters Waffen eventuell gegen ihn selbst richten könnte. Da Athene nicht bloß (irgend)eine Tochter des Zeus ist, sondern “die Zeustochter par excellence”, wirkt ihr Ungehorsam besonders spektakulär.¹⁶ Therefore, when Iris abuses her in the way she does at 8. 423–4, she knows exactly what she is talking about.¹⁷

2. Here

Here’s failure to achieve anything against the will of Zeus is crucial to an understanding of the *Iliad*, for it is her characteristic that she undermines his hegemony in an attempt to live up to the role of consort in the Succession Myth.¹⁸ This is famously represented by her hostility towards Herakles,¹⁹ her persecution of those favoured by Zeus’ attentions,²⁰ and her fostering or generation of creatures destined to be killed by Zeus himself or his agents.²¹ None of this can hide the unpleasant truth that, unlike Gaia and Rheia, she is unable to destabilize her husband’s regime. This is ensured *inter alia* by the fact that Zeus does not make the cardinal error of providing his wife with powerful children (or a sufficient number of them), instead allotting his progeny to a number of different deities and mortal women.²² Here’s consequent frustration is intimately connected with both deities’ fundamental nature, and not simply an ‘amusing’ chauvinist aside on the battle between the sexes.

In fact, this idea of divine comedy has proved popular with scholarship, but stands firmly in the way of a proper understanding of Here’s character and role in the *Iliad*.²³ For example, in dealing with the catalogue of Zeus’ lovers in *Ξ*, Janko feels that ‘his tactic is gauche, since *praeteritio* mentions what it would suppress; there is also humour in the sheer length of the list’ and that it is a case of ‘gross insensitivity’.²⁴ Yet the whole scene abounds with undercurrents of *stasis*, not the least of which is Here’s mention of the marital difficulties between Okeanos and Tethys, and Zeus’ list

¹⁶ Schäfer (1990) 70.

¹⁷ Cf. (17); also 184/1. For an analyst’s approach, cf. van Thiel (1982) 288–9.

¹⁸ On Here’s role in Homeric and Archaic poetry and its relationship to Mycenaean and Archaic religious belief and myth, cf. e.g. Kullmann (1956); Hirvonen (1968) esp. 60–1; Kerényi (1972) esp. ch. 6; Burkert (1985) 131–5; Simon (1985) 35–65; Bonnafe (1985) 87–92; Erbse (1986) 193–208, esp. 193–4; Pötscher (1987) 95–103; Synodinou (1987); Clay (1989) 68–71; Schäfer (1990) 59–73; Lindberg (1990); O’Brien (1993); Mayer (1996); Austin (1999) esp. 14 and nn. 12–14; Graziosi and Haubold (2005) 65–75.

¹⁹ Cf. 172; also Hesiod, *Theogony* 950–5, and F 25. 26–33 M–W (29 ~ 229. 9; 30–3 = 229. 10–13) for their reconciliation.

²⁰ e.g. Leto in *Hom. Hy. to Apollo*, Semele in Euripides’ *Bacchai*; cf. also Janko (1992) on 15. 313–28, 201–3.

²¹ e.g. the Lernaian Hydra and Nemean Lion (*Theogony* 313–18, 327–32), Typhaon and Pytho (*Hom. Hy. to Apollo*); cf. M. L. West (1966) on *Theogony* 820–80, 379–80; O’Brien (1993) 94–111.

²² As such, it is an integral element of his ‘gender policy’; cf. above, n. 9; also 4a/4.

²³ Cf. e.g. Zervou (1990) part 1 ch. 2.

²⁴ Janko (1992) on 14. 313–28, 201–2. He deals well with previous objections to the passage, and his note on 15. 18–312, 229–30, is particularly valuable in showing the cosmological background to Here’s punishment.

reflects his awareness of his domination and eventual victory over whatever plan Here might foment.²⁵ Similarly, despite the highly interesting use she makes of pre-Homeric traditions in her portrait of Here, O'Brien largely ignores the Θ passages or dismisses them as 'mock-heroic' in order to discover the deity's true nature.²⁶

On the contrary, Here's behaviour in the poem as a whole, but again particularly in Θ , is heavily influenced by elements integral to her mythology, and through her the poet intimates the importance of the current narrative to the continuation of Zeus' regime. Her failures are important illustrations of his primacy and its permanence, and so it is unsurprising that her actions in Θ (and then later in Ξ) resound referentially with defeat. Like Zeus, she tries but fails to use traditional syntax *quasi in loco poetae*,²⁷ she shakes Olympos *tamquam vir* before attempting unsuccessfully to persuade Poseidon to join her,²⁸ and the poet frequently recalls her eventually frustrated efforts to oppose Herakles.²⁹ This is the wrath of Here—unsuccessful.³⁰

Finally, consider the following three propositions: Athene's birth confirms Zeus' power, Here's nature is fundamentally directed towards undermining that power, and Athene's very existence was unsurprisingly a source of tension between Zeus and Here. The association between the two goddesses in Θ is therefore not only a cause of very real divine tension, but a rather unusual one as well. What are the audience to infer? Given that the poet seems to drive the narrative towards an actual confrontation, it would be reasonable to conclude that he was trying to suggest that this war, this particular instantiation of the ever-present *Dios boule*, was just as loaded with implications for the *kosmos* as any other.³¹

²⁵ As such, it seems analogous to the genealogies heroes use in pre-combat flying to establish their prestige and authority; cf. most recently Alden (2000); also 45/8 for another teasing element in this scene. This does not mean that the entire scene is to be interpreted solely on the level of antagonism; cf. 48/10 and n. 7.

²⁶ For example, O'Brien (1993) 88 n. 37 deems the 'Olympos was shaken' motif 106 at 8. 199 as mock-heroic, a trace of an earlier tradition in which Here did shake Olympos and challenge Zeus' rule 'with the authentic power of an earth-goddess.' Again (190 n. 36), she says 'Book 8 needs an ineffectual Hera. Hence she does nothing . . .'. Why Θ needs an ineffectual Here more than the rest of the poem is unclear. In fact, all early hexameter narrative requires Here's failure, for Zeus otherwise has no power.

²⁷ Cf. 110/2 n. 4.

²⁸ Cf. 106/2.

²⁹ Cf. 172; also O'Brien (1993) esp. chs. 4 and 6. Recall that the 'what sort of word did you speak?' unit 112 is almost always allotted to Here, and intimates that the addressee is not necessarily well informed about the cosmic implications of the current situation. I would suggest that this a reflection of her continued potential for destabilisation within the divine order; cf. also 180/7 for her sending of Iris to Akhilleus, when Iris is usually despatched on missions by Zeus, and 29/8 for her thundering (in tandem with Athene) in honour of Agamemnon, which sign is usually reserved for Zeus.

³⁰ Cf., however, 40/26 n. 11, 125/18.

³¹ Cf. Kullmann (1960) 210–11; Redfield (2001); Mayer (1996); Allan (forthcoming). Nor are Athene and Here alone in this, for Poseidon's actions from *N–O* are heavily tinged with currents of *stasis* (cf. 17/9 n. 13; 77/16 n. 8; 92/4 and n. 13), but keep particularly in mind his allusion to the original *dasmos* (15. 184–99). For other elements in the Lexicon where such notions of *stasis* involving Zeus, Here, and Athene are evident, cf. 4a/4; 9/29 n. 12; 18; 29/8; 33/2–3; 40/18, 26; 45/8; 48/10; 76/2; 106; 112/1; 113/8; 116/5; 120/12, 13; 130/1; 146/4; 172/3–9, 11, 12; 177/17; 180/7; 182/18; 184/1–2; 194/2; 195/1–3; 200/5; 212/7; 214/5.

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Index of Elements

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| 1 | Dawn [μέν δέ] | 27 | 'when then' [ἤμος τῆμος] |
| 2 | Assembly (<i>ab initio</i>) | 26a 27a | 'so long did weapons hit both sides and the people fell' [τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπτετο, πίπτε δέ λαός] |
| 3 | Assembly (transitional) | 28 | Scales of Zeus |
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| 4a | 'while I say what my <i>thumos</i> in my chest commands' [ὄφρ' εἶπω τά με θυμός ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει] | 30 | '[they] were astonished' [θάμβησαν] |
| 5 | '[whomever] apart I see' [ὄν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νοήσω] | 30a | 'astonishment held [the onlookers]' [θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσρόωντας] |
| 6 | 'not according to <i>kosmos</i> ' [οὐ κατὰ κόσμον] | 31 | 'pale fear' [χλωρόν δέος] |
| 7 | 'how far [I] am' [ὅσον εἰμί] | 32 | Flight-phase |
| 8 | 'come, then [you] try' [εἰ δ' ἄγε πειρήσασθε] | 33 | '[he] did not dare' [οὐ τλή] |
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| 10 | Third-person self-reference | 35 | 'in no way willing' [οὐ τι ἐκών] |
| 11 | 'and they were all silent to silence' [οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ] | 36 | Arrow wounds from Paris |
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| 12 | 'well [we] know' [εὖ νυ ᾔδμεν] | 39 | 'trace[-horse]' [παρήορος] |
| 13 | 'not to be borne' [οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν] | 40 | Contrafactual conditional sentences |
| 14 | 'who are perishing completing evil destruction' [οἳ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἴτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται] | 41 | '[he] lost his life' [ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσεν] |
| 15 | 'at [her] smiling spoke' [τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη] | 42 | 'keenly [she] noticed' [ὀξὺ νόησεν] |
| 16 | 'be encouraged' [θάρσει] | 43 | Battlefield assistance |
| 17 | Chariot journey | 44 | ' <i>smerdaleon</i> ' [σμερδαλέον] |
| 18 | Wrathful withdrawal | 45 | 'where? / whither? (I)' [ποῦ/πῇ] |
| 19 | '[he] whipped [to drive]; and they not unwilling flew' [μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν' τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην] | 46 | 'in the back a spear he fixed' [μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ] |
| 20 | Divine precinct / altar [ἐνθα/ὅθι δέ οἱ] | 46a | 'between the shoulders and through the chest he drove' [ὥμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δέ στήθεσφιν ἔλασεν] |
| 21 | 'he sat revelling in might' [καθέζετο κύδει γαίων] | 46b | 'in the back' [μετάφρενον] |
| 22 | Major battle preparations | 47 | '[he] mixed with the front fighters' [προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη] |
| 23 | '[great] clamour arose' [πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀράρει] | 48 | '[he] stood before' [στή πρόσθ'] |
| 24 | Even contest | 49 | 'winged words [he] spoke' [ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα] |
| 25 | 'earth flowed with blood' [ῥέε δ' αἷματι γαῖα] | 50 | 'old age [oppresses]' [γῆρας ὀπάζει] |
| 26 | 'while so long' [ὄφρα τόφρα] | 51 | Reactivated chariot attack |
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| | | 53 | 'deviser[s] of rout' [μήστωρε φόβοιο] |
| | | 54 | '[he] did not disobey' [οὐδ' ἀπίθῃσεν] |
| | | 55 | 'straight eager' [ἰθὺς μεμαώτος] |
| | | 56 | 'he cast' [ἀκόντισεν] |
| | | 57 | 'he missed' [ἀφάρμαρτεν] |
| | | 58 | 'he missed (charioteer)' |

- 59 'he struck the chest beside the nipple' [βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν]
 60 'he fell from chariot' [ῥιπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων]
 60a 'and the horses [recoiled]' [ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι]
 60b 'swift; and there his soul was left and his strength' [ὠκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αὖθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε]
 61 'dread grief closed Hektor's mind' [Ἑκτορα δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας]
 62 '[he] left | to lie' [εἴασε | κείσθαι]
 63 '[him] he left' [τὸν μέν | εἴασεν]
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 70 'do not?' [ῥ οὐ;]
 71 'no | *alke*' [οὐ | ἀλκή]
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 73 'today | another time' [σήμερον | ὕστερον]
 74 'glory | [he] grants' [κῦδος | ὀπάζει]
 75 'if | [she] is willing' [αἶ κεν/ ἦν | ἐθέλησι]
 76 'mind of Zeus' [Διὸς νόος]
 77 '[he] is [by far] mightier' [πολὺν φέρτερός ἐστι]
 78 'to [him] then replied' [τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' εἵπειτα]
 79 'yes all this | you say according to *moira*' [ναὶ δὴ ταῦτα γε | κατὰ μοῖραν εἵπες]
 80 'but this dread grief on the heart and soul comes' [ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει]
 81 Putative 3rd person speech
 82 'may the earth | gape' [γαῖα | χάνοι]
 83 'what sort of thing you have said!' [οἶον εἵπες]
 84 '[he] turned to flight | the horses' [φύγαδ' ἔτραπε | ἵππους]
 85 'with divine crash' [ῥχῆι θεσπεσίηι]
 86 'at him greatly cried' [τῶι δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὔσε]
 87 Hospitality reminder
 88 Femininity reproach
 89 'begone!' [ἔρρε]
 90 'before' [πάρῳ]
 91 'he pondered in twain' [διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν]
 92 'thrice | thrice' [τρὶς μέν | τρὶς δέ]
 93 'in *phren* and in *thumos*' [κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν]
 94 '*sema*' portent [σῆμα]
 95 '[of battle] other-strength victory' [μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκη]
 96 'he ordered greatly shouting' [ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας]
 97 'be men, friends, and mindful of furious strength' [ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θοοῖδος ἀλκῆς]
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 99 'fool[s]!' [νήπιοι]
 100 'his horses he ordered' [ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο]
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 102 '[I] claim to be' [εὐχομαι εἶναι]
 103 'to heaven goes' [οὐρανὸν ἵκει]
 103a 'glory to heaven goes' [κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει]
 104 'he toiled in the making' [κάμε τεύχων]
 105 'so [he] spoke praying' [ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος]
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 107 'straight at [he] spoke' [ἀντίον ἦνδα]
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 113 'thus they spoke such to one another' [ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον]
 114 Ares simile
 115 'glory | [he] gave' [κῦδος | ἔδωκεν]
 116 'in his *phrenes* [she] placed' [ἐν/ἐπὶ φρεσὶν ἔθηκεν]
 117 '[he] went to go' [βῆ δ' ἰέναι]
 118 'purple' [πορφύρεος]
 119 'holding' [ἔχων]
 120 'in broad hand' [χειρὶ παχείηι]
 121 'he shouted piercingly | yelling' [ῥῥυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον | γεγωνώς]
 122 'shame!' [αἰδώς]
 123 'in beauty marvellous' [εἶδος ἀγῆστοι]
 123a 'in beauty best' [εἶδος ἀρίστη]
 124 'where? / whither? (II)' [ποῦ/πῇ]
 125 'Zeus father' [Ζεὺ πάτερ]
 126 Prayer

- 127 'fulfil for me this wish' [τόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήνον ἐέλδωρ]
 128 Bird omens
 129 'more did they leap | and remember their battle lust' [μάλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρις]
 129a 'let us remember our battle-lust' [μνησώμεθα χάρις]
 130 'no one | before' [οὐ τις | πρότερος]
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